

**THE IMPACT OF FOLKLORE ON
SOCIALIZATION IN GEKHO NATIONAL,
THANDAUNG TOWNSHIP, KAYIN STATE**

PhD DISSERTATION

MOE THIDA HTWE

**DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY
UNIVERSITY OF YANGON
MYANMAR**

MAY, 2014

CONTENTS

	Pages
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	i
ABSTRACT	ii
List of Tables	iii
List of Figures	iv
List of Abbreviation	vii
CHAPTER (I) INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Background	1
1.2 Rationale	5
1.3 Aim and objectives	6
1.4 Conceptual framework	6
1.5 Body of the thesis	7
CHAPTER (II) LITERATURE REVIEW	
2.1 Literature review	9
CHAPTER (III) METHDOLOGY	
3.1 Study design	15
3.2 Study area	15
3.3 Study period	15
3.4 Data collection	15
3.5 Limitation of the study	16
3.6 Ethical consideration	17
CHAPTER (IV) THE CULTURAL CONTEXT	
4.1 Historical background	18
4.1.1 Historical background of the study population	18
4.1.2 Historical background of the study area	21
4.2. Geographical conditions and general characteristics	25
4.2.1 Geographical conditions	25
4.2.2 General characteristics	27
4.3 Socio-economic life	30
4.3.1 Social life	30
4.3.2 Economic life	32

**CHAPTER (V) FOLKLORE ON SOCIALIZATION:
FROM INFANCY TO CHILDHOOD**

5.1	Caring an infant	35
5.2	The taboos on pregnancy and delivery	40
5.3	The ritual of “ <i>Rone Shwii</i> ”	41
5.4	Naming custom	42
5.5	The Gekho family and the early childhood	44
5.6	Lullabies	46
5.7	Manna for the child	48
5.8	The rites of firstly meat-feeding	49

**CHAPTER (VI) FOLKLORE ON SOCIALIZATION:
FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADOLESCENCE**

6.1	Language socialization	50
6.2	Folktales	51
6.3	The story of hero ‘ <i>Kaline-fari</i> ’	60
6.4	Traditional shield dance	61
6.5	The Story of ‘ <i>Than</i> ’ and ‘ <i>Ou</i> ’	62
6.6	Folk game	63
6.7	Gekho children and their environment	64
6.8	Proverbs and riddles	67

**CHAPTER (VII) FOLKLORE ON SOCIALIZATION:
FROM ADOLESCENCE TO ADULTHOOD**

7.1	The puberty life of Gekho	73
7.2	Courting custom	75
7.3	Prohibition on choice of marriage partners	77
7.4	Differential community taboos	78
7.5	Insinuating words in engagement	81
7.6	Verbal homily in wedding ceremony	84
7.7	<i>Khaung-ye</i> as a social food	88
7.8	Kayan customary law	89
7.9	Traditional judicial system	96

CHAPTER (VIII)DISCUSSION

8.1	The cultural context	97
8.2	Folklore on Socialization: From Infancy to Childhood	98
8.3	Folklore on Socialization: From Childhood to Adolescence	100
8.4	Folklore on Socialization: From Adolescence to Adulthood	102

CHAPTER (IX) CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1	Conclusion	104
9.2	Recommendations	105
9.3	Further research suggestions	105

REFERENCES

APPENDICES

- I. Photos
- II. Maps

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

First and foremost, I am thankful to my supervisor, Dr. Mya Mya Khin (Professor and Head), Department of Anthropology, University of Yangon. To my study co-supervisor, Dr. Than Tun Sein, (Part-time Professor), Department of Anthropology, University of Yangon, Retired Director of Socio-medical Research, Department of Medical Research (Lower Myanmar) thanks for his guidance and invaluable critique. His words of encouragement helped me persevere.

I am also immensely grateful to Dr. Than Pale, Associate Professor, Department of Anthropology, University of Yangon and Dr. Le Le Win, Deputy Director, Health Systems Research Division, Department of Medical Research (Lower Myanmar) who distributed comments and valuable suggestions at every step of my research to be a good thesis.

I offer my most sincere appreciation and gratitude to U Kyaw Win, (Part-time Professor), Department of Anthropology, University of Yangon, Retired Director General, Ministry of Culture; Dr. Tin Thein, Retired Professor, Department of Geology, University of Yangon, Dr. Saw Saw, Research Scientist, Health Systems Research Division, Department of Medical Research (Lower Myanmar); Dr. Thida Htwe Win, (Professor and Head), Department of Anthropology, Yadanabon University; and Dr. Aye Aye Aung, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, University of Yangon.

Especially, I would like to express my deepest thanks to Dr. Thuzar Aung, (Associate Professor and Head), Department of Anthropology, Nationalities Youth Resource Development Degree College, Yangon, external examiner for the dissertation. And I would like to thank to Dr. Yee Yee Cho, Lecturer, Department of Anthropology, Nationalities Youth Resource Development Degree College, Yangon, referee for the dissertation.

I would like to thank local Gekho people. This thesis could not have been completed without the help of them. I would like to thank to U Gregory, U Soe Naing, U Khin Maung Tun, U Nyein Lwise, Daw Ei Staler, Daw Chaw Sein, Daw Ka Law, and Daw Tracer who helped me as an interpreter and supported visit to the field trips.

Last but not least, I sincerely express my great thanks to U Than Soe Naing (Chairman of Kayan Literature and Culture Committee).

ABSTRACT

This dissertation studies “The Impact of Folklore on Socialization in Gekho National, Thandaung Township, Kayin State”. This study attempts to explore the role of folklore in the process of inheriting norms, customs and ideologies in Gekho community. The Gekho national is, one of the officially recognized nationals, living in Thandaung Township, Kayin State. It is located the border area of Nay-pyi-taw, Shan State and Kayin State. The study areas are two village tracts including six villages. A descriptive design is applied and ethnographic methods on qualitative approaches are used. Data are collected by doing non-participant observation, participant observation, conducting ethnographic interviews with informants, viewing records, writing field notes, taking photographs, and making maps of study site. According to the results, traditional knowledge, customs and practice have found to be playing role in pregnancy, delivery, infant care, naming, and rituals for the baby. In language socialization, children are began to teach Gekho language only. Oral literature has an enormous influence on the process of socialization in Gekho childhood. Performing on shield dance might be a part of a rite of passage by which a boy to become a man. The findings present Gekho adolescent have been socialized with regard to differential community taboos since they was young. Customary laws and traditional judicial rules are prescribed for all of the Kayan kin-groups. The results clearly show that the role of folklore has effectively played on the process of socialization in Gekho’s ways of life. The study provides informative data for further research not only for collecting certain items of folklore of other ethnic groups but also for conducting socializing process from other disciplines point of views.

Key words: folklore, socialization, norms, customs, ideologies, oral literature, traditional knowledge, practice, taboos, customary law

List of Tables

Table. 1. Prefixed names of the males

Table. 2. Prefixed names of the females

List of Figures

- Figure 1. Conceptual framework of the research
- Figure 2. A couple of Gekho youths
- Figure 3. A couple of Gekho elders
- Figure 4. A scene of the study area
- Figure 5. A scene of the study village
- Figure 6. A Gekho traditional house
- Figure 7. A house with portable ladder
- Figure 8. A primary school
- Figure 9. A Christian church
- Figure 10. Coming back from *Taung-ya*
- Figure 11. Carrying bamboo shoot
- Figure 12. Cutting bamboo shoot
- Figure 13. Collecting some vegetables
- Figure 14. Feeding salt to buffalo
- Figure 15. Going to *Taung-ya*
- Figure 16. Baskets for fishing
- Figure 17. Preparing for lunch
- Figure 18. A stone-pillar of lineage
- Figure 19. Pounding paddy rice
- Figure 20. Capturing a turtle
- Figure 21. Making a basket
- Figure 22. Cleansing rice to make *Khaung-ye*
- Figure 23. Going to sell his some mats
- Figure 24. A pregnant woman
- Figure 25. A confinement woman
- Figure 26. A Gekho mother (1)
- Figure 27. A Gekho mother (2)
- Figure 28. A Gekho mother (3)
- Figure 29. A Gekho mother (4)
- Figure 30. A Gekho father (1)
- Figure 31. A Gekho father (2)
- Figure 32. Bamboo tubes for using in confinement

- Figure 33. Bamboo tubes after using in confinement
- Figure 34. Bamboo tubes for using in bath
- Figure 35. Used bamboo tubes to throw
- Figure 36. Smocked chicken for eating
- Figure 37. Hanging a honey-comb
- Figure 38. A Gekho baby
- Figure 39. Hiding baby
- Figure 40. Playing with her bamboo toy
- Figure 41. Playing with his bamboo toy
- Figure 42. Carrying paddy rice
- Figure 43. Caring her younger sister
- Figure 44. A child playing with knife (1)
- Figure 45. A child playing with knife (2)
- Figure 46. A child playing with knife (3)
- Figure 47. A child playing with knife (4)
- Figure 48. A child playing with knife (5)
- Figure 49. A boy playing with snake
- Figure 50. Coming back from *Taung-ya*
- Figure 51. A group of boys
- Figure 52. Helping in *Taung-ya* burning
- Figure 53. Helping in *Taung-ya* work
- Figure 54. Attending school & caring baby
- Figure 55. Praying in Church (girls)
- Figure 56. Playing in peer group
- Figure 57. Playing Gekho boys
- Figure 58. Playing Gekho girls
- Figure 59. Eating some fruits
- Figure 60. The Gekho boys
- Figure 61. The Gekho girls
- Figure 62. Coming back from Church
- Figure 63. Praying in Church (boys)
- Figure 64. A monument of Kaline-fri
- Figure 65. A Kaline-fri's clothes
- Figure 66. A Kaline-fri's necklace

- Figure 67. A Kaline-fri's pot
- Figure 68. Performing shield dance which had been changed from Kaline-fri's tactics
- Figure 69. A Gekho grandfather
- Figure 70. A Gekho grandmother
- Figure 71. A Gekho Family (1)
- Figure 72. A Gekho Family (2)
- Figure 73. A Gekho Family (3)
- Figure 74. A Gekho Family (4)
- Figure 75. A Gekho Family (5)
- Figure 76. A Gekho Family (6)
- Figure 77. Coming back from *Taung-ya*
- Figure 78. Caring her younger brother
- Figure 79. Eating in *Taung-ya* festival
- Figure 80. Looking after their younger
- Figure 81. Going to *Taung-ya*
- Figure 82. Helping to his parents
- Figure 83. Playing adolescent girls
- Figure 84. Playing adolescent boys
- Figure 85. Playing and singing
- Figure 86. A man who killed tiger
- Figure 87. Some bride price
- Figure 88. Owners of bride price
- Figure 89. Nail with string in fire-post
- Figure 90. Nail & string which tied the transgressors
- Figure 91. The bride's house
- Figure 92. Wedding reception
- Figure 93. Buffalo's head
- Figure 94. Some fresh to deliver
- Figure 95. Eating served food in wedding
- Figure 96. Blessing by the elder

List of Abbreviation

KNLP	Kayan New Land Party
KNDO	Karen National Defense Organization

CHAPTER (I)

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Man never lives in isolation. He lives in organized group which is called society. A society is a permanent collection of human being, the institutions they live together are their culture. Each society has its own culture, which represents one possible adaptation or way of life to permit survival in the particular environment in which the society finds itself. Every person begins immediately, through a process of conscious and unconscious learning and interaction with others, to internalize, or incorporate, a cultural tradition through the process of enculturation (Kottak, 2006). While enculturation refers to the process of learning and being trained in a culture from infancy, anthropologists use the term socialization for the general process of acquiring culture. Socialization goes hand in hand with enculturation.

Socialization is a term used by anthropologists, sociologists, social psychologists, politicians and educationalists to refer to the process of inheriting norms, customs and ideologies. It may provide the individual with the skills and habits necessary for participating within their own society, a society itself is formed through a plurality of shared norms, customs, values, traditions, social roles, symbols and languages. Socialization is thus 'the means by which social and cultural continuity are attained'. Socialization has been defined as the 'intergenerational transmission of culture' (T. Williams, 1972) and as 'the way individuals become members of a society, embodying in their own experience, and acting out in their learned behavior, a part of the culture of that society (T. Schwartz, 1976). Margaret Mead distinguished between enculturation, the process of learning a particular culture, and socialization, which she defined as the demands made on human beings by human societies everywhere. Today the term commonly embraces both concepts.

Socialization and enculturation allow humans to adapt to their environment and act appropriately. The terms 'socialization' and 'enculturation' are roughly equivalent to 'education' (Barfield, 2006). Early socialization is important because it sets the ground work for all future socialization. In addition, socialization continued in adulthood, but

they treated it as a form of specialized education. Education, to most people, has come to mean the activities that go on the formal institutions known as schools. To the social scientists, and especially by the anthropologist, education is a much wider process and includes all of learning formalized and un-formalized, that result in the acquisition of culture by the individual, the formation of his personality, and his socialization- that is, his learning to accommodate himself to living as a member of a society (Beals & Hoijer, 1965). Each individual must learn the **lore** which has been accumulated by his ancestors, must be indoctrinated with the values of his group, must practice certain skills, and must learn the expectations associated with the roles which he will play.

Anthropologist interested in child development and socialization concentrate on gathering data on child-rearing practices, paying particular attention to interaction between mother and child, the way in which he requires language and learns the categories, rules, knowledge, and values of his or her culture (Rosman & Rubel, 1995). The influences of geographic, social, and cultural environment account in the main for the differences in socialization between societies and individuals. More recent work by anthropologists and child-development researchers has shown that parent readily accept their society's prevailing ideology on how babies should be treated, usually because it makes sense in their environment or social circumstances.

During the process of socialization, the individuals learn the roles they are to play in life. For instance, girls learn how to be daughters, sisters, friends, wives, and mothers. In addition, they learn about the occupational roles that their society has in store for them. In a folk society, one is socialized into his occupational role by observing his parents; sometimes it is in the hands of uncles or aunts or grandparents. Such are the craftsmen of certain guilds who teach the crafts, shamans or priests who instruct in magical or religious rituals, and war leaders who youth in military skills.

Socialization process can mold it in particular directions by encouraging specific belief and attitudes as well as selectively providing experiences. Much of the difference between the common personality types in one society can compare to another. Much recent research in socialization has examined small-scale processes as the use of narratives and language in adult – child interactions. Although this has produced many insights into socialization, these small-scale socialization processes need to be fixed within larger historical, economic, and political contexts, since the immediate cultural

contexts of socialization always have ties to a wider world, Watson Gegeo (1992) has argued that uniting these micro-and macro perspectives is essential for a full understanding of socialization processes.

United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) produced a declaration (A 1999 conference titled “Science for the 21st Century”) recognizing that “traditional and local knowledge systems, as dynamic expressions of perceiving and understanding the world, can make and historically have made a valuable contribution to science and technology”. In recent years, researchers have look for the areas where indigenous knowledge, also called local or traditional knowledge (A. Taylor, 2001).

To better understanding the system of traditional knowledge, it should be known the **folklore**, shared by a particular cultural group. Because folklore is the traditional knowledge, literature, art, and practice that are circulated largely through oral communication and behavioral archetypes. Most societies with a sense of themselves have possession of a shared identity, and a central part of that identity has to do with folk traditions, the things that people traditionally **believe** (planting practices, family traditions), **do** (dance, make music, sew clothing), **know** (how to build an irrigation dam, how to nurse an ailment, how to prepare barbecue), **make** (architecture, art, craft), **say** (personal experience stories, riddles, song lyrics) (Encyclopedia of Anthropology).

The word ‘**folklore**’ was first invented in 1846 by British scholar Willian Thomas. He invented to give a new name to study of ancient customs and traditions before that, it was called ‘antiquarian knowledge’. It was an English equivalent for the German *Volkskunde* in use since 1787. Indeed the original development of the concept of *Volk* and *Volkskunde* may be read as in part a German-nationalist response to Napoleonic France’s heritage of Enlightenment philosophy and imperial expansionism (Cocchiara, 1981).

The ‘**folk**’ is a term used in ethnology and anthropology to refer loosely to traditional rural peasant societies in which an oral tradition predominates. And the term ‘**lore**’ means knowledge and traditions about a subject or possessed by a particular group of people. Folklore is often defined as knowledge or forms of expression that are passed on from one person to the next by word of mouth or the oral tradition. Alan Dundes’s (1966) influential definition stipulated that “*The term ‘folk’ can refer to any group of people whatsoever who share at least one common factor. It does not matter what the linking*

factor... a group for whatever reason will have some traditions that it calls its own."

Thus "folk" groups and their shared "lore" exist at all levels of society.

The study of folklore embraces the examination of traditional knowledge, customs, oral, and artistic traditions among any community united by some common factor, such as a common occupation, co-residence, or a common language or ethnic identity. American folkloristic, both academic and applied, emphasized how folklore, as knowledge, values, beliefs, and practices, both derives from communities and functions to constitute them. Folklorists recognize different areas, or categories of folk expressions. There are songs, lullabies, poetry, jokes, folk tales, riddles, proverbs, myths, special sayings, dance and games.

According to Alan Dundes, folklore includes both verbal and nonverbal forms. It has been defined by W.P. Murphy (1979) as 'a form of communication which uses words in speech in a highly stylized, artistic way'. Oral literature is part of the more inclusive term 'folklore'. Oral literature usually means verbal folklore only and does not include games and folk dances. It is most often used as an alternate term for folk narrative or folk literature.

According to Redfield (1956) the '**folk society**' is characterized by its small size, physical isolation, a high degree of social homogeneity and group solidarity, and the absence of literacy. Kinship ties prevail in folk society and behavior is personal and traditional. Their culture stands intermediate between that of the band or tribe and urban patterns. **Folk culture** has much in common with tribal culture in solidarity of family life, place of religion, forms of moral control, and simple social order generally (Young-Mack, 1959). One of the most important aspects of folk culture is **folklore**.

Today, from two-thirds to three-fourths of the world's people live in what may be called folk or peasant societies. Just as each human society has its own culture, different from that of any other society, so either folk society or urban society has its own process of socialization. To know about the impact of folklore on socialization in a particular society, all items of folklore should be collected and the processes of learning in socializing should be explored.

1.2 Rationale

Myanmar is an ethnically diverse nation with over 100 distinct ethnic groups officially recognized by the government. About 70% of the total population lives in rural area. These are grouped into eight major national ethnic races: 1) Kachin, 2) Kayah, 3) Kayin, 4) Chin, 5) Mon, 6) Bamar, 7) Rakhine, and 8) Shan. In the Kayah major national includes (9) minority sub groups which are Kayah, Kayaw, Manumanaw, Yintale, Yinbaw, Padaung, Zayein, Gebar and Gekho. Among them, the majority of the Gekhos are living in northern part of Thandaung Township, Kayin State. The total population as of 2014 is about 57,000.

The Gekho community is completely folk society or small scale minority ethnic group. First, there can be more influenced informal education than formal education. Second, various items of folklore might be prevailed in this society. Third, the methods of learning process can be differed other people live in the plain regions. Therefore, the researcher enthuses to study the influencing factors of folklore on the process of inheriting norms, customs, and ideologies in the Gekho community

There are many studies concerning about the process of socialization from different aspects in social sciences in other countries of the world. In Myanmar, however, which is lack of the socialization process research in PhD level from the anthropological point of view. There are several studies about folklore in various kinds of people from different regions of the world such as Japanese folklore, African folklore, Spanish folklore, Slavic folklore, and so on. But in Myanmar only few books about folktale, folk elements, riddles, and proverbs of some nationals have been published.

Due to the lack of scholarly folkloristic and the learning processes research from the anthropological perspective in Myanmar, it was conducted this research, namely **“The Impact of Folklore on Socialization in Gekho National, Thandaung Township, Kayin State”**.

The main questions of this research are:

- What are their verbal and nonverbal folklore?
- What are the perceptions of natives with regard to learning the ways of life associated with traditional knowledge, art, and practice?
- When, where, and how the natives socialize a particular theme of folklore?

1.3 Aim and objectives

The aim of this dissertation is to explore the role of folklore in the process of inheriting norms, customs, and ideologies in Gekho community.

Specific objectives are:

- To elicit all items of the Gekho folklore in study area ,
- To find out normative values and beliefs embedded in their folklore,
- To describe the processes of socialization by means of folklore throughout their lives

1.4 Conceptual framework

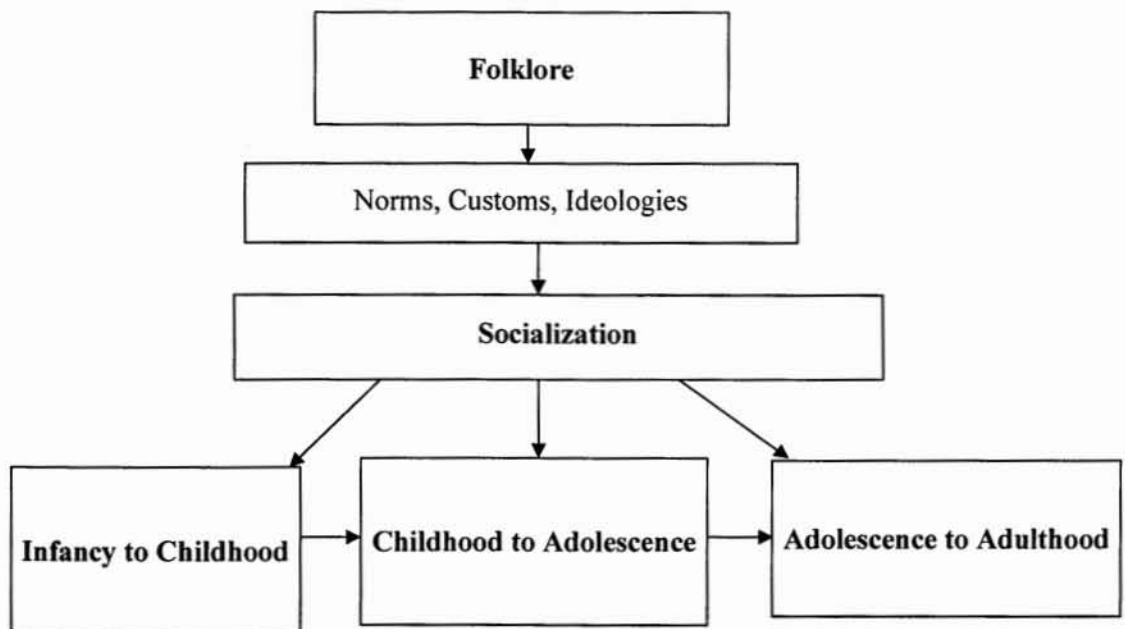


Figure 1. Conceptual framework of the research

Every society has its own particular norms, customs and ideologies that are different from others due to the difference in environment and experiences. As these norms, customs and ideologies have been handed down from generation to generation and socialized, the cultures of societies have become different. Folklore is the lore or learning or common

sense or mother wit of the people as passed down from parent or grandparent to child or grandchild, and that folk knowledge must be packaged and capsule for easier transmission down through the generations.

This study focuses on three main points: folklore on socialization; from infancy to childhood, from childhood to adolescent, and from adolescent to adulthood. The research reveals that traditional knowledge, traditional custom, traditional practice, intellectual property, oral literature, taboos, laws and ritual process in Gekho community. The Gekho national passes down their culture through the generations.

1.5 Body of the thesis

This thesis is composed with (9) chapters.

Chapter (1) Introduction

This chapter begins introduction with definitions of socialization and folklore. Rationale, research questions, the aim of the research, objectives, and body of the thesis are presented.

Chapter (2) Literature Review

This chapter includes literature concerning folklore, socialization, caring infants, child training, puberty life, and oral literature.

Chapter (3) Methodology

This chapter describes the range of research methods that were used in conducting the study. Data collecting processes and limitation of the study are also described.

Chapter (4) The Cultural Context

This chapter provides the cultural context of the Gekho national. The Gekho settlement, including the two study villages tracts (Maung kyaw and Maung plot), is described in terms of its historical background, geographical conditions, and socio-economic life.

Chapter (5) Folklore on Socialization: From Infancy to Childhood

This chapter presents a detailed account of infant care, the rituals for the new born baby, naming custom, taboos and their ideologies on care giving.

Chapter (6) Folklore on Socialization: From Childhood to Adolescence

This chapter focuses on oral literature including folktales, stories, proverbs, riddles, and folk dance. Transmission of traditional ecological knowledge and intellectual property on Gekho children is also presented.

Chapter (7) Folklore on Socialization: From Adolescence to Adulthood

This chapter has an attempt to better understand the Gekho puberty life and their marriage customs. Insinuating words in engagement, verbal homily in wedding ceremony, Differential community taboos and customary law are discussed.

Chapter (8) Discussion

This chapter is discussion of the findings.

Chapter (9) Conclusion and recommendations

This chapter is conclusion and recommendations of the research.

CHAPTER (II)

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Literature review

B.R. SHAMA (1998) reported an appraisal for the development of the Himachal Pradesh. He studied tribal myths and legends, and their role in development on eight tribes in the western Himalayan region. Each of these tribes has its rich and varied folklore, cultural traditions, and historical record. He stated the tribal world of Himachal Pradesh is a storehouse of simple and purposeful myths and folk tales and other form of folklore. The legends, songs, and folk tales are not only original but also very interesting.

Various myths prevalent among the tribal of Himachal Pradesh include myths of creation of universe and mankind, myths relating to life cycle and religious panorama, myths of fire and snow, myths relating to spirits, including gods and evil spirits, myths of sages and divine heroes and myths relating to animal world. He concluded that some age old myths and legends as well as social practices are still practiced by these people. The Lamas residing in various monasteries have ample opportunities to conduct religious ceremonies and keep the traditions alive. The myths relating to lifestyle have contributed a lot to the development of this area. From his appraisal, it can be known that myths and legends are great vehicles of the science of tradition that helps to receive the experience of the old generation.

Meredith F. Small (2007) did a cross- cultural research in child development. She stated that parents readily accept society's prevailing ideology on how babies should be treated, usually because it makes sense in their environmental or social circumstances. In the article "*Our Babies, Ourselves*", she stated individualism is valued in the United State, where, parents do not hold babies as much as in other cultures, and they place them in rooms of their own to sleep. Pediatricians and parents alike often say this fosters independence and self-and self-reliance. In contrast, Japanese parents believe that individuals should be well integrated into society, and so they "indulge" their babies: Japanese infants are held more often, not left cry, and sleep with their parents. The parents in Congo believe even more in a communal life, and their infants are regularly nursed, held, and comforted by any number of group members, not just parents. She



Figure 10. Coming back from *Taung-ya*



Figure 11. Carrying bamboo shoot



Figure 12. Cutting bamboo shoot



Figure 13. Collecting some vegetables



Figure 14. Feeding salt to buffalo



Figure 15. Going to *Taung-ya*



Figure 16. Baskets for fishing



Figure 17. Preparing for lunch

Proverb - *Shin bayin tahka htwet Pe-gyi tq-lay kyet*

Meaning - One appearance of a king, one boatload of broad-beans can be cooked

Explication - Person who is always late in appearing dressed.

From this book, it can be got not only the information about the profile of Myanmar folklore and but also the processes of socialization which is although directly expressed. It can be supported to elicit all themes of the *Gekho* folklore and to describe the processes of socialization by means of folklore throughout their lives.

John Whiting (1953) led an extensive field study of early socialization practices in six different societies during the early 1950s. All of these societies shared in common the fact that they were relatively homogeneous culturally. The societies they studied were the Gusii of Kenya, the Rajputs of India, the village of Taira on the island of Okinawa in Japan, the Tarong of the Philippines, the Mixteca Indians of central Mexico, and a New England community that was given the pseudonym Orchard town. They show that communal expectations play a major role in setting parenting styles, which in turn play a part in shaping children to become accepted adults. Two general conclusions were emerged from this study. First, socialization practices varied markedly from society to society. Second, socialization practices were generally similar among people of the same society. These outcomes are relevant with the present study because this study tries to describe the processes of socialization by means of folklore throughout the *Gekhos'* lives.

In 1925, Margaret Mead (1928) did her first field research in Somoa, where she spent eight months. She detailed study of (68) girls between the ages of eight and twenty, to depict the profile of Somoan upbringing. In the case of sexual relations, she studied (30) post pubescent girls; seventeen had heterosexual relation and twenty two homosexual relation, in three near contiguous villages on the island of Ta'u, the largest of the three islands that make up the Manu' a group of eastern most islands in American Somoa..

In the introduction of "*Coming of Age in Somo*", she wrote, '*this tale of another way of life is mainly concerned with education, with the process by which the baby, arrived cultureless upon the human scene, becomes a full-fledged adult member of his or her society. The strongest light will fall upon the ways in which Somoan education, in its broadest sense, differs from our own*'.

The material of gathered through months of observation of the individuals and of groups, alone, in their households, and at play. From these observations, the bulk of the conclusions are drawn concerning the attitudes of the children towards their families and towards each other, their religious interests or the lack of them, and the details of their sex lives. She cited a number of observations to support her conclusion. The basic conclusion was that adolescence in Somoan was not a stressful period for girls because in general Somoan society lacked stresses. This study highlighted on the process of upbringing regarding personality from the subjective point of view. The current study tries to explore the role of folklore influence in the process of inheriting norms, customs, and ideologies in *Gekho* community from the native point of view.

During 1931-1933, Margaret Mead (1935) worked a research among three New Guines societies lived within a one- hundred-mile radius of each other on the northern shore of Papua New Guinea. But their personalities were completely distinct. In her famous book "*Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*", Mead stated that the Arapesh have surrounded with delight that part of parenthood which was to be specially maternal, the minute, loving care for the little child and the selfless delight in that child's progress towards maturity. Mead found that the Mundugumor child is born into a hostile world, a world in which most of the members of the same sex will be his enemies, in which his major equipment for success must be a capacity for violence, for seeing and avenging insult. Mead defined that every Tachmbuli man is an artist and most men are skilled not in some one art alone, but in many: in dancing, carving, plaiting and so on. And while Tachmbuli men were preoccupied with art, women had the real power, controlling fishing and the most important manufactures, looking on their men-folk with kindly tolerance and appreciation.

Mead argued that the individual is a product of cultural behavior that shape the person in common but unique manners that then are reinterpreted, re-expressed, and relived as the infant becomes an adult and as the child becomes a parent. This study revealed that the interaction between individual and culture is the dynamic, complex process by which humans learn to be humans, but humans of very distinctive sorts. Thus, it can be supported to know the question that when, where, and how the natives socialize a particular theme of folklore.

In 1930, Evans-Pritchard (1940) studied among the Nuer who live in the watershed between the rivers Nile and the Congo after the British military had bloodily suppressed Nuer revolts. And he served as a mediator between the Nuer and the government. Evans-Pritchard documented the age-grade system of the Nuer in which every four years a new group of teenage boys underwent an initiation rite.

He analyzed this progression; *Seasonal and lunar changes repeat themselves year after year, so that a Nuer standing at any point of time has conceptual knowledge of what lies before him and can predict and organize his life accordingly. A man's structural future is likewise already fixed and ordered into different periods, so that the total changes in status a boy will undergo in his ordained passage through the social system, if he lives long enough, can be foreseen.* He presented a body of ethnographic work that was entire, coherent, and an accurate presentation of indigenous belief. As a result, these findings are relevant with the ethnographic study of the normative values and beliefs embedded in the folklore of *Gekho* national.

Malinowski made two field trips to the Trobriand Island in Western Pacific from 1915 to 1918. In his classic study of the Trobriand Islanders, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, he stated that one had to reconstruct the subjective mental states of another culture. This information could be derived from a body of 'ethnographic statements, characteristic narratives, typical utterances, items of folklore and magical formulae as documents of native mentality'.

In 1944, he published a book '*A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays*'. He wrote, 'Cultural institutions are integrated responses to a variety of needs'. The basic needs are metabolism, reproduction, bodily comforts, safety, movement, growth, and health. The 6th basic need 'growth' leads to the cultural responses of training by which humans are taught language, other symbols, and appropriate behaviors for different stages and situations and are instructed until they are socially and physiologically mature. Malinowski's theory of needs is central to his functional approach to culture; it is the theoretical statement linking the individual and society.

His approach to magic was a classic example of that 'the explanation of the culture involves the delineation of function'. Malinowski argued that primitive man cannot manipulate the weather, cannot produce by his own hands, therefore, deals with magically. In his book '*Coral Garden and Their Magic*' (1965), Malinowski wrote,

'Magic and practical work are, in native ideas, inseparable from each other, though they are not confused. Garden magic and garden work run in one intertwined series of consecutive effort, from one continuous story, and must be the subject matter of one narrative. To the natives, magic is as indispensable to the success of garden as competent and effective husbandry. It is essential to the fertility of the soil'.

He hypothesized that limited “scientific” knowledge of illness and disease led “primitive” man to conclude that illness are caused by sorcery and countered by magic. All of his statement, argument, theory, and hypothesis can be support to the current research both theoretically and practically because the overall aim of the study is to explore the role of folklore in the process of inheriting norms, customs, and ideologies in *Gekho* community.

CHAPTER (III)

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Study design

A descriptive design is applied and ethnographic methods on qualitative approaches are used.

3.2 Study area

Study area is Maung Kyaw and Maung Palot village tracts, Thandaung Township, northern part of Kayin State. It was chosen because the people who live in these two village tracts are the Gekhos. Maung Kyaw village tract comprises three villages. There are Maung Kyaw (upper), Maung Kyaw (middle), and Maung Kyaw (lower). And Maung Palot village tract also comprises three villages. There are Maung Palot (main), Maung Palot (new) and Kan htay. According to the census of 2014 April, there are altogether 618 in Maung Kyaw village tract and 812 in Maung Palot village tract.

3.3 Study period - from 2010 to 2014

3.4 Data collection

Data for this study was generated through doing non-participant observation, participant observation, conducting ethnographic interviews with informants, viewing records, writing field notes, taking photographs and making maps of study site.

For the field research, the first field trip started after obtaining from the Ph.D steering committee. About the study and reason for the field trip were explained to the local authorized persons for permission. It could be built the relationship between the natives and the researcher by wandering about the village, greeting and speaking friendly because authority relationship was the barrier to get reliable data. It could be initiated informal observation visiting to their houses which live the elders. Then, ethnographic formal interview stated to study their verbal and nonverbal folklore and the elders were became the key informants.

The processes of socialization by means of folklore throughout their lives observed by involving together with the participants in their routine works: working the *Taung-ya* cultivation, cooking the meal, care-giving the infants, and so on. Living under the same

roof, going together the *Taung-ya* cultivation, and helping their household chores were provided when, where, and how the natives socialize a particular item of folklore. At the end of each day, whatever events observed in everyday, were jotted down as field notes. Personal field notes were also taken during and after interview to record non-verbal behaviors, insight at the time, a description of the environment, and summary information.

All the interviews were recorded with the consent of the informants. Following each interview by interview, information was summarized with the informants to provide clarification of any data that were vague or miscommunication. Some photographs were taken in certain occasions after getting permission. Demographic data, archival data, villages' records were obtained from heads of the villages were also reviewed the influences on their folklore on socialization and to determine and to verify validity and reliability in ethnography.

In order to assure trustworthiness of findings, the several strategies were applied: member checking of findings with the help of key informants by discussion about the interviewed data, participant observation of about the processes of socialization by means of folklore throughout their lives, and prolonged and persistent engagement with the native's community.

3.5 Limitation of the study

The objectives of this dissertation are to elicit all items of the *Gekho* folklore in study area, to find out normative values and beliefs embedded in their folklore, and to describe the processes of socialization by means of folklore throughout their lives. The dissertation as a whole provides a significant contribution to folklore on socialization in Gekho national.

First, information described in this study cannot be represented as a generalized of the overall Gekho living in Thandaung township, Kayin State because of using qualitative method. It represents two village tracts only in Thandaung township.

Second, Focus Group Discussion was not applied because most of the boys and men were not stayed in study area. They had to go to school, to army (Kayan New Land Army), to ruby mine in Eastern Shan state.

Third, quantitative method was not applied in this study.

3.6 Ethical consideration

I solemnly declare that the dissertation entitled: **“The Impact of Folklore on Socialization in Gekho National, Thandaung Township, Kayin State”** and the work presented in the dissertation, is both my own work and have been generated myself. The result is my own original research. I confirm that when I have quoted from others, the source is always given. With the informant’s permission, local Gekho people’s photographs were described in my dissertation.

CHAPTER (IV)

THE CULTURAL CONTEXT

Before exploring all items of Gekho's folklore and the processes of socialization, cultural context of the Gekho national should be studied. Therefore, this chapter is divided into three main sections: (1) Historical background, (2) Geographical setting and social setting, and (3) Socio-economic life.

4.1 Historical background

4.1.1 Historical background of the study population

Ethnicity

The term Gekho is used by the Geba national in addressing them, the meaning being 'the ones living in the upper parts' (Myint Maung, 1967). In the Encyclopedia of Myanmar, however, it is clearly described that these Gekho and Geba nationals only inhabit the mountain areas and they claim to have been descended from the Padaung national. A sub-group of Kayin found to be living at the place called 'Ko-Saw-Polo', on the mountain named Leiktho which lies in the eastern part of Toungoo are Gekho national and some of them also reside in the southern parts of the Shan State and they closely resemble the Padaung and Yinbaw .

In the censuses of the years 1911, 1922 and 1931, the Gekhos were found to be included as one of the sub-ethnic groups of Kayin. But in 1950, after forming the Investigation Commission for Kayin national, and in accordance with the report of that Commission, it was decided not to include the Padaung, Yinbaw, Gekho, Yintale and Manu-manaw nationals any longer in the Kayin ethnic group. Consequently, on 15th January of 1951, the Karenni territory assumed the new name of Kayah State and from that time onwards the Gekho national became part of the Kayah ethnic group.

In former days, the scholars who had written about the indigenous races of Myanmar were only foreigners. But later, when many researchers and scholars from Arts and Science universities in Myanmar did a lot of field works, from 1964 to 1966, to scrutinize the customs and traditions of all ethnic groups residing in various parts of the country. Then after extensive discussion and consultation between the research groups and

personnel concerned from the government departments, in 1967, books about the customs and traditions of the ethnic groups such as the Kachin, Kayah, Kayin, Chin, Mon, Rakhine and Shan, were published .

One of the results of those endeavours showed that the sub-ethnic group called the Padaung is also called Kayan and they have the same dialect with the Yinbaw and Gekho. In 1983 census, in the list of 135 ethnic groups of Myanmar, Kayah ethnic group contained nine sub-ethnic groups; Kayah, Padaung (Kayan), Yinbaw, Yintale, Manu-manaw, Bre (Kayaw), Zayein, Gekho and Geba.

Khin Khin Oo (1971) presented a paper about the customs and traditions of the Kayah ethnic group, especially on their taboos, and in that she directly addressed them Kayan instead of Padaung. Actually, the name Kayan does not signify only the sub-group called Padaung; it embraces the ethnic groups of Yinbaw, Gekho, and Zayein (Moe Thida Htwe, 1999). Kyaw Than (2009) also describes in his book that the Gekho and Geba nationals are called as hill-Kayin and they are included in Kayan kin-group. He also mentions that there are altogether four kin-groups in Kayan namely; (1) Kayan (la-hwi), (2) Kayan(Lahtar), (3) Kayan (Ka-ngan), and (4) Kayan (Gekho and Geba). The populations who are now labeled as Kayin, Kayah and Kayan were collectively called Karen by foreign scholars in former times. The Karens were also named Karaing by the Siamese and Yan by Yuans in those days.

To sum it up, Myanmar officials have adopted the term Gekho and officially recognized the Gekho national as one of the sub-ethnic groups of Kayah. But the local name for those people is hill-kayin as they are residing on the mountains. The research works have suggested that they were found to be included in the Kayan kin-group. But when interviewed, it was found that they prefer to be called as Kayan. Therefore, in this study the terms Gekho and Kayan were used interchangeably without the differentiation among these terms.

Migration

The indigenous races of Myanmar, which are of Mongoloid stock, fall into three main groups: the Tibeto-Myanmar, the Mon-Khmer and Thai-Chinese. The Tibeto-Myanmar racial groups of the larger Tibeto-Chinese gradually moved from north to south and founded the state. The Thet, Kadu, Pyu and Karen were earlier than the Myanmar in Myanmar territory (Than Tun, 1969). In the book named "Ethnic Adaptation and

Identity: The Karen on the Thai Frontier with Burma” written by Charles F. Keyes (1979) wrote that “According to Sir Arthur Phayre, the ethnic group named Karen was none other than the group called Kanyan, which was included in the three well-known ethnic groups of Pyu, Kanyan and Thet, who were the early settlers of Myanmar”. Moreover, he wrote that “G. H. Luce (1959) speculated that during the 7th and 8th centuries A.D, these Karen people, the descendents of Tibeto-Myanmar group, moved from the area which is today called Yamethin and the area on eastern part of Toungoo towards the western part of Toungoo, passing through the area which is now called Shwekyin, and also towards the delta area while some of them took a different route, passing through Phapon and Thanlwin, to get finally to the Taninthari Region. Thus, from that time onwards, they all began to settle in the lower part of the country”.

Ba Shin (1968) stated the Karen had migrated from the place called Htaung river basin in Tibet, and then along the Thanlwin river, toward the southern part of Shan State where they turned to the west and got to the place now called Moe-bye, Kayah State, and the northern part of Kayin State. When situations permitted, some of them moved further until they were in the plain areas of Sittaung basin.

J. George Scott (1900) work on the migration pattern of the Karen that *‘They have no knowledge of their previous home or history. They state in vague sort of way that they migrated from the south, and their old men say that they came last from Toungoo. This is very natural as their centre of the world’*.

The Karens handed down their historical information including their native place, religious beliefs, customs and traditions, social organization, social discipline etc in the form of poems and songs which were recited in successive generations. The long verses which were thus orally preserved by the Poe Kayin were called *‘Htar-khu’*, by the Sakaw Kayin *‘Htar’*, by the Kayah *‘Hwa’*, and by the Kayan *‘Kar-kaung’*. In Kar-kaungs of Kayan, it was mentioned that their ancestors had migrated from the place called *Maw-htike-sha*, and then passing through deserts, rivers and streams, encountering many other people, and finally they got to the present place.

To be exact, in the last passage of the verse, it was described how they finally got to the present place. The story goes that they encountered *‘yan-pa-o’* at *Thant-don* and it was a very happy reunion with relatives, but in later days, discord occurred due to quill of porcupine and hair of elephant. Consequently, they moved southward and stopping for a

while at *Taung-u*, moved to *Doe Law Saik* mountain which was in the east, while some of them traveled southwards and the others northwards. The rest moved to the plains where they had settled since then.

The answers of the key informants suggest that they had moved from *Toungoo* to the east which is a mountainous part, following the former path they had taken when they moved to *Toungoo* from there in the earlier times. But when they arrived at *Thaukyekhat* stream in *Thandaung* area, they took different routes to get to the area each group preferred.

The Descendents of Kayan kin-group

Each group got its name based on the place they had chosen to settle. The group who climbed up the mountain to its higher parts was called 'Ka-khu', who are now called *Padaung* and *Gekho*. The ones who settled in the plains were called *Ka-ngan* who now have the name *Yinbaw*. Likewise, the ones who moved southwards got the name *La-htar* who are now called *Za-yein*. Among *Ka-khu*, four lineages were formed namely *Re-lon*, *Re-kan*, *Re-nwe* and *Re-si*.

Re-si lineage group moved to thickly wooded areas where there are wooded valleys, and so they got the name *Ka-dot*, while the other three lineage groups; *Re-lon*, *Re-kan*, and *Re-nwe* decided to move northwards. These three groups are called *Lawei* or *Padaung*. In the *Kayan* language, the ones who had to live in the lower parts of the mountain are called 'Geba' and the ones who had settled on the higher parts of the mountain are 'Gekho'. The *Ka-dot* had already settled on the higher parts of the mountain, therefore, they were named 'Gekho' by *Geba* national. Each clan of the *Re-si* group or the *Ka-dot* or the *Gekho* national lived together upstream of *Thaukyekhat* stream and at the place where *Paung-laung* river rises.

4.1.2 Historical background of the study area

Geo-political history of the Gekho's settlement

Gekho's settlement prior to colonial rule

After the *Bagan* dynasty, *Toungoo* throne was founded by *Kayin* chieftains, and during the time *Myanmar* kings were ruling there, the *Kayin* chieftains were honored by being conferred honorary titles with power such as governors of towns, villages etc. (*Myanmar Encyclopedia*, vol I). The documents show that the native place of the king named *Kayin Ba* who ruled the *Toungoo* throne from 687-704 was *Kan-yan* area which is situated in

the north of Toungoo, eastern side of Paung-laung River. Kyaw Than, U (2009) describes that the native place of Kayin Ba is the one where Gekhos are still living now, he could be a Kayan Gekho national.

The Kayin chieftains were faithful to Myanmar kings and they had taken oath of allegiance from them; the Toungoo king Min Gyi Nyo had accepted the tributes respectfully offered by the Karenni chieftains, but Myanmar kings never interfered in the Karenni administration (Pu Galay, U, 1948). During the time of king Sin-Phyu-Shin, when Gekho chieftains, Lu-ci-ok, offered a white elephant to the king, the king in return demarcated the Gekho's settlement.

It covered the whole area around the streams bearing the names of 'Kae' and seven streams with the names of 'Minte', together with three mountain ranges named 'Ka-lite', 'Barkar' and 'let-khote'. The Gekhos divided this area into administrative zones which were four Tite-ne (တိုက်နယ်) and twelve Di-ne (ဒိုင်နယ်) where each clan lived together under the rule of their clan leader (P. Maung Soe, 2004).

The Gekho national received the titles of chieftains from the Myanmar kings starting from the year 684, Myanmar Era, and ruled successively until there were over forty chieftains before the time of the British annexation of the whole country. The records show that the chieftain named Thine-kala alias Maung Kyaw received the administrative power from the British colonialists, but after his son had ruled the land as the last chieftain, there were no more chieftains who had the power to rule it. Formerly, there were two parts of Karenni territory (Kayah state): Eastern Karenni territory and Western Karenni territory. The settlement of the Gekho national was included in Western the Karenni territory.

Gekho's settlement under the colonial rule

In the book named "Historical records and Kayah State" stated that about Karenni territory including the Gekho's settlement. After the second Anglo-Myanmar war of 1852, the British colonialists annexed the other half of the whole country, the upper border line being the place which was four miles up to Aunglan town. When the British began taking the lower part of the whole country, the chieftain of the Gekhos declared that their land did not belong to the Myanmar kings.

But in 1873, king Mindon made a declaration that these lands belonged to the Myanmar kingdom. Thus in 1875, Kin Wun Min Gyi had to discuss the matter with Sir Douglas, and after discussion, they agreed to leave the Karenni territory as an independent one. After the third war of 1885, however, when the British annexed the whole country, the Karenni territory was no longer ruled out.

In 1892, transferring the eastern part of Thanlwin in the east of Karenni territory was ceded to Thailand as a gift, and an embargo on sales of slaves, cattle and teak caused public outrage among the Karenni people. And a Karenni leader of Daw-tamagyi village which was near Balu stream led a rebellious campaign against the British authority. When, at least, the British officials came to the Karenni territory to inquire about the uprising, Inetha-htaung who was the administrator of the Ahle-chaung region led many followers to carry out a raid on the base where British soldiers were camping.

According to interviewing with key informants, the British government finally asked for the compensation for his action. A Christian Priest called Father Paulo Mana brought about reconciliation with the British by giving his own 500 British coins to them as compensation. As for 50 rifles, which was also included in the compensation the British government had asked for, had to be supplied by Thine-ka-la alias Maung Kyaw who was a village leader, after trying to collect them with difficulty.

After that, the British government appointed Maung Kyaw as the administrator, and the village where he lived became known as Maung Kyaw village. But the British practiced 'divide and rule policy' against the colony, in 1895-96, incorporated Yado and Bawgahtar region along with Ahle-chaung area which was the native of Ine-the-htaung into the districts of Yamethin and Toungoo (P. Mg Soe, 2004). Therefore, the Gekho's settlement which remained independent even after the second Anglo-Myanmar war was annexed after the third war, and then divided into two parts and incorporated into other territorial units.

Gekho's settlement aftermath of the colonial rule

Myanmar became independent in 1948. In 1952, in accordance with the plan to enlarge the Kayin State, Thandaung in the east of Toungoo district, Hline-bwe in the east of Thaton district, Pha-an township and Kau-ka-reik in the east of Kyeik-kha -mi and Kya-in township were incorporated into the Kayin state. This incorporation was ratified by the state in 1955, and on 17th Nov 1964, the Kayin State was officially recognized as Kaw-

thu-lay State. In this way, Thandaung region which formerly was one of the Gekho's settlements became an officially incorporated part of Kaw-thu-lay State (now Kayin State). Likewise, another part of the Gekho's in Yamethin district was also put into Mandalay Division (now Mandalay Region).

As a direct consequence of the 'divide and rule' policy of the British colonialists, in 1949, the Kayin insurgents under the name of KNDO (Karen National Defense Organization) waged an uprising campaign against the Myanmar government (Myanmar Encyclopedia, vol. I). There had been a long period of unrest in Kayin State, including Thandaung where the Gekho national have been living.

In 1988, when the Myanmar Tamadaw assumed the State power, and due to the cease-fire agreement, many armed forces have stopped fighting since 1994. This led to the establishment of Special Peace Region such as Thandaung Special Peace Region, Kayah Special Peace Region and Wa Special Peace Region, etc. After having the cease-fire agreement, the settlement of the Gekho including the study area, has become part of the Kayah Special Region (2). Now, the study area is under the Kayan New Land Paty which had been cease-fired.

According to the constitution of 2008, when Regions, States and Autonomous territories are clearly recognized, the settlement of the Gekho is contained in Nay-pyi-taw area of Mandalay Region and Kayin State; seven village tracts on the eastern part of the mountain area of Nay-pyi-taw (Pyin-ma-nar), eight village tracts in Nay-pyi-taw (Le-wei) and 14 village tracts in Thandaung of Kayin State. As of 2014, the population of the Gekho is 19,352 in Nay-pyi-taw, 19,391 in Kayin State, and 944 in Kayah State.

History of the study area

There are altogether seven wards and 31 village tracts in Lake-tho sub-townships, Thandaung township of Kayin State. The population is 38,654 in Leiktho sub-township. Among those 31 village tracts, the Gekhos are now living in 14 of them, the names being; Koe-dic, Ngwe-taung, Yado-kalay-hta, Kalay-kho, Taung Chaung, Maung Kyaw, Maung Palot, Kyay-ka-tot, Da-roe, Nget-pyaw-taw, Shwe-nan-gyi, Kyay-min, The-pyaw and Taw-pone.

Among these 14 village tracts, Maung Kyaw village tract and Maung-Palot village tract are the places where there are only the Gekhos, and they are the most populated ones. In

former days, there was no village tract, but only a village. Later, due to increase of population and discord, some of them secluded themselves from the former group and founded villages, and these villages have now become a village tract. In Maung Kyaw village tract, there are altogether three villages: Maung Kyaw (upper), Maung Kyaw (middle) and Maung Kyaw (lower). In Maung Palot village tract also, there are three villages; Maung Palot (main), Maung Palot (new) and Kan-htay village.

It is learnt from the informants in interview that Maung Kyaw village was founded only after Maung Palot village. As has been described earlier, only after U Maung Kyaw became headman of the village, it got the name Maung Kyaw village which took place in 1895-96 when the British got to the Gekho's settlement and divided it into two parts. As Maung Kyaw village was the village of the negotiator U Maung Kyaw. Maung Kyaw (upper) village was also the place where the Gekho legendary hero Kaline-fari made his warfare practice. Today, there is a monument to him erected at a rocky place where he was supposed to have practiced.

It is also learnt that Maung Palot village was founded in 1886 by *Ine-lu-htan* which has only six families including his. When his son, *Ngaw-pa-law* became the village headman, the village was named after him as *Ngaw-palaw* village which later changed to *Maw-pa-law*, and today it is Maung Palot.

During that period, the Roman Catholic missionaries got to Maung Palot village which had become their headquarters since then, and began to spread around the Christian teachings around. So, it is their historic village for the Roman Catholics in Kayan region.

4.2 Geographical conditions and general characteristics

4.2.1 Geographical conditions

Location

The study area is the junction area of the northern part of Kayin State, the eastern part of Nay-pyi-taw and the southern part of Shan State. The border line is: the villages in the eastern part of Nay-pyi-taw in the north; La-khote mountain range that acts as the border line between Shan State and Kayin State in the north and northeast; Kyay-katot village tract in the west; and Thaukyekhat village tract in the South. This whole area is located between North Latitude 19°15' and 20°15'; and East Longitude; 96°25' and 97°18'. It is about 5000 feet above sea level.

Climate

Though it falls in tropical zone, being a mountain area, it has a cold climate, the coldest months being December and January and the hottest ones April and May. During these two coldest months, the temperature sometimes drops down to the freezing point. Generally, it has an average annual rainfall of over 200 inches.

Communication and transportation

Communication is very difficult. There is a road from Toungoo to Loikaw, passing through Toungoo – Leiktho – Yado – Sebu - Loikaw. But only the portion connecting Toungoo and Leiktho, and the portion between Sebu and Loikaw are good for traveling. The rest portion between Leiktho – Yado - Sebu is in very bad condition.

If one wants to travel to that area from Toungoo, one has to take the bus line plying regularly to and from Toungoo – Leiktho - Thaukyekhat or Toungoo – Leiktho - Kyay-katot. These two bus lines branch out at Bahone village, 48 miles far away from Toungoo. If one travels to the left side of Bahone, one can get to kyay-katot village tract, while to the right sides would lead to Thaukyekhat village tract. One can also get to Maung Kyaw (middle) from Kyay-katot on foot or by bicycle. If one takes the route leading southwards along the mountain path, one can get to Maung Kyaw (middle).

Though now there is a new road connecting from Kyay-katot to Maung kyaw - Maung Palot - Sebu, since the road is earth only, it can be used only in summer season because in rainy the season, the road gets ruined due to rain and it has to be repaired during the winter times. If one wants to travel from Loikaw, one has to take the bus line plying to and from Loikaw – Demoso - Sebu. Again from Sebu, one has to take the bus line running between Sebu-Yado-Thaukyekhat, where one has to go on foot until one gets to Maung kyaw (middle). If the new road is taken, one can get directly to kan-htay, Maung Palot (main) and Maung Kyaw (middle) from Sebu, but only in summer times.

The path connecting Maung Kyaw (middle) and Maung Kyaw (upper) is one and a half mile long and it is a mountain path. Though it is possible get there by motorcycle, as the mountain is very high, it is very dangerous. The path leading from Maung Kyaw (middle) to Maung Kyaw (lower) is two and a half miles long, and it descends steeply. So, one has to travel on foot. There is an earthen road where one can use a car or bicycle to get to Maung Palot (main) from Maung Kyaw (middle). This path is about five miles long.

When this path is not available, one has to travel only on foot. One can only go to Maung Palot (new) from Maung Palot (main) on foot and it is about three miles apart. If one travels from Maung Palot (main) to Kan-htay village on foot, one has to walk four miles. There is a path on which a car or motorcycle can be used in summer only, but since it goes around the whole mountain range, it is quite far.

Flora and fauna

As their native land is densely wooded area dotted with valleys, it is inhabited by many kinds of wild animals and rare species such as tiger, bear, barking deer, wild boar, boa constrictor, pangolin, turtle, etc. The woods being on the mountain, there are many kinds of valuable woods, and a great variety of bamboo species. Many species of orchids are also found on big the trees throughout the area.

4.2.2 General characteristics

Appearance and mode of dress

The skin color of male and female is brown or dark brown. The body is stout and flat. The height of the male is average about five feet and four inches and female is round about five feet. They have square face with wide cheek-bones. And they have black eyes and black hair. The nose is flat. They have thick lips and full eyelids.

In olden days, the Gekho men usually wore short pants which were made of the stuff woven on back-strap looms. The hand woven stuff was mostly of white color or cloths bearing green and red stripes. The shirt is colorless short-sleeved, open front tied with three strings. In those days, all of them wore long hair done in big top-knots and turbans. They do not keep long hair anymore today. Nowadays, they mostly wear 'Shan' pants of black color and white shirts on festive occasions. Daily normal dressing is like that of Myanmar man.

Formerly, women wore jackets buttoned down the front, usually of white or black color, over which a white or black smock-like garment was worn. The stuff of that garment was the one woven on backs- trap looms and it was embroidered with pictures such as sun, moon or human palm sewn in threads of various colors. The nether garment was also made of stuff with horizontal red lines in the middle against the background color black. Today, this costume was their traditional formal dress on festive occasions. They keep long hair and wear it tied in a knot at the back of their head. Then, they tied head with a

square white scarf woven on their loom. Today, their daily usual dress is like that of Myanmar women and they wear their hair short or long.

Village plan and housing pattern

Their villages are all located on the slopes of mountain ranges and there the descendants of the same lineage or family line together in groups. Some villages describe their descendents of lineage inscribing on stone pillars. The houses have steep roofs with only one main entrance each. The body of the house is usually made of giant-bamboo and its roof toddy-palm leaves or thatch. Some well-to-do persons build their houses with wood and the roof is usually corrugated iron sheets. Most of the people use giant bamboo for roofing by dividing two parts, placing one with its face downwards and the next one upwards and so on. The ladder of the house is kept unfixed and when all family members are out, it is put upon the floor of the house.

Language and literature

The Gekho language belongs to the language group of Karen which is included in the Tibeto-Myanmar group. Gordon Luce has suggested that despite the conventional identification of language as being Tibeto-Burman (Myanmar), they may be more closely related to Thai languages (Luce 1959). According to the writing of Charles F. Keyes (1979) in "Ethnic Adaptation and Identity; The Karen on the Thai Frontier with Burma", R.B. Jones, another student of Karen languages, accepts the same theoretical position as that taken by Professor Luce. He found out the greatest number of distinct dialect groups which differ widely from each other in Southern Shan State.

Dialectical differences can be found between different areas. The words of Gekho show a little resemblance to that of the Padaung and Yinbaw. As for the villages that are quite away from them, they differ a little bit in intonation and accent. Although the intonation and emphatic accent are not similar they can understand each other well when they converse.

In 1851, a Roman Catholic Father, Fr. Paolo Manna, got to the village today named Maung Palot. He brought with him the alphabets of Geba language, which had been invented some time before, and later beginning from 1897, taught these to the Kayan national including the Gekho (P. Maung Soe, 2004). After founding Kayan literature and Culture Association on 10th April 2000, Kayan literature was taught to the Kayan

nationals for three years consecutively in Phe-khon, Southern Shan State. Since then, classes have been opened for several times to teach that language to the new comers.

Religious belief

In former times, they were animists. But since the times the Christian missionaries were there, they all became Christians. They have been converted to Roman Catholic by the preaching of Fr. Bifi, Fr. Tonal Torrel, Fr. Carton and Fr. Toneret Conti. Fr. Bifi was the very first one to get there and he did missionary works with the support of the Catholic headquarters in Toungoo, since 1870. Only after some time, Other Fathers joined him to help with missionary affairs. Due to these Fathers' endeavor, a lot of Gekho national became Christians between the years 1873 and 1876 (P. Maung Soe, 2004). Thus, there is a shrine in each of their houses where the statues of Jesus Christ and Mother Mary are kept.

It is strange that they still believe in guardian spirits of forest and mountain although they converted to Christians. Even today, the animal they caught in the forest is killed and cut outside the village and some bits of animal's organs wrapped in leave in a bamboo grove or tree are left. And they also believe that there are being guardian spirits in each human and each house.

Health and education

Under the rural health centre of Kyay-katot village which was opened in January 2006, there were sub-centre at adjacent villages including Maung Kyaw and Maung Palot village tracts. Three health workers were appointed at the main centre. The most frequently disease in the study area is malaria. Food, utensils, and their hands are not properly washed due to the scarcity of water. Domestic animals are allowed to wonder freely. The villagers have no adequate toilet system and weakness in personal hygiene. These factors lead to outbreak of infectious diseases.

There is no State-High-School and State-Middle-School in the study area, only primary school in each village. The children spend most of the time in *taung-ya* and other routine works in the household. They do not go to school regularly. Some children are adopted by the priests and send them for their education to Taungyi (Shan State) and Loikaw (Kayah State).

4.3 Socio-economic life

4.3.1 Social life

Family and kinship

It is learned that family plays the main role in their society. They practice monogamy. The father is the head of the family and has the greatest authority. All the social duties as well as problems are undertaken by family members hand to hand. If the father dies, the eldest son takes on the responsibility of the family. When both parents are dead, then an uncle from the father's side takes in charge of the family. Although the eldest brother has got married, they do not any longer live in the parent's house. The second son gets marriage one, the eldest son may leave his parent's house. But the youngest son's family is a notable exception, because he has a chance to remain with his parents in the same house. So, the extended family system is being practiced in their society.

According to the interview with local elders, the kinship systems of the Gekho national are kinship by blood, kinship by marriage, and kinship by adoption. Kinship by blood is through the paternal side which is patrilineal descent and not matrilineal. When the daughters marry, they have to stay with the husband's side and the children born become the father's clan. They can count back up to ten generations and the number of relatives on the father's side. A family with no children of their own usually adopts a child from other family which is undertaken by informing the elders of the village whom they treat with a meal on such an occasion. The adopted child have the same privilege with those of own child. There are three clan groups in Gekho national; Yu-thaung, Muhte-tha-hkaung, and thaw-lahae.

Engagement and marriage

It is found that they have the tradition of using a go-between to succeed the process of engagement easily. The fee for that person is not fixed; they can pay him or her just the affordable amount. Due to the endeavor of the go-between, if an agreement on engagement has been achieved, the man's side must give a certain amount of money or something made of gold or silver to the young woman's parents as advance. Affluent parents of the prospective bridegroom must give the amount of money they are asked to pay without bargaining at all. Thus the two young lovers become the prospective bride and bridegroom.

There is still one thing at this stage the man's parents have to do. It is another certain amount of money to be paid to the bride's parents under a special heading called "the expense for the mother-milk" which actually is a kind of compensation because the woman must be transferred to her husband's house after wedding and hence there will be a shortage of labor in the woman's former household. Likewise, a certain amount of money must also be given to the bride's relatives as an act of paying respect which in reality is to have intimacy with them.

According to the interviews, this giving and receiving of the money for engagement is done in front of the elders of the village. After agreement, if one side fails to comply with the former agreement, these two parties must give a compensation for which the amount is decided by the elders. During the time of discussion for engagement, the couple to get married is also reminded by the elders that the one who wants divorce must give a certain amount of money fixed by them as compensation to the other. Some still marry according to the traditional ways but some as Christians have their wedding ceremony. There are also some who do both the traditional as well as the Church ceremony.

With regard to traditional wedding ceremony, it is held at the bride's house where all the relatives, villagers and friends from neighboring villages are also present. The guests are all treated with several foods and drinks, depending on the financial status of the bridegroom's family. The guests gathered at the bride's house are usually treated with breakfast and a kind of intoxicating brew named "*Khaung-ye*" (*teekyan* in Gekho). The bride and the bridegroom have to sit together in front of the audience and drink auspicious "*Khaung-ye*". In some cases, after that, in accordance with the agreement made on engagement day, the bride-price and the money for "the expense for the mother-milk" have to be given to the bride's parents in front of the guests. The elders who make speeches to teach the young ones for their future.

Confinement and naming

In Gekho community, it has been a long traditional practice for them to build a special place for pregnant women whose due date is near. There is a fire-place in it, and household utensils are also kept for her separately. Husband himself has to act as a midwife to help her to deliver the baby. The umbilical cord is cut with a sharp strip of bamboo. It is cleaned with hot water and put in a bamboo tube which is hung on a high tree. Some bury it in the ground under the stairs. A woman in confinement is usually

given only rice gruel for three days. After that, within next four days, rice gruel made with chicken is given to her. Only after this period, she is allowed to eat fruits.

Usually, one month later, naming ceremony follows on which occasion the elders of the village, friends and children are all invited and treated with special dishes accompanied by 'Khaung-ye'. In choosing the name for the baby, grandparents usually take their names with the belief that by so doing the baby also will have a long life like them. Some choose the name of a healthy old person with that reason. The Gekho national put a prefix to their children's names to know the serial order of birth.

Funeral custom

In Gekho community, when a person dies, the traditional rites and Christian rites are mixed together. They believe that the dead one will be well greeted and welcomed in the next existence only when he or she had a chicken for the formerly dead ones to give as a present, and so, on such an occasion, a chicken is always killed. The dead body is kept for two days or seven days before burying it. In accordance with their traditional custom, a dead body is never cremated, but buried. In olden times, the funeral was always accompanied by music and dance and it was very popular among them. But now this tradition has almost disappeared. Nowadays, one can see young men in their own village as well as from nearby ones singing songs with music that plays dolorous notes, by turns. This signing takes place until the last evening before the dead body is buried the next day. Every year, the Gekho national do meritorious deeds dedicating to the dedicating to the deceased ones during the Myanmar month of *Pyatho*. But the missionaries have fixed the date for these deeds to done on 2nd November, in every year.

4.3.2 Economic life

Cultivation

Due to their settlement is hilly wooded region, they have to do shifting *Taung-ya* cultivation. The Gekhos have to depend on natural rain water, so that they can only use traditional methods. Vegetables such as gourd, maize, pumpkin, and cucumber are planted with paddy in *Taung-ya*. Cardamom is planted on the slope of the hill and chilly is in the farm for commercial scale. After the harvest time, the plot is abandoned and another area is slashed and burned. Sometimes, they got to a distant place from the village, only returning to the first site after eight years or so.

Animal husbandry

The Gekho national rear animals to consume in own family, to sacrifice the guardian spirits and to feed people on festive occasions. It is not breed for commercial scale. If they have extra animals, they barter for things they need for family. Dogs are reared for guarding the house as well as and hunting. Buffaloes are to use on *Taung-ya* works.

Fishing

In study area, fishing is usually done in the stream in summer. They use fishing rod, and a net which is called '*zan*' in their language, scoop net, two-pronged spear, poison called '*hone*'. Cast net is not used. Fish-trap made of bamboo is used only in rainy season. Main poison out of a creeper called '*hone*' is by ripping the cover of its roots and pounding them with something hard. These crushed roots are put somewhere upstream from the place chosen to do the fishing. The terrible smell of the crushed roots make the fish get dizzy and afterwards senseless which cause them to appear on the surface of the water. Too much '*hone*' can make the fish die instantly. The floating bodies of the fish are collected with a net '*zan*'. Some of the dead fish which are more than they need for the meal are left in the sun to be dry to make dried fish while some of them are kept as fish preserve. Mostly, there are not too much fish left after cooking for the meal.

Hunting

Hunting in groups of four or five and alone is done anytime in all seasons. But the whole village altogether to hunt in group is in late summer. They usually use a kind of trap with a loop of a rope which is kept on the way, tied to a tree or a pole, frequented by animals. Depending on the size of the kind of animal they wish to catch, the loop is appropriately adjusted. Only after a reasonable length of time, they go back to the trap to check if the game has been caught. By using this kind of trap, they catch deer, fowls, pheasants, squirrels, mice, porcupines etc.

Another kind of trap they use is a big hole in the ground where pointed bamboo rods of various sizes are set up. The hole is covered with giant bamboo strips on which are kept leaves and sand to deceive the game. In hunting with dogs, one of them must first blow a pipe made from buffalo horn to induce the dogs to bark. When the game comes out of the hiding place, marksmen have got the chance to shoot while the rests of the hunting group are just beaters.

The way they distribute the game after hunting is: the head goes to the headman of the village; and the owner of the dogs get the nape. The first effective shooter has got the right to possess the thighs and the tail. After giving the four legs to the second effective shooter, all others are entitled to make a snatch at whatever is left. In giving the head to the headman, it is never given as raw meat; it is cooked at the house of the first shooter before giving the curry.

Handicrafts

After the harvest, the Gekhos make a variety of handicraft mostly for daily use at home. As there is an abundant supply of bamboo all around, they have had artistic skills in weaving baskets of various sizes, baskets with slings, mats etc., Other items made of bamboo and dried gourd are flute, a traditional musical instrument named '*Than-da-rone*' and others which can even imitate the tunes of the modern instruments of a band. They also possess a remarkable talent for craft of blacksmithing. The products of their villages by this craftsmanship are grubbing hoe, chopping hoe, mattock, sword, lance etc.

It can be concluded that cultural context of Gekho national in the study area that their habitant is situated in remote part and they have remained intact without assimilation with outside cultures because of political instability, the most important factors for developing one country or a group such as transportation facilities, standard of education and health, and communication services are out of level, they have been grasping the majority of their customs and traditions although some are discarded after converting, and livelihood strategies based on traditional knowledge are still using.

CHAPTER (V)

FOLKLORE ON SOCIALIZATION:

FROM INFANCY TO CHILDHOOD

The findings of folklore on socialization in Gekho national are divided into three main parts: (1) Folklore on Socialization: From Infancy to Childhood, (2) Folklore on Socialization: From Childhood to Adolescence, and (3) Folklore on Socialization: From Adolescence to Adulthood. This chapter presents “Folklore on Socialization: From Infancy to Childhood” including eight sections.

5.1 Caring an infant

An infant is the very young offspring of a human or animal. When applied to humans, the term is usually considered synonymous with baby, but the latter is commonly applied to the young of any animal. When a human child learns to walk, the term toddler may be used instead. In Gekho language, an infant is called ‘pho-ger’ and a toddler is ‘pho-kara’.

In Gekho community, an extended room for a woman in confinement is built with a separate kitchen. She is also not allowed to use the household utensils that are daily used by other family members. Husband himself has to help her to deliver the baby. Thus, he has to be watchful when the due date comes near, he has to stay at home as much as possible without going on journey and fetch water to be used during the time of confinement in bamboo tubes.

If the husband is still at work on the farm and not able to be present when the woman is about to give birth or if he is dead at that time, an elderly woman with most experience of giving birth to babies usually takes care of the case. There is no traditional birth attendant in the village. When the baby has been successfully delivered, the mother has to wash the elderly woman’s hands with water of *pasakyaut* (soap acacia – ၵၵၵၵ). There is no fixed rate to the amount of money to be given in gratitude. Only when the confinement period is over the mother gives her some money with a chicken.

One 60-year old man from Maung-Palot (main) told about that tradition like this:

“When we were young, we had to build a separate hut in confinement. But now, only an extended room is made for her. Until the baby attained the age of one

month, any other person except the parents were not allowed to carry the baby with the belief that the touching by a stranger might make the baby ill. Moreover, no visitor was allowed to enter the confinement room because there was the belief that the presence of a stranger might delay in the process of withering and dropping off of the baby's umbilical cords".

A native school teacher also said as follows regarding the preparation work of a husband whose wife is going to give birth to a child:

"Before giving birth to the child I fetched water ready for my wife and the baby to be used in taking bath. As the woman in confinement must use her own utensils during that period, except the pots for cooking rice and curry, others utensils are made of giant bamboo called 'wha mein' (Dendrocalamus giganteus - ဝါးစုံဝါး).

Regarding the custom of confinement, one 34-year old mother of four children said as follow:

"Some women are very shy. Say for instance, when I gave birth to my first baby, I did not allow my husband to enter my room. Only after the baby was delivered, he could come in to cut off the umbilical cord with bamboo's outer cover".

They use to cut the umbilical cord of a baby with the thick outer cover of a bamboo called 'wha-thaung' (Dendrocalamus brandisii - ကြေးသောင့်ဝါး). If it is still fresh and green, they made dry by fire before using. If it is a dry one, it is used readily without doing anything to it. They believe that metal instruments are harmful for the child's health. After the umbilical cord is cut off, the stump is bound with a cotton string tightly. In former days, a chicken was killed just before the umbilical cord was cut off, and after cutting, the mother and the baby, had to take bath with the hot water in which the chicken blood was dissolved. It was called "bathing with chicken blood". But at that time this custom is no longer practiced.

With regard to this, one mother of eight children said;

"I have still observing the custom of "bathing with chicken blood". If my husband was not free, I, myself had to kill the chicken."

One 30-year old father explained in this way:

“I myself helped my wife delivered the two children. I cut the umbilical cord off with bamboo. I did not use any other bamboo than the kind called “wha-thaung”, because it’s outer cover is hard and never eaten by moths, moreover it is easily available”.

After cutting the umbilical cord off, it is washed by hot water and kept in bamboo tube before it is tightly closed. Some bury it in the ground while others prefer to hang it on a tree. The reason for burying in the ground is to be hard and strong like the earth and to get a long life. The ones who hang the umbilical cord on a tree assume that it will make the child powerful and glorious, and hence have a high standard of living.

They also believe that if ants and insects eat the umbilical cord, it will make the baby ill. When the baby ill they take it out from time to time to check if it is free from those insects, and wash it with hot water before keeping it back at former place. So, they keep this umbilical cord just underneath the floor of their house, buried in the ground or placed on a tree, just inside the compound of the house.

A mother of twins who is the wife of a preacher said about her experience in this way:

“I had twins both female. So I put their umbilical cords in two separate bamboo tubes and hang them on a tree, so that I won’t get twins next time.”

If the time of the child’s birth is day time, both mother and child take bath after two or three hours. If the birth time is night time, the child only is given bath. The water is not just warm; it is a little hot. In giving bath to the child, to make it thoroughly clean, grinding the leave of *pasakyaut* (soap acacia – ၵၢၼ်းပိတ်) is crushed and rubbed all over the body. While giving bath to the child, its head form is appropriately changed by using a cloth soaked in hot water. Both mother and child take bath from three to five times a day. Some mothers take bath even seven times a day. The reason for taking bath so many times a day is found to be based on their belief that a child can be free from danger and cultivation will be productive only when a mother is clean.

Regarding taking bath, one 30-year old mother said as follows:

“I took bath seven times a day for one month, just like I had been taking bath the whole day (laughing). I patted my baby on the neck with hot water and I saw that its neck was red. I think that’s why they all are healthy”.

Until the baby has attained the age of three days, the mother has to take only boiled rice as meal. Only after three days, boiled rice is prepared with chicken. When the baby is seven days old, the mother can take vegetables. The baby is breastfed colostrums (*nawsheu*) just after it is delivered. When there is no milk from the breast, the baby is given water that has been boiled and kept to be cold. There is no special traditional treatment such as feeding the mother some special food when there is no milk from her breasts.

When the baby is three days old, the mother has to take a special heat treatment daily for one month. It is called '*hot rock treatment*'. The way they perform the treatment is in first, lime rocks have to be heated by fire and when they become red, they are put into a bamboo tube. The woman has to sit on her haunches keeping the heated rocks under her. They believe that the vapour exuded from the rocks can heal all the internal wounds. The treatment has to be continued for one month, once a day, mostly in the morning, until the wounds are healed.

One 41-year old mother explained about this treatment in this way:

"If the baby is the first-born one, we have to strictly observe the customs and more time has to be provided for the heat treatment. It takes more than thirty minutes to take this treatment one time: After that, we take bath with hot water. This treatment can heal all the internal wounds well".

The bamboo tubes that were used during the time of confinement are not discarded without discipline; they had to be kept at a fixed place by the husband himself because there is a belief that if someone, a stranger, happens to touch those bamboo tubes, he is likely to meet misfortune very soon.

Regarding the death of children and mothers during confinement period, one 39-year old mother of five children said that:

"Most of the first-born babies die during confinement period because we have no experience; our husbands also don't know how to manage it. In my case, I gave birth to seven children and two died, first child during confinement period, the other because of polio when he was three years old".

One 44-year old woman told about her own experience:

"I gave birth to altogether (12) children, five of them died and three just after deliverance. Hospital and clinic are far away from here. We relied only on our traditional methods, but I think my husband was not skillful".

A priest from Maung Palot (main) made a remark about the death of mothers and children during confinement period:

"Christianity got to this village over 100 years ago. Unnecessary superstitious beliefs had to be wiped out for many years; for instance, when a mother died during confinement period, the child was also killed to be buried with the mother. But now this custom has vanished".

One 40-year old village leader answered like this:

"During the times of our ancestors, when a baby was born abnormality, it was immediately killed and secretly thrown away. They were anxious about being accused by others that they had been hit by "Ge"¹ but this custom is no longer observed. Now we have abnormal children".

While a woman dies in her confinement period, her womb is not cut open to allow a baby to be born. They consider that the baby in womb is already dead like its mother. When a woman dies in her confinement period, the villagers avoid going to that house because they believe the family of the one who visits these will have to suffer misfortune. When the corpse is taken to cemetery, the aged-old men who are still strong enough to carry the coffin have to carry it, and in taking the coffin out of the house, the front door ladder must not be used. So the coffin has to be taken out of the house's back part wall where a big hole large enough for the coffin to go through is made. After funeral ceremony, the old men who have carried the coffin are given a chicken and one thousand *kyats* each. If a baby dies before it attains the age of one month, the corpse is not taken to the cemetery; it is wrapped up with a blanket and buried in the ground somewhere in the wood, far away from the village, in its west.

¹ Hit by a 'Ge' is an expression in their language, and it will be dealt fully later in coming chapter. If there has been no children after years of marriage, the couple is said to have been hit by a "Ge" also.

5.2 The taboos on pregnancy and delivery

A Gekho pregnant woman must abstain eating the meat of a snake; if she happens to eat it, she will deliver a child who will often thrust out the tongue just like a snake, suffering infantile ailments. Likewise, the meat of a monkey can make the baby a playful one. At a wedding reception, no two pregnant women must sit together and eat. If they happen to do so, one has to give some money to the other and in return, the other has to give back a nail. The reason for giving money is to make one plentiful and that for giving nail is to make one clean. A pregnant woman must not take part in a funeral ceremony even if it is a one for her husband or relative. Otherwise, she will be endangered by evil spirits.

A husband of a pregnant woman must not dig a hole in the ground until she has delivered the baby. Another taboo for him is that he must abstain from eating boiled ground nut and the food from a house where there is a funeral case. If he breaks the taboo, there will be misfortune for the coming baby. The taboo for the husband of the woman in confinement period is that he must not visit any house, go to the farming site and take part in hunting trip, until the baby has attained the age of one month. If he breaches this taboo, the house he has paid a visit will be unlucky in money matters, the cultivation business will suffer loss and the hunting groups will be not successful.

During the time the pregnant woman is waiting to deliver the baby, any other person except her husband or the one who is going to attend to her must not enter the room. Until the confinement period ends, no visitor who is a friend or a strange is allowed to enter the house. If there is a visitor in the house, they believe that the withering and dropping off process of the baby's umbilical cord will be delayed. Only after the umbilical cord has dropped off, elderly persons can only pay visits to the house.

In fetching water for the woman in confinement period, the place of water that is used by all others cannot be used; there is a special place for her marked by fences made of thin bamboo strips. Nowadays, as they manage to get water from mountain torrent through pipes, the water tap at the lowest part is usually designated as the one for woman in confinement period. The woman in confinement period must drink the water specially fetched for her and use only the household utensils specially provided for her. She must not sit and eat together with other family members because she is believed to have the low mystic power at that time. Moreover, others think that she is not clean at that time.

Only after the baby has attained the age of one month, she let to join other members of the family in eating meals.

5.3 The ritual of “*Rone Shwii*”

In the study areas, there are important rituals and community activities concerned with social sector. The research found that they usually hold a ceremony called “*Rone Shwii*” after the umbilical cord has dropped off. In their language, the ‘rone’ means ‘give’ and ‘shwii’ means ‘water’. So ‘*Rone Shwii*’ means ‘giving water’ which carries the meaning ‘cleaning by washing with water’. The date of the ceremony is customarily chosen to be an odd number (for instance, 3rd, 5th, 7th, 9th etc) because they have belief that only these odd-number dates are lucky days.

When the confinement period ends, both mother and baby take bath, and the baby is put in a cradle. Then the mother has to wash all the heads of her family members and also the head of the birth attendant, an old woman who has taken care of her delivering, instead of her husband. Moreover, the birth attendant is given a chicken and some money also. The traditional shampoo that is used for washing heads is the water solution in which grinding the leave of *pasakyaut* (soap acacia – ႁႃႆႆႆ) is dissolved. In the cup of that soap acacia solutions, some pieces of gold, silver and coins are also put if they are available.

To this ‘*Rone Shwii*’ ceremony, only the elderly members of the village are invited. If the host can afford, these elderly persons are treated with chicken and pork curries with cooked rice, and in return, they pray for the health and wealth of the baby in grown-up days. Some give money or presents to the child. But they are not allowed to touch the baby until it has attained the age of one month no one except the parents can touch it. If someone has touched it, it will bring misfortune to the baby. The meal that is given to the elderly persons on that day is not given to any young children because as it is a meal just for the old people. If children take it, they will surely have a poor eye-sight before grown up.

In former days, when the umbilical cord dropped off, a date was chosen for piercing holes in the ear-lobes. But now they no longer choose a special date for it; the mother just pierces holes in the baby’s ear-lobes after heating the needle, when she has free time to do so.

One 50-year old woman of Maung-Kyaw (Lower) said:

“At the end of the confinement period, I pierced holes in my baby’s ear-lobes, while showing the visitors the baby and feeding them. In those days, the baby was just wrapped up with a piece of blanket, but nowadays, it is first dressed and then only wrapped up with a piece of cloth”.

One 55-year old woman also said:

“I pierced holes in my babies’ ear-lobes whether they were males or females. But now it has changed, and we only pierce holds in the girls.

5.4 Naming custom

When a baby is one month old, naming ceremony follows on which occasion the elders of the village, friends and children are all invited and treated with special dishes accompanied by ‘teekyran’ (ခေါင်ရှည်). In choosing the name for the baby, grandparents usually take their names with the belief that by so doing the baby also will have a long life like them. Some choose the name of a healthy old person with that reason, yet some choose their clan names. As they are catholic’s, there are also religious names for them. If there is a priest in the village, he chooses the names for the babies. If there is no priest in it, the preacher has to act on his behalf.

With regard to the naming custom, they put a prefix to their children’s names to know the serial order of birth. The followings are the titles prefixed to the names of males and females;

Table 1. Prefixed names of the males

Male		
Serial order	Prefix name	Meaning
• 1 st	• Ine	• Owl
• 2 nd	• Ngein	• Cat
• 3 rd	• Than	• Tiger
• 4 th	• Thine	• Crocodile
• 5 th	• Ngaw	• Thunder

• 6 th	• Law	• Storm
• 7 th	• Kya	• Full-grown elephant
• 8 th	• Pi	• Elephant
• 9 th	• Paw	• Wind

Though there are embedded meaning in prefix names of male, there are no such meaning for female.

Table 2. Prefixed names of the females

Female		
Seniority	Prefix name	Meaning
• 1 st	• Mu	• -
• 2 nd	• Eii	• -
• 3 rd	• Pine	• -
• 4 th	• La	• -
• 5 th	• Ou	• -
• 6 th	• Ohn	• -
• 7 th	• Ei	• -
• 8 th	• Lu	• -
• 9 th	• Lar	• -

There is also a custom to address a boy with prefix name combined with religious name. For instance, if the prefix name is “Ine” and religious name “Bosco”, he is called “Ine Bosco”. Some call a boy with prefix name combined with the clan name. For instance if one’s prefix name is “Ngein” and his clan name is ‘Kaphu’, he is called ‘Ngein Kaphu’. Likewise, some use the Myanmar name combined with the prefix one like ‘Pine Khin Khin Win’, “Ngaw Hla Win”, etc.

The name of the Gekho national leader who fought against the Japanese fascists is Thine Ba Han. He is the fourth son of the family, so his prefix name is “Thine” and Ba Han is the name of a bird, it is not the Myanmar name. This means the most beautiful, most noble and most powerful. Though the prefix names are combined with religious names and other own names to address a man, these names are not addressed completely in calling a person, for instance, if the one’s name is “Ine Bosco”, some call him as “Ine” or “Bosco”. Some put “Ah” just before the prefix name in calling a person like “Ah Thine”, ‘Ah Than’, ‘Ah Mu’, “Ah Ei”, like this. If the baby often gets ill, they consider it that the baby’s name is the prime cause and choose a new name by giving a new taken gift.

5.5 The Gekho family and the early childhood

After the child has attained the age of one month, the father can go to the farm and take part in the hunting party. He can now also pay visits to other houses. Though the mother cannot go to the cultivation site, she can now take care of the domestic animals they have tired by feeding, and also attend to other household duties. To be able to look after the child while cooking, the cradle is kept in the kitchen. The cradle is made of wood or bamboo, and she never stays away from the child. One or the other person of the family is always near the child to attend to it.

Though the baby has been breastfed for one whole month, after that period, it is given boiled rice as food. Boiled rice is prepared thick and mixed with salt and sugar to be tasty. If available, a soup made of a meat is also added to it. If there is no enough milk from the mother’s breasts, the child is fed with a liquid made by boiling the surplus water that is drained off while rice is being cooked, together with sugar. There is no traditional method to make the mother’s breasts produce plenty of milk.

The baby is daily given bath with warm water for one month. But after that period, it is not given a bath properly. Its face is washed with water when mother is not busy. There is also no toilet training for the child. The mother cleans the baby and the clothes only when it has defecated. The child defecates on the floor of the house until it has become a toddler or attained the age when it begins to walk. As a dog is near the child, the excrement of the baby is the food for it. Only when the child is able to walk, it goes to the toilet to defecate.

Some mothers go to the farm when the child becomes a toddler, while others attend to cultivation duties when their children have learnt how to sit properly.

One 20-year old mother of three children from Kan-htay said about it like this:

“As there is no any other person to look after the baby at home, once it can be carried, it is taken to the farm and kept near it, asking the elder ones to watch”.

But one 30-year old mother of three children said:

“Once the child is able to sit, I have to go to the farm as I have to reap the crops. While I am at work, grandfather looks after the child, feeding it with snacks and ‘teekyran’ instead of my breast milk”.

If the child is carried to the farming site, and if there is a bridge to be crossed to get there, a rope is tied at both ends of the bridge before crossing with the child. It is meant to transport the soul of the child through the rope to the other side of the bridge. Otherwise, they believe that the child’s souls will be left at the first end of the bridge

If there are grandparents at home while mother is away at work the child is left with them. As it is now a toddler, it is fed with soft rice mixed with *sue* or *nwe*. *Sue* is the rootstock of taro plant (ဝိနဲး၌) and *nwe* is the white yam (ချော့ကံ၌). But some feed just the cooked rice other people are eating, after chewing thoroughly. Among the six villages of the study area, three villages, Maung Kyaw (middle), Maung Palot (main) and Kan htay, have grocery shops, and so for the children of the rest three villages, it is impossible to buy snacks. These children have to be satisfied only with ‘teekyran’ that is easily available in the village.

While one 32-year old mother, who was carrying an eight-month old baby, was asked about feeding the ‘teekyran’ to the young children, she answered;

“I have fed my baby ‘teekyran’ since it has attained the age of six months. There is no ‘teekyran’ specially made for it. I just give it the ‘teekyran’ we all drink. Only thing I do is adding some more water, that’s all”.

One 20-year old father of a child also joined the conversation:

“Since ‘teekyran’ is made out of rice, it is highly nutritious. It can make the child healthy, isn’t it?”

The mother used to breastfeed her offspring as soon as she comes back from farm-work in evening. There is no habit of washing the breasts or squeezing them to get rid of some milk before breastfeeding. Only when the child has fallen asleep, she begins to prepare

for meal. If the child is still awake after breastfeeding it, some other members of the family have to take it somewhere in the village to spend the time, after wrapping it up with a blanket.

When a child has learnt how to walk, he or she is allowed to play as they like. But at the time the child knows how to walk, his or her mother is generally pregnant again. As their habitats are far away from civilized societies, it is not easy for those children to get modern toys. Thus, their parents or grandparents make toys made of bamboo, for example, bamboo guns for boys and bamboo cups for girls. Bamboo is the raw material for the toys while knife is a toy for them.

One 25-year old father remarked, looking at his son peeling a pomelo:

“As the time we began to learn how to work, we begin to use knife. Our parents have never forbidden it because knife is the most necessary thing for our way of live. A child becomes expert after experiencing accidents with knife”.

5.6 Lullabies

Mostly, the Gekho mothers soothe their babies to fall asleep. Only when she is away working on the farm grandparents take care of it.

Regarding this, a village leader from Maung kyaw (Lower) said:

“My children are mainly brought up by their grandparents. It was the same when I was young. So, grandparents know more about the lullabies and tales than us. When I myself become a grandfather one day, I will have to sing and tell like my grandfather.”

A grandfather from Maung Kyaw (middle) sings the following *lullaby* to his grand children:

*“My grandson is a bald
He has a small buttock
When he farts
It makes the sound”
Ah varin byone, Ah byone hyone*

When reciting the last two lines, he beats the child's buttock.

Some sooth the children as though they are frogs by singing the following song;

A frog with a wide mouth Dae- on

A frog with pointed buttock Dae- ee

A frog with a big belly Dae- pho

My grandson's buttock is naked

While reciting the last line, he beats the child's buttock.

If there is plenty of work in day time and still the child is not yet asleep, it is soothed with this song; when the child cries the some soothing song is also used.

"Go to sleep, go to sleep

if you don't sleep the sparrows will come and eat grain rice

A farmer has to work himself for his living"

Some use this by substituting the other names of the birds for the sparrow.

Sometimes, if the care-giver is sleepy, it is put on the legs or back and soothed by reciting the following words:

Kyauk-kaw ↓

Plautha ↓

rathon ↓

long-li ↓

pi-can ↓

klan-kaya

When asking the meanings of these words, it is replied that the words have been recited for a long time since ancestor's days, to soothe a child, but actually these words are meaningless; they just represent rhythmic sounds. This *lullaby* is generally sung just beside fire place.

The following *lullaby* is usually sung at bed-time.

Ein-tak-ke ↓

Ye-ta-ka-lone ↓

Don-htan-kh-me ↓

Pa-la-vaw ↓

Htaw-bu-ku ↓

Ru-hsi-kya ↓

Na-aye-lwe ↓

Ee-taw-haw ↓

Lan-plun-khu-plun-lan ↓

The meanings of words except '*Lan-plun-khu-plun-lan*' are meaningless like the former one. '*Lan-plun-khu-plun-lan*' means 'falling from the waterfall'. While reciting this, the child is put on the legs, and so at the recitation of this last line, the child is dropped suddenly to the floor, to make it feel as though it has fallen from the waterfall. By repeating the process many times, the child gets tired and falls asleep.

5.7 Manna for the child

If a child cries when it feels uncomfortable or sleepy, parents try to soothe it by singing the lullabies. But if the child screamingly cry and does not stop for a long time, they suspect that it has been possessed by some evil spirit, to get rid of that spirit rice grains are scattered all over the floor in the house.

When one 72-year old man from Maung Kyaw (upper) was asked to explain this, he answered;

"Rice has appeared since the beginning time of the sky and the earth: it is powerful enough to get rid of all evils; it can conquer diseases during evening twilight; it can control disease at midnight; rice has made man appear and survive. So I believe".

They also believe that if a child carries a claw of a tiger on its necklace, like an amulet, it can make the child safe and sound. They use to keep the honeycomb at the entrance of the house to drive away epidemic diseases and evil spirits. As there are many holes in a honeycomb, the disease and the evil spirits will be unable to decide through which hole that they must enter to get into the house, and thus finally retreat. If honey comb is not available, a bamboo strip is woven to get a hexagon-shaped plate with holes to be kept at the entrance of the house hanging. When the wind blows the bamboo shakes, and the evil

spirits will be unable to count the number of holes which can eventually make **them** retreat.

5.8 The rites of firstly meat-feeding

When the child can eat meat or teeth appear, they systematically prepare the firstly meat to feed the child. The firstly meat has to be prepared with the meat of a bird called “*Bahan*” (Bulbul – ငှက်ခွေတံ) which is believed to be noble, powerful and brave. They believe that if the child eats it, the child will possess the same qualities as the bird and becomes a leader. So the father tries to capture that bird himself or he asks someone to hunt it. Some parents prepare the firstly meat with the meat of a squirrel that is active in nature. So if the child eats it, he or she will become active also and will be able to attend to the cultivation job actively. In their language, squirrel is called ‘*yuit*’. Another animal for the firstly meat is a kind of a large squirrel called ‘*paline*’. They have a belief that the meat of this animal can make a child free from dangers.

One 40-year old father explained the firstly meat in this way:

“Actually ordinary people do not feed their children the meat of “Bahan”, which is the leader of all birds, only the authoritative and powerful persons feed it to their children. The priority is a male to be fed that meat”.

But a native school teacher explained it like this:

“Though a male is given first priority to be fed the meat of the lucky bird “Bahan”, the fish banded snake-head (ter-ei) and meat of barking deer (khit) which are believed to be unlucky things to eat are not given to both boys and girls”.

Both two are believed to be possessed by evil spirits and that is the reasons they do not prepare the firstly meat with that.

CHAPTER (VI)
FOLKLORE ON SOCIALIZATION:
FROM CHILDHOOD TO ADOLESCENCE

This chapter presents “Folklore on Socialization: From Childhood to Adolescence” including eight sections.

6.1 Language socialization

In Gekho community, the definition of the child is found to be a young person during the time he or she has learnt how to walk and play, properly to the time he or she becomes a teenager. In their dialect, a girl is called “*phaw-mu*” while a boy “*phaw-khu*”. In language socialization, the Gekho children are first taught how to address the names of parents, brothers, sisters and grandparents; and after that the things in their environments and the animals. But it is not a systematic teaching; they are taught just casually, while playing and eating.

One 25 year old mother from Maung Kyaw (lower) said:

“I have three children. As I am always busy, with farm work, I have no special time to teach them the language. Their elder ones teach them while minding them or playing together with them:

When asked in which language they teach the children, in Myanmar or Gekho, they answer:

“As we are kyans, we teach them in kayan language. They learn Myanmar only when they become students two years in school is enough for them to learn Myanmar and speak it properly”.

The story telling begins when a child understands well what the other members of the family are speaking.

6.2 Folktales

In Gekho language, story is “*ngaw-si-pa-re*”. The following story is about a king and a poor man arguing for the right to possess an elephant. See Box. 1

Box. 1 A King and a poor man arguing for the right to possess an elephant

Once upon a time, a king had a male elephant while a poor man had a female elephant. One day, when the female elephant gave birth to a baby elephant, the king said that it was his. The poor man argued that it was his because his female elephant had given birth to it. Finally, the king agreed to send for the wise rabbit to decide the case. The rabbit told the man who was sent by the king that he would come to the king, after carefully listening to the case. But the wise rabbit did not up until after two days though the king had been expecting. He got to the palace only on the third day and the king was angry with him.

King - Why didn't you turn up for two days?

Rabbit - On the first day when I was about to come here, the cock I have raised at home showed signs that it was about to lay egg. So I made preparations for it, but it did not lay any egg.

King - What about the next day?

Rabbit - Yes, on that day too, the male pig I have raised at home showed signs that it was about to give birth to a baby pig. So I had to make preparations and wait for it.

King - Don't try to tell lies; how can a male pig give birth.

Rabbit - That is the point I want. If a male pig can't give birth then how can your male elephant give birth?

Thus, the case was solved and the poor man got the right to possess the baby elephant.

There is another story which narrates the effect of spitting. See Box. 2

Box. 2 The ones that spoil the farm works

Once upon a time there was a young man whose girlfriend was a witch. As she always got to the place of appointment earlier than him, he became suspicious of her. So one day he tried to get there earlier than her and hid himself behind something to study her. At that time a kite appeared in the sky and it came down to the ground. Once the kite touched the ground, it changed into his girlfriend. But the witch found out that she had been watched and got angry with him. So she tied his body with creepers and left him alone on top of the mountain, telling him that she would come back with her relatives and torture him.

When she disappeared, he rolled himself down to the foot of the mountain where he found a wild boar. He told all about it and asked the animal to help him by digging a hole in the ground for him to hide. He promised the wild boar to feed it one day as being grateful. When he got into the hole, a jungle fowl and a pheasant came and he asked these animals also for help by covering the hold with leaves. He promised the fowl and the pheasant to give food when he worked on the farm.

Thus he was free from danger when the witch and her relatives came back because they could not find him. Finally after spitting three times by making the sounds *htwi, htwi, htwi*, they all went away. It so happened that the spitting made by the witch caused the young man to be free from the creepers tied to his body.

They believe that this story was the source of the daily experience on the form where wild boar, jungle fowl and pheasants came and feed on the crops the villagers have planted. Besides, they all still believe that wounded bulls can be cured by spitting with the sounds '*htwi, htwi, htwi*' because of that story. They said that if a certain animal has a name the wound can be cured by calling its name and spitting.

The following story tells about how fortune telling from chicken bones became a tradition of Kayan. See Box. 3

Box. 3 The story of chicken bone

One Myanmar king (some believe it was one of the Myanmar kings of Amarapura palace) wanted to give land to the Kayan nationals as he believed that they were good people. One day the king ordered several tribal groups to cook food with the meat he had given to them, as quickly as possible, and come to the palace to receive the land. But as the king wanted the Kayans to be able to come back faster than others after cooking the meat, he gave them some crabs and shrimps that can be cooked within a short time. The other tribal groups were given the meat of elephant and horse. When the kayan cooked the meat of crabs and shrimp, they found that the colours 'yellow' and 'red' were still there, even after a long time. So they thought that the meat was not well cooked because they took the colour red as the colour of fresh blood.

Thus, even after other tribal groups had got to the palace to receive land after cooking their meat, the Kayans were still at home, cooking. When they believed that the curry was well cooked, they began following the other groups through the forest to get to the king. But on the way, in the forest, they found the sprouts on the banana plants that seemed to be cut by the forerunners, and thought that the others had left for the palace long ago and they were much late. They returned home, leaving the idea of getting the land from the king.

After giving land to other groups, as the king did not find the Kayan group present in the palace, he drew a map on buffalo skin to describe the mark of the land for them. The messenger with the map got to a Kayan village and gave it to an old woman pounding rice with mortar. But when the old woman forgot to bring the map drawn on buffalo skin to the village elders and left where she got it, she returned to that place with her husband to search for the map. The map was already eaten by a dog. So they waited there until the time the dog defecated. Again, they were late. A chicken had eaten the excrement of the dog and they were unable to get the map out of it. This led finally to the killing of the chicken, in a way of trying to regain the map. Thus, they believe to be the cause of the long standing tradition of fortune telling from chicken bone.

The following story tells about the practice of offering to the spirit before fishing. See Box. 4

Box. 4 A grandmother and two grandchildren

About one century ago, there were a grandmother and her two grandchildren who lived in a village called “*ye-kan-pu-law*”. In those days, the villagers in neighboring villages which were altogether (41) in number, usually caught fish in the stream named “*ka-san-chaung*”, near that ‘*ye-kan-pu-law*’ village, using ‘poison’ which they called ‘*hone*’ which is poisonous creeper. One day, while the villagers were catching fish in this way, the place around the stream was alive with a teeming crowd and the two grandchildren insisted on paying visit to that place. But the grandmother denied. So the two young children stealthily, went there while their grandmother was preparing “*khaung-ye*”. When the villagers preparing “poison” to catch fish saw the two children, some of them said to them that they would ‘pound’ them just like the poisonous creeper. At first the children thought the men were just teasing them. But they really killed them by pounding.

The grandmother enquired about her grandchildren when she met the villagers who caught fish in the ‘*ka-san-chaung*’. They showed the two children’s little fingers to her which meant they were killed. When she knew the truth she got very angry and remarked “now you have really killed my grandchildren. Then she went to fetch water with her bamboo basket and washed her face with it. After that she caused with evil to the whole village, and all the villagers except the one who was in the forest at that time were swallowed up by a fissure that appeared in the earth. They all believe that there is a lake now at the place where the whole village was swallowed up.

Since that time, anyone who wants to catch fish in the stream has to offer the head of a chicken or a pig to its guardian spirits before catching. They all believe that otherwise it is not easy to get fish. These days, no young woman is allowed to go there when someone is preparing poison to catch fish at the stream. They still earnestly believe that it is a true story.

The following story tells about the origin of two small leeches. See Box. 5

Box. 5 The origin of two small leech-like creatures

In days of year, there was a man who did not know his wife was a witch. One day, the witch and a neighbor went on fishing. Though the neighbour but whatever she had caught, be it a fish or a crab or a shrimp, into the basket, the witch ate all what she got. At that time, the witch had a strong desire to eat the leg of her neighbour when she saw it in the water. But when she was about to eat it the neighbour pleaded with her not to eat and promised her to give all the creatures she had caught. But the witch was still very hungry even after eating all the creatures such as fish, crab, shrimp etc. The neighbour had caught. So the neighbour threw away a tuber of sin-done-ma-new (a kind of creeper) into the water saying 'this is the head', and ran back home.

Back at the village, she informed the witch's husband that his wife was truly a witch. She advised him to check by keeping the blood of a dog. She told him that the witch would surely lick the blood. When the husband killed a dog and kept the blood as he had been advised, he found out that his wife was truly a witch because she licked the blood with a craving for it. So he killed his wife by cutting her head which fell upon his knee and bit it. The husband had to plead with her not to bite and promised to give mango fruits.

Thus, the husband managed to get away from his wife by feeding her with mango fruits. But his wife the witch could track him down by looking at his footprints. So the man asked for help from the jungle fowl and the pleasant he met on the way, to wipe out all his footprints, and to tell his wife that they did not see him. But the fowl and the pleasant dared not tell lies because the witch threatened to kill them if she found out the truth. In the same way, the barking deer and the sandbur from whom he had asked for help, had to tell the truth as they were also threatened by the witch. Only a big bear, the last one from whom he had asked for help, could promise him that he would lie. When the witch found the bear and threatened firm as usual, the bear replied "if you will eat me if you find out the truth, now I am going to eat you. At the end of these words, the bear chewed her up until the whole body was completely crushed in the month. Then the bear spat out the bits from his mouth. The bits that fell on the earth turned into a small land leech and into a kind of leech that lives in water and sucks the blood from other creatures.

The following story tells about a dull grandson. See Box. 6

Box. 6 A grandmother's song of longing

Once in a village, there was an old woman who was a widow and a grandmother of a grandson. Her grandson was about four years old and had a catapult to throw pellets at birds. One day, the grandmother shouted to her grandson 'you have a catapult and why don't you kill a bird with it for our meal. The grandson threw a pellet at a bird which fell to the ground, but not dead. But thinking it was dead, he threw it to his grandmother by calling "Now, cook it, grandma". The bird flew away in the air. The grandmother taught him that if he killed a bird he had to crush it to death. The next day, when the boy found mushroom plants, he crushed them to pieces and brought home. The grandmother told him that mushroom should be taken with care. The next day, When the boy found a hornet (a black and yellow flying insect), he took it in bamboo tube and brought it home with care. When the bamboo tube was opened, the hornets came out and bit the old woman. So the grandmother had to teach him again that it was very dangerous and it had to be killed instantly. So the next day, when the boy found a monk wearing a yellow robe, he killed him instantly and informed his grandmother about it. His grandmother had to teach him again that it was a monk and he should ask for some snacks to give away in charity. The next day, when the boy found a tiger, seeing that there were yellow stripes on it, and thinking that it was a monk, he went to it and asked for a snack, paying obeisance. The tiger ate him. The grandmother waited for her grandson for seven days and when she found that he still did not turn up, she wept for a long time with a heavy heart that the tears rolled down just like a stream.

The following story is traditional belief on the yeast. See Box. 7

Box. 7 The story of the yeast

Once in a village, there was a grandmother who lived with her grandson. One day, the grandson went out for hunting in the forest, bringing with him bow, arrows and lance. Somewhere in the forest, he found a stream and as he was thirsty the thought of going there. But when he got near it, he saw many kinds of animals came and drank water from the stream, and then fought with one another until many of them were wounded. Eager to find out the taste of the water in the stream, he drank it for three times, each time finding it to be sweet.

He wanted to show this water to his grandmother and carried it in a bamboo tube. But on his way back home, he took a wrong route and got to the palace. The king became suspicious of him and he had to give the water from the bamboo tube to the king. The king and his attendants found the water wonderfully sweet and ordered him to show the way to the stream. When they got there, first they drank and then they invited guests from other countries to taste it. But later, all who drank the water became intoxicated and fought with one another until the whole place around the stream was covered with blood. The boy then took some sand under the water and tasted it and found that it was sweet. So he took some to his grandmother who tasted it and stirred it after mixing with grains of rice. Only when she wanted to drink it again, she put it in the water and drank it.

This is the story of the “yeast” for preparing “*Khaung-ye*” and the story-teller explained about it as follows:

The yeast has to be kept somewhere high above the floor.

If it is to be made dry in the sun or kept on the floor, there must be banana leaves under it. If it is mixed with bamboo ash and kept at a place, there will be no epidemic diseases and no evil spirits can possess a person there. If it is mixed with chilly, it becomes stronger in taste. If someone has to carry meat on a journey, no evil spirits can disturb him if he carries the yeast mixed with bamboo ash. It must be prepared by women; but no one (who has menstrual blood or who is pregnant) is allowed to touch it. The one who prepares the yeast must be clean and abstain from eating anything that is sour and hot.

If the one preparing the yeast is an unmarried woman, she must not talk to an unmarried man during that time. After handing the yeast, one must not wash one's hands with water.

One must not touch the yeast the other one has made because it can make it light or mild in taste. One must not steal the yeast the other has kept in the sun to get dry. A woman must not prepare the yeast for only one ball; it must be 3,5,7 etc in number. If only one ball of yeast is prepared, they believe that she may suffer from disease attendant to premature menopause.

The following story tells how Kayan were given land by a Myanmar King. See Box. 8

Box. 8 How did we get our land?

A king at Mandalay palace had a white elephant. One day it was lost, and nowhere to be found. The Myanmar king took it as a bad omen. So his men got even to the place where the Kayans had been living, and declared that the king would reward anyone who could recapture the white elephant. So the Kayans dug trenches along the stream named '*ka-san*' and covered them with the leaves of millet. They said these trenches can be seen even today. The story goes that the white elephant fell into the hole dug by a widow with two children. Being grateful, the king asked the widow what she would like to get as reward. But perhaps she was afraid to answer, she said nothing in reply. So the king gave the land for Gekhos. It was wait to be between the seven places bearing the names '*Mint*' or seven places learning the names '*Ge*' or three mountain ranges.

This story of white elephant from Kayan Gekhos was found to be similar of the story told by the Kayan Lahtas on a research visit to their place. The main contents of the two stories are found to be the same. In the story of Kayan Lahtas, it was the king from Inwa palace who had lost the white elephant, and it was a woman named "*Ma-kway-thar*" who took the elephant just by pulling it with a white string back to the king when the king asked "*Ma-kway-thar*" what she would like to get as reward, as she did not know Myanmar language, she took a sword and cut the ground. The king assumed that it was the land that she wanted for her people, and officially gave the land to the Kayan Lahtas. The Kayan Lahtas say that they still have the written record of *Ma-kway-thar* and they believe that whenever they open it, there is a heavy rain. The Kayan Gekhos claim they can prove that their story is true with the trenches dug along the stream "*ka-sang*", to trap the white elephant. It is not easy to know whose story is true.

The following is a nursery rhyme which is called "Ngaw-sa-ma-ray". See Box. 9

Box. 9 "Ngaw-sa-ma-ray"

- Why were you dead?

Because the branch or the tree fell on me.

- Why did the tree fell?

Because the monkey played

- Why did the monkey play?

The common bat was hovering above me.

- Why did the common bat hover above you?

Because the leaves fell down to the ground.

- Why did the leaves fell down to the ground?

Because a wild boar hit the tree.

- Why did the wild boar hit the tree?

The ask pumpkin rolled down and hit my foot.

- Why did the ask pumpkin slow down?

The barking deer treaded on the stalk

- Why did the barking deer tread on the stalk?

The ants bit my legs.

- Why did the ants bite your legs?

Because the jungle fowl has raked your nest?

- Why did the jungle fowl rake your nest?

The frogs are late in croaking.

- Why are the frogs late in croaking? (A kind of frog with red eyes which can make loud noise though these are small in size.)

He farm was overgrown with weeds.

- Why did the weeds overgrow?

Because thunder has mated with weeds. (They believe that the cause of the loud sound is because the thunder has mated with the weeds, and that sound of thunder causes pollination to happen among the paddy crops).

- Why did thunder make sound?

Only when I make the sound, the pollination happens and there are enough food for you all. If I did not make it, how would you feed yourselves?

6.3 The story of hero 'Kaline-fari'

According to the oral history of Gekho, the hero Kaline-fari was contemporary with the Myanmar King Tapin Shwe-hti of Toungoo dynasty. The border area Thandaunggyi between Taungu and Karen State where these are marble sculptures of two animals, tiger and pig, is called "*khay-la-maw htaw-la-maw*", 'tiger' representing Tapin Shwe-hti and 'pig' Kaline-fari. An old man of age 70 from Maung Kyaw (upper) village explained about the oral history regarding the hero Kaline-fari like this:

In the olden days, there was a village called '*Ei-par-da*' two miles away from Maung Kyaw village tract in its northern parts, which was very peaceful and quiet. One day, three brothers who were merchants got to the nearby area of that village on their way to some place, and as they heard voices from the village, they wanted to study it.

The man whose name was '*Far-thu-saung*' took a peep at the women pounding rice with mortar and returned after remarking that they were of the same tribe and it was a great pity that they were very poor. The second man whose name was *Far-thu-dote* got to the entrance to the village and after looking at the women pounding rice, placed his arms akimbo and hold his ear with one hand, and then returned. But the third one whose name was '*Far-thu-he*' went straight into the village to introduce himself to the women pounding rice, and within minutes of being introduced they were chatting away like old friends. Then he was even allowed to pay visit to their house. Thus the village became the place where they could put up at for some time in their way: to some place for trading purpose. It was during the time the area was under the rule of Shan "Sawbwa".

One day when the ruling 'Sawbwa' took the village headman *far-pi*'s daughter as personal attendant to him, the villagers informed the matter to the three merchants who were very angry and planned to fight against the Shan 'Sawbwa' by bringing a hero on horse back from a place called 'Saung-ywite' or 'Saung-wan' (near Balkhe township, Kayah State).

The hero went to the 'Sawbwa' bringing a big bundle of fire-wood in which a sword was hidden riding a horse with which he planned to kill the Shan 'Sawbwa' when he got to the palace and met the 'Sawbwa' he said that the firewood was to be offered respectfully, but he took out the sword and killed the 'Sawbwa' at the unguarded moment. As he settled at the border area between the Shan territory and the Gekho territory named 'Kinlite Mountain Range' he was later known as 'Kinlite fare' (fare is the hero in Gekho language). But later the word 'Kinlite fare' changed to 'Kaline-fari' over many years. He ruled the Gekho territory for many years with his seven subordinates who were also heroes of those days. But a group of men who were jealous of the ever increasing glory of Kaline-fair killed him by feeding him a basket of mangoes in which needles were put.

A stone pillar was quiet in Maung Kyaw (upper) village in memory of the hero, Kaline-fari. The story teller said that Kaline-fair was a Gekho national and he studied Marshal arts in Shan State for three years while the other two to three persons who were present there with him argued that he was a Shan. This argument is still alive among Gekho nationals. Whoever he was, Kaline-fari was a hero and a savior for them.

6.4 Traditional shield dance

While Kaline-fari and Far-lai were taking a rest near a stream after fighting a battle, they found '*nga-lu*' (a kind of fish which possess hard back bone) in it. They observed that it is not easy to piece the back of these fish with lance, and decided to make shields just like the form and shape of the '*nga-lu*' to protect themselves in battle. The shield was made of a kind of light wood called '*th-tan-ee-ywar*' bound with the skin of wild boar. The shield was good enough to protect the enemies' swords, lances and arrows. The shield was classified as two kinds: the 'male' one and the 'female' one.

Kaline-fari invented fishing tactics using shield. After second English-Myanmar war, the Gekho men *Inetha-htaung* and *Than-fi* fought against the British colonialists using these tactics. Because of the revolutionary movement led by *Inetha-htaung*, the British divided the Karenni territory into four parts and forbidden the practice of shield tactics, and so the

Gekho nationals have performed shield dance to this day, changing the fighting tactics into dance forms, since that time.

There are altogether ten styles of performances in shield dance each with its own meaning. The changing from one style of performance to the other has to be done harmoniously by the performances. Some say that there were originally only seven styles of performances, and not ten. They believe that the extra three was the new addition.

Ten styles of performances in shield dance;

1. Fish movement dance
2. Military parade dance
3. Dance for mother land
4. Waging war dance
5. Dance symbolizing the falling leaves from the bamboo tree
6. Dance dedicating to the war of god
7. Dance that bring peace and pleasure
8. Dance motivating all to try hard for mother land
9. Dance featuring peace
10. Dance featuring defense of land

In Gekho community, the social transition from boy to man is singled by active participation in traditional shield dance. Gekho boys are urged to join in by the older. This is a part of a rite of passage by which a boy to become a man.

6.5 The Story of 'Than' and 'Ou'

Long long ago there lived three famous sisters, *Ei-yoke*, *Ou-pyout* and *Ohn-cake*, who were well known for their beauty. *Ei-yoke*, the eldest one got married with a man named *Than Kyaw*. One day, *Ei-yoke* and her husband, accompanied by *up-yout*, went up a mountain to eat palm leaves for the roofing of their house. That night they had to stay there, and *Than Kyaw* found that *Ou-pyout* was very helpful. So he became interested in her. He invited *Ou-pyout* to pay visit to them when they got back to the village.

Than Kyaw asked *Ei-yoke* to treat *Ou-pyout* with chicken or port curry when she came home. But on the day when *Ou-pyout* came, *Than Kyaw* was out for fishing, and he could not return home until after *Ou-pyout* had left. When *Ou-pyout*'s visits became frequent, *Ei-yoke* became suspicious of their behavior. One day she kicked her sister, *Ou-pyout*, at

the door of her house, when the younger sister paid visit to her. *Ou-pyout*'s hand was wounded and a lot of blood bled. So she rushed back home. But as she could not stop the bleeding, she bled to death. When *Than Kyaw* came back and found the blood, he asked *Ei-yoke* about it. She lied and said that it was merely chicken's blood. But when he found out the truth through a neighbor, he ran after *Ou-pyout*, calling her name. Though he could not see her, he could hear her telling the whole story. When *Than kyaw* met *Ou-pyout*, she was already dead. He was greatly sad, and so he jumped into the fire at the time *Ou-pyout* was cremated. Their bones were buried together and their souls got united by the bank of a stream. They decided to clean themselves by taking bath in the stream. Yet *Than kyaw* somewhere upstream from *Ou-pyout*, who asked him to come to her when the wind blew. Thus they were separated again.

Tough the wind blew, *Than kyaw* forgot to go to *Ou-pyout*. When he remembered and went there, she was already gone; only her voice could be heard. At that time, a bamboo plant fell down to the ground, separating the two lovers. Seeing it *Ou-pyout* swore that she would go away to the furthest place from *Than kyaw*. The Gekho still believe that the sound made by the wind that goes through the bamboo plants is the sound of the dialogue of the two lovers. As the story goes, the relationship between the two lovers being brother-in-law and son-in-law, they never allow a marriage between a brother-in-law and a sister-in-law to this day.

6.6 Folk game

There should not be a casual attitude toward a toy. Children playing also should not be regarded as being flippant. Actually children are just beginning to try to love the life problem by playing, because their life ahead is rough and they need to muster courage to smoothly pass it. The Gekho children can have free time to play to their heart's content during the school holidays or when the school is over or when the church time is over or when they get back home from the farmland. Mostly the games are found to be throwing marble as tag or hid-and-see or battle-fighting. As civil war had burned heavily upon them for many years, whenever their children play the game of 'battle-fighting', Myanmar army who they name 'Katan' or invader is the perennial lose.

While watching the children playing freely, one 25 year old driver made a remark about his own childhood:

When I was still a child, there was no peace in this land. At the outbreak of battle we had to run for our lives. I still remember my uncle carried me on his back when I was too young to learn to walk. Nowadays, children are very lucky: they can play to their hearts content, peacefully.

Another 37 year old teacher, a native of Maung Kyaw (lower) also mentioned about his turbulent student life:

"One day on my way back home from school with my older brother, we were pressed into force labour by the army to carry things to two neighboring villages. I was at that time 13 and my brother 15. After that I was released to return home because I was too thin and stunted for my age of 13. My older brother got back to the village only after about one month".

The informants said that they do not want to give their bitter experience of civil war to their children as heritage, but would like them to be able to enjoy the fruits of peace only. Notwithstanding, some of the older ones among the children playing are found to be enjoying the game while carrying their younger sisters and brother on their backs.

6.7 Gekho children and their environment

When an infant has attained the age of childhood, the extent of knowledge of his social life as well as of his environment has expanded. He or she has to learn first who they must pay respect to and who they must be kind to and how to behave well. From anthropology point of view, in social organization, their family system is 'extended family type', and hence a young person has to follow the instructions from grandparents, parents, aunts and uncles, etc. in a household.

The essential knowledge for them comes from folk tales, rituals and ceremonies. By watching the performances in a ritual or a ceremony, they can learn how to do, who is to lead and who are to participate and so on. For example, when a younger brother or sister is born and the parents hold a ritual of "Rone-shwii" for it, they can learn these essential knowledge by watching it with this knowledge, they are ready to help the elders perform the duties in this kind of ceremony, when another younger one is born.

When children are found to be wrong in their behavior, they are corrected by words, in a way of warning or admonishing; corporal punishment is a very rare occurrence. When the children are lazy to go to school, they are threatened that they will be bitten by a “*myauk-mi-myauk-nan*”, a kind of black ant, if they persist. According to a man from Maung Kyaw (middle), there is no child in their community that needs such kind of punishment. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, they never stop a child playing even with a knife; he or she is only soothed tenderly when there is injury.

Moral lessons are taught by parents at home and by pastors at church. There were some quarrels and fighting between the children that led to the involvement of the grown up people. In such a case, both sides are summoned to appear before the headman of the village or the pastor at church where admonition and reconciliation takes place. But one leader of the village said that nobody used lethal weapons such as swords and hard wooden sticks in the fighting and quarrelling; only hands and words.

As for the knowledge of environment, the young ones have to learn on their trips to the farm or the forest or the neighboring places of the village compound. The other source of knowledge is from adult and peer group who share their knowledge with them. For example, when a man dies, his personal belongings are discarded on the road to the graveyard. So the children are told not to go about and not to pick up the things they find on the road, and not to defecate and urinate there. Otherwise, they believe, the children might get ill.

If, after abortion, the things that come out from the woman have assumed the form of a human being, or if the woman has given birth to a dead baby, these dead babies are not buried at the graveyard; there is special place for such ones. All these things are explained to the children and that special place is also shown to them. They are told not to go here, reminding that if they go, they will be tortured so badly that there will be not a hair left on their heads.

The children are shown the place where the things, a woman in confinement period has used, are discarded. They are told not to go there, not to take the things they find there reminding that otherwise they will be frightened and sick.

Gender allocation of labour is also learnt on the farm. Girls accompany their mothers to the farms to help them in weeding, plucking fruits and gathering vegetables while boys help their fathers with making fence around the farmland to protect from wild boars, and

with cutting wood and bamboo. This way they learn many things from experience before becoming competent forehands for their parents, equipped with the knowledge about the crops. The religious beliefs of their parents are also something they learn from parents and elders in this way. They hold slash and burn ceremony regularly and it is an important community activity for them. Children can learn these rituals, by accompanying their parents to the site and watching it themselves. For example, if fire has spread to other places, the soil in those places become sour and it is not possible to use that kind of place as farmland for three years. Children can learn this by going to the burning place and watching it themselves.

One 25 years old from Maung Palot (main) explained about the gathering of local knowledge during his younger days:

"We gathered local knowledge not in a systematic way, it was done only casually. For example, on our way to the farmland, if father remarked "oh, this elephant has taken the bamboo shoots sure, the upcoming shoots will be hard and coarse", when he saw an elephant eating bamboo shoots. This way we could learn the local knowledge about our environment.

One 56 year old man from Maung Kyaw (middle) explained about a taboo in connection with sustaining of environment.

"Gekho have one belief: 'No one must use the method of fish finding which we call "hone-cha-thee" in "Pa-dat-chaung", because the one who did this can go mad. The expression 'hone-cha-thee' means the root of a creeper called 'ka-leik' is crushed and thrown into the stream, to make fish feel dizzy and surface floating. In other words, it is using a mild form of poison to catch fish easily. So we try to catch fish in this stream only by using fishing rod. That is the reason why there is still a lot of fish in 'Pa-dat-chaung' while in 'Nan-cho-chaung' and 'Ka-san-chaung' the number of fish is getting less and less. This is environmentally sustainable development in accordance with our traditional belief.

In addition, one 44 year old man from Maung Kyaw (middle) explained about taboo.

Another taboo is that one must not make a curry out of 'spinosa' and 'mole' putting together. Otherwise, I though the eater would be struck with lightning. I was quite young then and I did not know about it. But later I found in a medicine

book that the curry can cause leprosy. From that time onward, I have admired our folk wise very much. The other taboo is that placenta of a chicken must not be cooked and fed to a child and unmarried persons; otherwise, their eye-sight will be hurt”.

A house wife also explained about some of the dangerous facts regarding food since she was young:

“The meat of pigeon and pumpkin must not be cooked together; “The meat of frog and mushroom must not be cooked together; Mushroom and the meat of a white chicken must not be cooked together and fed to the guests; if it is given to the guests for a meal, the hosts must not eat it, sitting together with the guests; otherwise, the guests will turn into enemies one day. The curry made from mole must not be fed to the guest; otherwise, the guest will never pay a second visit. If you want a guest to pay a second visit to you, the hands of both the guest and the host have to be washed in the chilly mortar.

A member of Kayan New Land Party (KNLP) said that these traditional beliefs from Kan-htay village are not specially taught to the children; but the young ones learn them from the adults casually, and they have been socialized. Some of the children are older than the rest and they frequently teach the younger ones the sexual matters, both by precept and example. Accordingly, Gekho children can obtain the sexual knowledge from their mates of older age.

6.8 Proverbs and riddles

In Gekho language, proverb is called *ngaw-thale*. The term proverb has been taken also to mean ‘word picture’ or ‘model saying’. They are usually introduced in written or spoken language by the words ‘like as’ and ‘as it’. Similar in meaning to the Arabic word *mathal* or the Malay *upama-an*, and in the Sanakrit word is *subhasita*. But many sayings which have been accepted as proverbs do not deserve the name. Some are riddles, others are spoonerisms, and a great many are mere similes (Hla Pe, 1962).

1. *Phaw site kun kaunt.*

Poor man seeks problems everywhere; rich man seeks wealth.

2. *Su mint lite, ngaun kha lite gan gare.*

On the day of hunting trip by burning bush, a cup of cold water is sweet and refreshing, and just like that where maidens are season, a girl of mediocre beauty can be a beauty queen.

3. *Pint so phi, phi seint pa lan, go ni kwin.*

The man who denies to accept while offering but shows willingness to take only when there is no more offering.

4. *Htoo moe lar kat, nar moe lar nu.*

Though one joins the work at noon time, it is taken as a whole day.

5. *Thi khunt aung taung. Thi yaung aung raung.*

The host can enjoy the first distillate of 'khaung ye' while others have to share the rest.

6. *Kunt su khaung, ba laung lan site*

Just like the flow of water during heavy rain, it stays for a while and disappears.

7. *Ka lant dun zi su, ant hu htoo tote.*

Teasing too much can cause a quarrel; eating raw paddy grains can cause to have worms.

8. *Khu kon ni zone daw khu ya.*

The tortoise meat is wrapped up with tortoiseshell.

9. *Auk jun htwint par raung thu thar khaung day.*

When there are no hounds, the whole area around forests and mountains is quiet.

10. *Khwint ngo gan. Khwint min for pri.*

The crying voice of chameleon is so pleasant that It is awarded with blanket of silk, satin and velvet fabric.

11. *Thar ka roe marshi, thar shoe mar dunt.*

An industrious man does what he can do while a lazy man does what he cannot do.

12. *The doe ku soe yu doe kun.*

Though beautiful outside, decay inside.

13. *Hite ji lar, sar nan lat, dat thar pine.*

Beasts when healthy, remorse when ill, ignores the past when prosperous.

14. *Yote htoe pra, ji lar htoe lu.*

One who is fearful but with discretion survives; one who is conceited and brags is prone to death.

15. *Dauk thine soe hla, dauk san soe hla.*

Whenever late in riding a horse or an elephant, a stupid man removes always late in life.

16. *Moe have moe soe dat thu lar, phar haw phar soe dat thu neik.*

It does not last three months if one treats other person's mother as one's own mother. It does not last three years if one treats other person's father as one's own father.

17. *Ant thar daun, mar thar daun.*

Eat slowly and work slowly.

18. *Htint par raung, phars khun.*

A clever hound is as reliable as the first son of a family.

19. *Soit yauk ngaun zar.*

Rain that falls early in the morning stops in the afternoon.

20. *Lwi thar sar, ji pra ni ka laun*

The people of olden days mark the tree when they plucked the sweet fruit from a big tree.

21. *Auk yun phaw khun, thu thar lu daw.*

A house without children looks pleasure.

22. *Zaung taw nan so hsar, ni bar taw nun so hite.*

As it does not hurt one if one pinches oneself, one cannot get success if one makes offering to one's own 'nat'.

23. *Nein bat ah rain, pane kuine a yar.*

One discards the old when one gets a new one.

24. *Thote lan htu, ngaung soe paun, khaung lan htu, mint so lite.*

If it is a lonely tree there can be no other trees surrounding it. If a hill is divided, forest fire cannot exist.

25. *Htwint ou pa nar.*

A buffalo does not care if a dog barks at it.

26. *Hlaing kwine pa ray, sein kwine thu*

Sound of buffalo horn can be heard without a break; but on the way back, it is noiseless.

27. *Moe hat un, moe rain ka roe.*

Though the sound is sweet and clear in the night, it becomes hoarse in the morning.

28. *Hu lar khant haw sant noi kho.*

Though caught one time in stealing, one is accused of stealing for more than seven times.

29. *Kar min soe htun zu kar kha lite.*

Though the tail is not long, it wants to shake it.

30. *Run fi gaung, htun arr me ant.*

The one that bites and kills is the snake, but the one that eats is the erozo.

31. *Pay aung hs, bay chauk taw yaung*

The goat that drinks water in the stream, seeing its shadow in the water, is afraid of it.

32. *Gyi so auk, me thar win, thi soe auk, me tha aung.*

More hungry when there is no paddy rice and more thirsty when there is no *khaung-ye*.

33. *Su sant sine, sine sant su.*

The bottle presses against the water and the water presses against the bottle.

34. *Hsu boi pu since, ngaung pa line pu mwu.*

As each and every bottle is filled with water, the blessing words must be harmonious.

35. *Ngaung shi poke, ngaung don pawn.*

Only the villagers from one's own village can give advice on how to behave.

36. *Auk go lar baung thome htun. Kar khar kar thu thing.*

If one can behave straight forward, one will have a long life though one gets grey hair.

37. *So zan daunt thine, thine sine daw kan*

If one does not know how to ride a horse, one is apt to be kicked by it.

38. *Phaw site tar kont, pa-ra dunt tar tone.*

More poor, more unlucky but more rich, more lucky.

39. *Hnay tha taut, pa rauk thar ant, no khant thar yu.*

Dispraise but with the intention to praise; borrow but with the intention to possess.

40. *Nan soe pho, mar oint gaung htun, di soe boon, mar oint tho let.*

If ugly have a sweet tongue; if rice grain is brownish, a good curry is necessary.

41. *Khauk Khwint yar, Khauk ywa fa rant.*

If associated with leaders and powerful men, one will be poor. If associated with chieftains, one will feel tired.

42. *Lar yu mo lan tie lar, thar yu sa lan tie maw.*

If you want the sun, you will have to let loose the moon.

43. *Taung dunt yan, nan rar site:*

Though assuming the airs of a rich man, his body is disabled.

44. *Khine zu bay har, dat zu lay yaw.*

Last night an enemy, but now a good friend.

45. *Khwint phe dunt, kar hmin kar laung.*

Chameleon thinks its tail is the longest in the world.

46. *Ni kwin nin pan, ni phant ni yun.*

Looting is faster than asking.

47. *No none nin swint, yc ywine nin ngaung.*

If slow one will get caught in the rain, if heave one will have scolding

Some scholars define the word “riddle” as the meaning of a phrase or a sentence, or a kind of a phrase or a sentence the meaning of which is hidden in it (Kyi Oo, 1985). Riddle is *ngaw-khu* in Gekho language.

1. Question; *Au far hteik daw ei phi ei phi*
It stays at the fire place and farts.
Answer; *mipha lone.*
 blowpipe

2. Question; *Au thi ku daw ee choke ei*
It stays in *the house and eats the excrement of the chicken.*
Answer; *pan na aw*
 Broom

3. Question; *Ah phaus ti htar, ah thar la khwe*
It stays up right while blooming, but bows low while learning fruits
Answer; *pa ray sa,*
 Chilly

4. Question; *Ah phaw la kha lwe, ah thar ti htar*
Fruits stay upright, flowers bow low
Answer; *hteik,*
 sesame

5. Question; *Ah pa rone ah phaw htar*
Before blooming it is silver but after blooming it is gold
Answer; *tha oo kha,*
 Mustard

CHAPTER (VII)

FOLKLORE ON SOCIALIZATION: FROM ADOLESCENCE TO ADULTHOOD

This chapter presents “Folklore on Socialization: From Adolescence to Adulthood” including nine sections.

7.1 The puberty life of Gekho

In Gekho’s language, a boy or a girl who have respectively attained the age of and nullity is called ‘*Sa-dauk-htant*’. It is generally assumed by them that a boy or a girl begins to assume the airs of grown-up ones once they are about ten years old. Usually, a boy by that age has already learnt to do such things as cutting wood and bamboo, finding food, poultry or fish for the pot, accompanying their parents to the farm. Likewise, a girl of that age also has learnt how to mind and take care of the younger ones, while parents are out for work. She also knows how to help her mother with her household duties while feeding the pigs and chickens they are raising.

As there is only primary school in the six villages which is my study area, students who have finished the primary level in those villages have to go to the high school in *Kyay-katot* village, if they want to pursue further education. But due to the families get low incomes, only quite a few students of the families that can afford the expense have had the privilege of pursuing middle and high school level education there. But these students who have this chance for further study after primary level are found to be only males, and so still there seems to be very little chance for the girls to go to the school of higher level after completion of the primary level. In the study-area, only two girl students, one from Maung Kyaw (middle) and another from Maung Palot (main) have had the chance of pursuing education of high school level.

For the girls and young women, as they are inferior in education matter, there are also some reasons for them to have a sense of inferiority in social life as there are many restrictions placed on them. In accordance with their custom, a young woman during her menstrual period must not prepare *khaung-ye*, cook food, eat with other family, members sittings together, go to the farm, pay visit to other houses etc., because a woman in menstrual is filthy dirty.

Regarding this, a girl student from Maung-Palot (main), attending Kyay-katot high school in tenth standard, remarked like this:

"Such restrictions not to do this and that, not to eat, not to go to other houses and so on must be because of the bad smell made by the menstrual blood. In former days, there were no such products just like 'Eva' (a stamp-name of pad used for menstruation) of these days, and even now there are only a few persons using such kind of a thing".

Another 15 year old girl from Maung Kyaw (lower) also made such a remark:

After passing fourth standard, I couldn't go straight to the middle school because of my family's poor financial situation. Only after two years I could attend the fifth standard. But being backward in learning though more grown-up than others in the class, made me feel shy and so decided to stop the education and help the parents by working hand in hand with them. It stay remember menstrual cycle began in my life when I started attending middle school. So I was afraid to go to school on that day because there are traditional restrictions not to go anywhere during that period. Only after getting a scolding from the teacher, I had to go to the class".

A 13 years old girl from Kan-htay village said:

"There are many restrictions not to do many things including not to go outside the house during the menstrual period, and this makes everyone in the house and everyone in the village know that someone is having this. This I'm very much ashamed of".

In Gekho community, though girls have much stress during this transitional period, for the boys of the same age-set, it is a period to show off the fact that they have already attained manliness. They begin to show their signs of manly ability by skillfully, doing farm works, cutting bamboo plants as many as they can however big they are and hunting small animals such as squirrel, snake, rat etc. Whenever they can catch such small animals as squirrel or rat, they bring it to the girls they like, which is a kind of courting practice. In the olden days, a boy of that age tried to talk to a girl he took interest in, usually in the evening, just beside a fire place. During that time, he began to learn the ways of grown-up ones in approaching young women.

7.2 Courting custom

In their language, a young unmarried man is called '*Phaw-pa-le*' while a young unmarried woman '*Phaw-pa-lauk*'. These young unmarried ones have the chance of meeting and talking to one another on occasions of both festival and funeral. It is also the time for them to meet with others from adjacent villages. Though one can easily know who they, can marry if he or she is in the same village, in accordance with their custom which is based on one's own lineage, one cannot know who belongs to what lineage if he or she is from another village. Thus, they have to find it out first before approaching.

There are customs that have been observed by them over centuries which prohibit villagers of a certain village not to get married with villagers of so-and-so another village. For example, villagers of *Kyay-katot* are not allowed to marry the ones from *Maung Kyaw* village. Therefore, the young unmarried ones have to learn these custom first since they have attained the age of puberty, by asking parents or through peer groups.

The usual way of paying court by a young man to a young woman is by singing or talking in an insinuating way in the young woman's hearing, while on the farm or in the village. Sometimes, they try to sound out about the young woman's attitude, by keeping a pumpkin leaf on the way to her farm, which signifies 'love'. If the young woman does not take interest in him, the girl neglects it. However, if she is in the mood to return on answer, she places the same kind of leaf which denotes that she also loves him, or '*thaikala*' (ပိစင်ရွက်, kind of medicinal shrubs; *Eupatorium odoratum*) leaves which says that she does not like him. If she hates him very much and wants to show off this feeling, she keeps the '*thaikala*' leaves after crushing them. Likewise, cane leaves signify one's 'first love' where as the bamboo leaves denote the questions: "Have you got a lover already?"

In the same way, betel leaf also plays a role in their symbolic language. In preparing a betel quid, if it is meant for the beloved one, the leaf must not be cut vertically or horizontally, before adding lime and areca nut, but if one wants to use only a portion of the leaf, it must be cut on the slant, and the portion of the leaf with the stem must be used for making the quid. This way of preparing a betel quid is also the traditional practice to show one's love and affection to the elders and relatives. So, naturally, the betel leaf vertically or horizontally cut signifies showing 'hatred' or 'rudeness' to them.

One 16-years old boy from Maung Kyaw (upper) said:

"I have a lover. We usually meet in the evening. But my parents do not allow me to meet her at a secluded place. In our village, there are about three families with whom I'm not traditionally allowed to marry because they are of the lineage we must not get married with. My father has told me about this since I've attained puberty age."

Another 17 years old boy told:

"I've made my parents know that I've got a lover, through my friends. Since I've become a grown-up one they told me about "gi-hta-mar-ray".

A Gekho teacher from Maung Palot (new) explained about the sex and choosing marriage partners like this:

Once we've become grown-up ones, there are so many things we should learn. Elders and parents have incessantly taught us these things until we become tired of hearing them again. Though we can learn farming techniques while we are on the farm, these things about sex and marriage matters are taught by them, giving examples with other people, while we all are at our leisure. You can't marry the girl of so-and-so family from so-and-so village or from so-and-so house because they are same lineage and so on.

They also teach us about the undesirable consequences of misconduct regarding premarital sex, marrying the ones with whom marriage is not traditionally allowed, and incest, until these things have become lasting memory.

An 18 year old young man explained about the affairs of fierce rivalry, between two young men for the love of the some girl which sometimes occur in the village:

"Sometimes, there are cases of rivalry between young men who are trying to win the love from the same girl, and naturally there happens to be quarreling and fighting in the village. The dispute with the villagers of the same village can be solved easily because the next day, who has made mistake goes to the other to apologize. But for a case where other villagers are involved, it is not so easy to solve. Elders of the two villages have to come in, where at least a bottle of alcohol (thein-yar) is indispensable because in our custom it serves as a token of peace.

In Gekho community, it is a very important custom for parents and elders to teach the young ones what kinds of prohibitions are there regarding choice of marriage partners until these facts have become lasting memory because when someone in the family is punished for a certain wrongful act, it is not the compensation money that matters, what matters is the pride of the family that is badly hurt.

7.3 Prohibition on choice of marriage partners

(1) Between first cousin relatives

It means one must not marry the cousin from father's side because of Patrilineal kinship system. They consider that all of the cousins from father's side are the relatives.

(2) Between triangular form relationship

The relatives related by way of triangular form relationship means: if some persons of the group (A) have married the ones from groups (B) and (C), then group (B) has automatically become the relatives of group (C), and so, no one from group (B) is traditionally allowed to marry someone from group (C). Likewise, if group (A) has already become the relations of group (B) again.

(3) Between tribes or villages who have vowed to each other

If in the past, because of a dispute, there was a battle as a dispute between certain tribes or villages, and they had cursed with evil to each other, saying that they would never become relatives over the future seven generations, no one must marry the one from that tribe or village.

(4) Between the third son and the fifth daughter

In Gekho custom, the third son is called '*Than*' and the fifth daughter '*Ou*'. These '*Than*' and '*Ou*' are not allowed to marry, because they have a strong belief that such a marriage will finally end up with parting or separating by death. In other words, for a man, no matter his wife is dead or alive, he cannot marry the younger or elder sister of his wife.

(5) Between different levels of shaman

The shaman lineage called '*Ei-phu-lu*' that has the prestige and power to have the privilege of supervising the ceremony. Where the guardian spirit of flagstaff is paid homage and the other shaman lineage called '*Kay-bhu*' who have to

supervise the ceremony where the guardian spirit of forests and mountains are paid homage, offering things, are two lineages that never have matrimonial relationship between them. After they have become Christians, they, avoid marrying the ones from shaman lineages and also Christian priests' families. Though it is not strongly forbidden, they teach the young ones to avoid that.

(6) Between uncle / aunt lineage and nephew / niece lineage

It means the one from uncle/aunt lineage must not marry to nephew/niece lineage.

7.4 Differential community taboos

In Kayan national including Gekho community, there are four differential taboo subjects, find offensive and embracing to breach it. The abbreviations for these four subjects are, Ge, Baung, Aik and Wee. The former three Ge, Baung, Aik are taboo for sex and marriage. The latter one deals with the matters that are considered profane food and unpurified woman.

'Ge': Premarital and Extramarital Relationship

Premarital sex is taken as an act that would bring ill effects to the whole village. The transgressors have to place with the headman of the village, with a cock (that is old enough to crow) and a hen (that is old enough to lay egg). Then they have to go round the village, each pulling a pig along. They have to kill the pigs with a spear in front of the people that have gathered there to see them. The way the pig must be killed is that the spear must go through the chest deep enough to cut the stomach open. If they dare not kill it that way, someone who is willing to do this has to be hired, with an agreement for a certain amount of fee.

After killing the pig, the couple has to distribute pieces of its meat among all the houses of the village. If again they dare not do this, they can ask for help from anyone who would do this for a certain amount of money. But some meat, containing a portion of every part of the body such as head, tail, ears, and legs, has to be cooked only for the elders of the village, to treat them together with cooked rice. There is a taboo in this matter: the pieces of meat this distributed must not be cooked and fed to the young unmarried ones in the family, for fear that the bad conduct might pass on to them. Thus, only the married persons can take it as a meal.

Feeding the whole village with pieces of pork in this way for wrongful conduct is called 'Gyint-htau-k-law-ha-ray'. It means killing the pig with a spear. After treating the elders with the meal, the transgressors have to go round the whole village again, distributing a nail to each household which is to be tied with a piece of white string to one leg of the fireplace, as an act of cleaning the village. This is called "Gi-ha-mar-ray" in their language, which literally means 'cleaning the village'. Such kind of misconduct is taken as the one that makes the whole village dirty and brings ill omen to it.

A pastor remarked:

"If a couple is found guilty in this way, they are not allowed by the church to hold the wedding ceremony there to it is to be held only at their home. These rules are written on the board at the church to be seen by all".

It is learned that if after breaching this custom for about three times and finally confess, the couple has to seek the villagers' indulgence by killing a buffalo and feeding them, instead of a pig. But if it is a case of extramarital sex, the number of buffalo to be killed and distributed is raised up to three. Moreover, the male transgressor must give compensation to the woman's husband the value of which is equivalent to the six times of the bride price he had offered to her parents when he was asking for engagement. They all believe that if a baby is borne by this parentage of transgress, it is destined to be a disabled or deformed one. Regarding seeking indulgence with a prostitute, their belief is that the wrongdoer himself or herself or one of the members of his or her family may encounter premature death.

They use established Myanmar expressions for premarital and extramarital relation, the first one having the meaning of 'crossing over a mountain' (တောင်ကျော်မှု) and the second one is 'trespassing on other person's land' (ကျော်နင်းမှု). In their language, this case is called 'Ge' and the transgressor is called 'Ge-chint'.

Baung: Breaching the custom of choice of marriage partner

According to their belief, the evil effect to the village because of someone's misconduct in the village relating to the above-mentioned activities, is that wounds and diseases may spread in the village. Since the source of this trouble is the transgressor, they believe that a wound or a toothache or a rash can easily be cured by them, by touching the painful spot with a tobacco stem or so in their hands. The transgressors have no right to hold their

wedding ceremony at the church; it is to be held at their home. They believe that the transgressors can be born their babies who are disabled or deformed such as ones who are hard of hearing, blind, physically or mentally disabled etc. If it is a baby boy, its sexual organ may suffer from a syndrome that is associated with the problem of being overdeveloped or underdeveloped. These transgressors are called 'Chew-baung'.

A 'Chwe-baung' couple living in Maung Kyaw (lower) is found to be still without child, and the husband who is already over 50 said like this:

"My wife is my cousin sister. I know that it is not allowed, but I persisted in spite of my knowing that, and finally my parents agreed to hold a wedding ceremony at home. Still we are childless now. So we adopted one of my nephews. He is now in the monastery learning to become a monk.

Though the transgressors of 'Ge-chint' case are so ashamed that they do not appear in the public those of 'Chew-baung' case are not outright humiliated like them. But they are blamed many times by the villagers who often remark, whenever there is a widespread disease in the village, that the main cause of the trouble is the presence of transgressors 'Chew-baung' type in the village.

Aik: An incestuous relationship

Sexual misconduct between father and daughter, mother and son, and brother and his own sister is called 'Chew-aik' in their dialect. In the olden days, the punishment for such an offence was death sentence. But later, it was only 'driving out the village'. But it is a very rare case among the Kayan Gekho community. Such kind of a transgressor is suicide before he was punished by the community. They believe that these 'Chew-aik' wrongdoers may be stroke by lightning even during the height of hot season or tugged by a tiger.

Wee; Profane food and unpurified woman

It is learned that the following items of food is not to be taken together with the food from a house where there is a dead person: egg; pork given by the transgressors who have done premarital sex; meat of sambur and barking deer; the flesh that was left by the tiger after eating; the flesh of an animal bitten to death by a wild dog.

If there is unpurified woman (woman in confinement, woman having menstruation) at home, traditional ceremony of eating the first crop must be held and her husband must

not go hunting. That unpurified woman not to make preparation of 'Khaung-ye'; must not go to farmland; must not pay visit to other house. During the time the pregnant woman is waiting to deliver the baby, any other person except her husband or the one who is going to attend to her must not enter the room. Until the confinement period ends, no visitor who is a friend or a strange is allowed to enter the house.

The transgressors who have violated the taboos are 'Wee-chint' in Gekho language. They believe that if these people go to the farmyard, the plants there will be infested with worms and insects or the plantation will be disturbed by wild animals.

7.5 Insinuating words in engagement

According to the tradition of Gekho, engagement plays a main part of marriage and it is chiefly done by a go-between. The elders from the young man's side who can make decision, after inquiring the lineage of the young woman to see whether the marriage is possible in accordance with their traditional law, sends a go-between to the parents of the young woman with proposal to engage as mentioned in the previous chapter. If the parents and elders from the young man neglect their matter and do not send a go-between for engagement, the young lovers usually say. Something in an insinuating way using puzzles or indirect words in the hearing of someone who they want to act as a go-between.

(1) *khee taw chaw, au tan ke poo. Para raw doe, so san le pa daw*

Meaning - Sam bur and barking deer are left at the edge of the plantation

Implication - There is no one who would act as go-between though we are lovers.

(2) *Hua kyaw du, au so gay tha par na phar dote, so bala ee;*

Meaning - Even though there is bamboo grove is at the centre of the form, no buffalo comes to eat it.

Implication - we are being neglected though we are lovers now.

If someone who would like to act as a go-between is not sure of success and wants to wait and see, he or she says:

Theik yaw mauk ah khu du ppi, khi ba au, au daw lat

Meaning - There are too much bran in *khaung-ye* stuff and I have to wait and see before drinking. (1)

Implication - He or she would act as go-between after watching the situation.

If the person who is going to act as go-between is determined to try to get success for them, he or she usually says:

"Htu tu law, laun mite shu kon, char htu lan kyar la khote".

Meaning - I will collect all the sand in the stream, and make water come out of the big rock.

Implication - He or she is determined to achieve it.

The go-between has to be a married person whether that is a man or a woman; he or she must not be an unmarried one. Generally, the go-between is one of the relatives from the young man's side. He or she has to perform the duty secretly. Early in the morning or late at night the go-between has to go to the young woman's house and try to negotiate. The reason for doing it secretly is not to hurt the image of the families involved if there is no success.

On the day of the first trip to the young woman's house, the go-between has to declare his duty to let the hosts know for what purpose he or she has come. The young woman's parents ask him or her to come back again on a certain date telling that they have to ask their daughter about it on the next trip, if her parents agree to engage their daughter with the young man's parents to come and discuss the engagement matters. If the young woman's parents do not agree to accept the young man as the marriage partner for their daughter, they tell the go-between that they have no time to hold the wedding ceremony or they are busy and they have no free time, in a way of politely denying the proposal.

Engagement is called *"leli-slayar"* in the Gekho language. The significant thing about this matter is the tradition of conducting the negotiation in an indirect way. An old man from Maung Kyaw (upper) remarked like this:

"It has been a long standing tradition among us to talk in an indirect way when we negotiate the matters in asking formally for the hand of a girl in marriage to avoid the feeling of embarrassment though the sense of delicacy".

The parents of the young man have to start the dialogue:

"The tha way baw akan, thi ba chaw baw aku"

Meaning - If the *'khaung-ye'* is sweet, give some from the bottom part of the jar. If the *"khaung-ye"* is sour, give some from the upper part of the jar.

Implication - If you agree, please accept. If you don't, just deny it using sweet language.

The main thing to be negotiated is the amount of money or the value for the parents of the young woman to be offered to them (*ma su naw chu*) and the value of the bride price (*chi htu cha rant*) to be offered to the young woman's relatives. In most cases, the young man side has to stand the expense for the wedding ceremony.

The young woman's side asks:

"Mar thay law hua thar, na yu mar law ka roe"

Meaning - Thin bamboo strips are needed in building a house; the inheritance is essentially needed in marriage.

Implication - How much the man's side can afford to pay as the bride price?

If the young man's side cannot afford to pay the amount of money, the young woman's side has asked for, they try to bargain with the hosts over the price in a way of pleading for consideration:

"Ah way par du, ah ku loe hone"

Meaning - Though the dried lump of earth is big, don't ask for a big hole.

Implication - The essence of which is - don't ask for too much thinking that they can afford well.

If another side cannot agree with the other, the words that can cancel the whole negotiation process is:

"The daw hua, ah lar pa rate. Ba ru, ngu khaw rate ah lar ee lay"

Meaning - The leaves of other trees and bamboo are not the same; just like that the leaves of pine tree and those of bamboo are also not the same.

Implication - We do not coincide with each other.

If both sides agree with each other;

"Ee tha lauk, pa rauk tha bwe"

Meaning - Through thick and thin

Implication - We will carry words like you.

or

"lu su boe na chu khi chu, ni chay su, na pa roe khi pa roe"

Meaning - If you walk on a tightened rope I will accompany you.

Implication - The essence of which is we will cooperate with each other.

At the end of the successful negotiation, the head man of the village cut the head of a chicken in front of all, to mark the success and to remind them to keep promise while doing so, he says:

“khaw raw sate taw pa ra kyo, ka lo daw pa rar”

Gow kyi lat kyaung, gaw boe lat pwe;

Gaw du tone, gaw du mar, ba ra du gate”

Meaning - Be united, all are now relatives,

never break the promises,

never change the words obey this.

Again, in a way of teaching, he says to both sides:

“chaw ta du, ah ngaw au ta su; khu ta du, ah ngaw au ta yar . para ta du, ah ngaw au dar ge”

Meaning –Sambur has ten as associates; barking deer has one hundred as associates; man has associates everywhere.

Implication –The essence of which is now the number of relatives has increased and both sides must live in unity.

The young woman’s side must treat the guests from the young man’s side and all the elders of the village with chicken curry and cooked rice, at the end of the negotiation. This meal-giving tradition is called “eating the head of chicken” in Myanmar, which means there is success. The go-between is given 3,000 kyats or a *longyi* or *hta-mein* (sarong for male or female).

7.6 Verbal homily in wedding ceremony

After engagement, the two young person can go freely as they wish and pay visit to the houses of parents-in-laws. But they are not allowed to enjoy premarital sex. They have to wait for the favorable time on both sides for wedding ceremony. So depending on financial situation, some couples have to wait about two or three years while some have to wait only one or two months. Nowadays the wedding reception is held only at the young woman’s house, though in former days it was held at both houses.

No special wedding costume is made for the ceremony, they just wear a new traditional costume on that day or a Myanmar dress. When the wedding time comes, a priest celebrated Mass and after that the wedding ceremony is held at the young woman’s house

in the village. On their way back home from the church, the couple has to tread on a stone of rock and on iron sheet that are placed at the entrance to the house which is for the belief that the 'strength' and fitness' of those things might pass on to them when they have to struggle in life.

An old man explained about the bride-price:

"When all the guests are present, the young man's parents have to offer the things and the money for bride-price and all if the things are not complete as promised on the negotiation day, the young woman's side has the right to reject".

One headman of a village said that as the formalities are done in front of the headman of the village the young man's side dare not breach their promise to give the bride-price and the young woman's parents have to accept with understanding.

The man who recites eulogy at this auspicious occasion of wedding ceremony and makes speech giving advice on the correct way to behave in matrimonial like is called "*Melar - pha dote*" in their language. Before making speech, he introduces himself as:

"I am an orphan and have no parents. Though I am ugly I am given the name "nget taw" (a bird) metaphorically. Though I am not eloquent, they ask me to perform just like a parrot that learns everything by heart. Actually I am as stupid as a 'hto lite' (a bird) and not skilful in making speech. But now I am given the duty to present myself to the public to give advice on how to behave in matrimonial life and to distribute the meat to distribute the pieces of cooked beef including all parts of the organs and all parts of the body, head, leg, fore-leg, belly and thigh, among the relatives and the special guests".

After that "*Melar - pha dote*" makes speech in a way of giving advice on how to behave the correct way when the couple has become husband and wife.

"Just like bamboo plants and trees, forests and mountains are compatible with one another from now on try to live in conformity with each other. Don't behave like 'Ma.u.la lane', 'pa taw ka main me chaw', 'ka kyaw bon mine-ba, huan ke kha raung' (who are notorious for viciousness). 'Ma-u-la-lane' is the names of persons who stand for the benefit of own children with the biggest ego, and destroy the engagement process. All are old friends, and so don't try to quarrel and bully the other; don't try to set a rock against the other rock".

After giving the speech, he distributes the pieces of cooked beef among the relatives and the specially invited guests. Then he gives special advice to the bride and the bridegroom only.

“Now you have to live a life together you have grown up together (if they are from the same village). Now you have to live always together like ‘bauk-klo’ (birds that are famous for their habit of always living together, not separated from each other on any occasion). Now you have become friends of ‘nget taw’ (a kind of bird that is famous for its bravery and beauty). Now you have got a life like that of a ‘ban-salite’ brother in law (‘ban-salite’ is a kind of bird that stays always together with other birds of the same species)”.

Now because of you, the cock has become featherless, the pig also has become hairless, the cooked rice and Khaung-ye are also discarded to feed the people on this occasion. Many people have come to see you; many people have come to encourage you. As the go-between and the headman of the village are the bearers of witness, be faithful to each other. The big trees can be cut down with the help of the scaffolding and the big stone of rock can be moved only with the help of rollers kept beneath it; just like that you two can now live together with the help of the go-between and the elders of the village. These words are for you just like the cross beam, tie beam and plinth of a house. Be my words with you firmly just like forests and mountains exist firmly. Heeding my advice, lives firmly as forests and mountains.

If you breach the traditional law, you will give me 900 red colour horses and 30 white-head elephants as compensation. These greatly exaggerated words are used to make the couple be faithful to each other and live together forever as husband and wife.

You are now husband and wife, if you blow pipe, blow together. If you blow the pipe of buffalo horn, blow at the same time harmoniously when you talk to each other, be harmonious. When you eat fish, eat its head together. When you eat mole, eat its buttock together. Love each other like ‘nget-taw’ (Ba han). When you go somewhere, go together like crows (Kya-wah) and come back in line like pheasant (Htu ywe).

After these words of “*Melar -pha dote*”, the couple is given blessing by the elders of the village. The usual words of blessing are as follow:

- May the spirit help you
- May your wealth prosper
- From plantation may you get one hundred ‘tins’ of glutinous rice and one thousand ‘tins’ of paddy that takes longer time to ripe
- May you be able to feed the whole poultry farm, the whole number of pigs and the whole number of people very well
- May you be able to feed the parents
- May you be able to support your brothers and sisters
- May you get wealth that can be carried only by elephant or horse
- More than that, may you get one thousand silver coins and one basketful of gold coins
- May you have honest and intelligent babies
- May you possess a house that is as big as a mountain
- May you own a house the length of the roof of which is as long as a stream
- May you both excel others in everything
- May you be ever strong and firm just like iron
- May you be able to stand people pulling and pushing you (to stand firmly the vicissitudes of life)
- May all evil spirits stay away from you
- May you be able to sustain even when an elephant treads on you
- May you have a long life like wood and bamboo
- May you be able to exist like forests and mountains forever

These words of blessing are said for young persons and no length blessings are used for the wedding ceremony of divorcee, widowers and widows; it is only made briefly. After all these blessings, the guests are treated with cooked rice and the curries made from pork, beef (buffaloes), ‘*Khaung-ye*’ etc. The bride and the bridegroom must not eat together with the guests; for them, there is special rice and curry that is cooked by an old woman or man who is respected by their families. Once the pots are put on the stand at the fire place to cook the rice or the curry for the couple, the one who cooks has to say these blessing words:

“Bride and bridegroom now I’m going to cook for you; may you be able to follow your parents footsteps; may you be professor more than others; may you have plenty of friends wherever you go; may your house be as big as a mountain; if you go to the upper parts of the country, may you get silver; if you go to lower parts of the country, may you get gold. May you get (100) for every word. May you get (10000) for every time of your laughing. May you get (100000) for every move. May you be harmonious like forest and mountain. May you be strong as iron. May you have a long life that is equivalent to the two generations of bee, three generations of ‘bee’ and four to five generations of human.

7.7 Khaung-ye as a social food

In Gekho language, *Khaung-ye* is called *teekyran* which is a kind of intoxicating brew fermented by traditional method since olden days. They ferment it for daily drinking as well as for sales if there is surplus. It is nourishment as well as an indispensable item in the traditional rituals.

The main raw material of the *Khaung-ye* is glutinous rice or maize. The detailed process for fermenting is: after cooking the glutinous rice or maize, it is spread on a mat and cooled. The cooled substance is mixed with the yeast well and then put in a basket for one night. Then again on the next day, it is mixed well with bran of paddy or maize. Afterwards, it is kept in a big pot for 15 days or one month. In some cooler regions, it has to be kept in the pot for nearly two months. Then it becomes a solidified substance of *Khaung-ye*.

In fermenting *Khaung-ye*, the solidified substance of it must be mixed with bran and put into a bamboo tube or a small earthen pot into which hot water is poured, to be fermented. Just after 15 minutes, it becomes *Khaung-ye*. But some people have a slightly different method of preparing it. They mix grains of rice, which are only husked but not polished, and paddy husks in a ratio of “three is to two” and put them into a pot with a perforated bottom forming the upper part of a steamer (cooking utensil) to be cooked by means of steam. The cooked rice in that pot is put on a bamboo mat to be cooled. When it gets cool, after mixing with the yeast, it is transferred into a basket with banana leaves underneath. There must be a cover over it. After two days, the cooked rice becomes soft and a smell of sour comes out. That is the smell of the *Khaung-ye*. Again, the cooked rice

is taken out of the basket and spread on the mat. Then at last, if it is pressed into a glazed earthen jar, the clear liquid *Khaung-ye* oozes out slowly. The colour of that liquid resembles that of a honey and is called “the first *Khaung-ye*”. The solid substances are taken out to be mixed with hot water to get the *Khaung-ye* which is also called “fermented *khaung-ye*”.

The method for fermenting liquor is also just like the one for *Khaung-ye* after preparing everything up to the stage of “solid substances of *Khaung-ye*” and these substances must be mixed with water before distilling. While in the process, the steam is collected through a pipe. When it transforms into liquid state, it is called liquor.

Though *Khaung-ye* and liquor are intoxicating brew, as their region is a cool place, they could help the blood circulate regularly and the people could work actively, they all believe. True, it has been a significant part of their life since they were very young. They fondly take it during the religious and social ceremonies. All males and females, old and young, fondly drink *Khaung-ye*. Yet there never occurs quarrels and fighting or any rowdy manners associated with profane language after drinking it.

In Gekho community, drinking *Khaung-ye* habit not only gives the individual physical satisfaction of a narcotic, but deep-rooted social and ceremonial significance. The treating to *Khaung-ye* plays a prominent role in all the major crises of Gekho life – birth, naming, engagement, marriage and death. It also figures in communal social functions such as slash-and-burn ceremony and at Christmas celebrations.

7.8 Kayan customary law

In 1975, Kayan Culture Committee of Loikaw presented a paper on the subject of ‘the customary law of the Kayan’ including the Gekho. But a little difference can be found in the practice from one tribal group to another or from one place to another.

Murder case and causing to hurt

1 – Murder case

Murder case is a very rare thing among the Kyans. If a person has committed that they pass judgment where a large amount of compensation is involved. If someone has evidently plotted to kill a person a death sentence can be given to him. To implement that death sentence, the responsibility goes to the villagers or the relatives of the accused that has to take the death sentence. Generally, the ones that have committed such dangerous,

criminal acts are the desperadoes or who do not pay heed to the discipline of the village. These evil persons are found to have been discarded by their parents and relatives.

The parents and relatives concerned have to accept the judgment of death sentence passed by the judicial group. But if they do not take the initiative to implement the death penalty, the villagers have to take the responsibility. If the relatives have declined to implement it they have the duty to pay 25 kyats to the person who will take charge of it.

In such a case, the parents and relatives concerned have to give a cow to the villagers as a sign of paying obeisance to the village, and this, they said, is to show that it is done by common consent among the villagers and it is also meant to avert the similar event. That feast is called '*hsat-chan-moe*' in their language.

2- Culpable homicide not amounting to murder.

A man lost his life in a fighting and if a person can be held culpable of this homicide yet not amounting to murder, the relatives of that person have to solve the problem. If it is evident that it was merely an accidental death, no judicial group takes initiative to make a law-suit. Only, the one who may be held culpable of that case must stand all the expense of the funeral ceremony only. Such cases occur while they go hunting in the forest. Sometimes one of them, mistaking another member of their group for a prey, shoots the unfortunate person with a gun or a cross-bow.

3- Case of suicide

For one who has committed suicide the relatives concerned have to offer a buffalo or a bull to the village to 'cleanse' it; the villagers have to consume it after making offering to the spirit.

If one did not succeed in killing oneself, and after putting him on trial for that, if something is found out to be the root cause, the relatives concerned have to make pledge in front of the village elders to admonish their person and to prevent a similar case in the future.

4 - Plotting to kill a person with poison.

For plotting to kill a person with poison the accused has to compensate by giving away all his property to the relatives of the person murdered.

But in a similar case, if the accused does not succeed in murdering a person with poison, he has to give compensation.

5 – Threatening

A case of threatening is also said to be a rare one among them. In such a case, on trial if the accused is found to have threatened another person to kill or to do something, he is to make compensation in the form the judicial body has asked for. If the accused declines to obey the judgment passed by them, they can seize a certain, reasonable portion of the accuser's property as compensation.

If a person has caused another person to have trouble as has been threatened, and if that person has been a recorded desperado of the village who has committed crimes in the past, the judicial body, after consulting his relatives secretly, makes arrangement to seize him and execute or plot to kill him secretly.

6 - Causing to hurt.

If, in a fighting, a person has caused another person to get hurt; the judicial body, after settling the case by compromise, passed judgment to give compensation. Moreover, the accused has to tie up a strand of cotton around the hand of the wounded and put a few coins in a cup of water with which the accused has to wash the wounded person's face. After that, the accused has to make a chicken curry by killing a fowl and feed the one hurt.

Rape case and other sexual crimes

Adultery is also a rare happening among their society. They have a practice of monogamy and a standard of morality that forbids such sexual crimes. They regard such crime as worthy of heavy penalty. So if any two are evidently guilty of adultery, they get death sentence or they are forced to go to the graveyard and make suicide by hanging.

1 - Rape Case

If there is a rape case, and on trial if the accused is found to be truly culpable of that amounting to rape, he has to give compensation to the plaintiff and also a bull or a buffalo to the villagers to make offering to the spirits to 'cleanse' the village; they kill the animal to offer as sacrifice; and the accused has to stand all the expense for all these matters.

2 - Committing adultery by a bachelor

If a bachelor has committed adultery, to 'cleanse' the village, he has to make a ceremony of offering to the spirit in the village and also some arrangement to 'cleanse' the husband and her offspring. The man and the woman who have committed adultery must stand the expense for offering to the spirit in the village.

3 – Adultery between married persons

If the two married persons have committed adultery, there usually follows a heavy condemnation and compensation from both. Then, in accordance with the decision made by the village elders, they have to give the following items to the village and carry out duties as mentioned below:

- (1) A pair of a cow or a sow and an ox or a boar.
- (2) A pair of a white hen and a white cock.
- (3) To 'cleanse' the village, a ceremony of making offering to the spirit must be held and the villagers must be fed.
- (4) The two wrongdoers have to tie up a black strand of cotton each around the right hands as well as the left hands of the judges who have passed the judgment.
- (5) Both of the wrongdoers have to make arrangements of offering the spirit to 'cleanse' the families.

4 – Adultery between a married man and a maiden

If there was a sexual intercourse between a married person and a maiden, the man has to compensate while the maiden must make a devotional offering to the spirit to 'cleanse' the village with that compensation.

5 - Sexual intercourse between a bachelor and a maiden

If there was a sexual intercourse or premarital relation between a bachelor and a maiden out of love the elders from both sides consider how they are related and if they are possible to get married, and if it is found possible they are allowed to marry after having them make a devotional offering to the village.

In considering how they are related, if the two of them are uncle and niece or aunt and nephew, they are forbidden to marry. To make the devotional offering, the man has to pay most of the compensation. But if the girl becomes pregnant and gives birth to a son

the man is entitled to take it while a daughter must go to her mother. The man has to stand the expense for the confinement and the baby.

6 – Having sexual relation with the one engaged

Though engaged, if there is a sexual relation before the marriage, they have to make a devotional offering to the village and give the go-between one 'Kyat', a cock and a strand of cotton. The strand of cotton must be tied up around the hand of the go-between.

7 – Cohabiting with other person's wife

With the consent of the woman, if someone has taken away other person's wife and cohabited for some time, the man has to give compensation to the relatives of the woman.

8 – Taking a lesser wife

If a married person has taken a lesser wife, he has to give the first wife and children all the property acquired during the married life and go away from home alone.

9 - Seducing and cohabiting

If a married person has seduced a maiden by pretending to be a bachelor, he is believed to have committed three acts of crime. (1) telling lie, (2) insulting and (3) seducing. This man has to pay compensation two times the amount a bachelor, and accused, has to pay usually. The compensation must be given to the girl with whom he has cohabited and at the same time he must depart from her. Then a devotional offering to the village must be made by both of them.

10 – Sexual relation between brother and sister

If a person has committed such a crime of having sexual relation with one's own brother or sister, both brother and sister are driven away from the village for life or if they refuse to obey their decision they are killed.

11 – Divorce

If there has been somewhat divorce between a husband and a wife, the elders of the village have to study the root cause and settle it by compromise, or they have to admonish the one who is supposed to have done the mistake and negotiate a settlement. If both sides have no more desire to live together, they have to arrange a divorce legally. Among them separate living of a husband and a wife out of discord is not allowed.

Defamation

Even if the libel was done verbally, the one who has done so has to give compensation to the one he has defamed.

Accusing someone of being a witch

As they are strong believers in witchcraft, they think these witches with evil magic powers can cause not only a person but also the whole village so many kinds of trouble. So if a person is believed to be a witch, that person is no longer allowed to stay in the village; he or she is driven away from the village. If the person accused to be a witch stays with his relatives, the villagers try to kill all of them.

But if there is a wrong accusation of being a witch, the accuser has to compensate the one wrongly accused. If the wrong accuser cannot afford to pay the compensation his relatives have to take that responsibility.

Stealing

In their village, most of the stealing cases involve buffalos and bulls that belong to other villages. It is learnt that other things never stolen.

In such a case, the judicial body which always comprises members from both villages usually decides to return the stolen animals and to compensate.

But if the stolen animal cannot be returned a certain amount of money that is equivalent to the prevailing price of the animal is fixed to compensate. The receiver of stolen property is also recognized as a thief. All the conspirators must take the share of the compensation. After returning the stolen animal, the judicial body confiscates the compensation money to be used as the expense for judicial process.

If someone has burgled a house the stolen property must be returned to the owner and the thief has to pay obeisance to the owner with a sow that has bred and tied up a strand of cotton each around the hands of each member of the family who were burgled along with the money of fine.

Destroying the property that belong to others

If a person has destroyed the property that belongs to other person intentionally, the headman of the village has to be paid by the destroyer. If someone's cattle has destroyed other person's plantation and cultivation sites and if the damage is not great, the owner of

the cattle has to kill a fowl with whose blood he must smear the strands of cotton and again those strands must be wrapped up around the crops at that plantation site. If such thing happens, no one tries to file a lawsuit.

But if the damage is great, the owner of the cattle which have caused the damage must give the compensation which is equivalent to the prevailing price of the crops destroyed. But if the cattle come and destroy the plants and crops over and over again and if the owner has not taken any action to check them, those cattle can be beaten or killed. Then the meat of those cattle must be shared by the owner of the animals and the plantation site. But if there is no enough evidence that the owner of the plantation site has beaten or killed the animal, the owner of the plantation site has to compensate with the equivalent amount of money.

Misappropriation

If, on trial, the said misappropriation case is found to be true, the accused has to return the amount misappropriated plus the interest. Besides, the accused has to give the fine also to the judicial body.

If someone finds the cattle that belong to other person set at liberty and herds them the owner of the cattle has to pay the volunteer man the fee for that. But if someone is found to have tried to misappropriate some other person's cattle by pretending to be herding he has to give compensation. If someone has reported the headman of the village that some cattle reached his place, it is not recognized as misappropriation case.

Destroying the graveyard

It is their custom to take care of the graveyard. They fix the places for each family to bury the dead men. If someone has destroyed it through the destroyer does not get hurt they believe there will be danger to the whole village. So if there is such a case, the destroyer has to stand the expense of the devotional offering with buffalo or bull or pig.

Digging up the graveyard for valuable things is regard as the disgusting deed and the one who has committed that crime can be killed by the villagers. If one of one's own village has taken part in that criminal act he is put on trial and if he is found to be guilty he must give compensation and also be executed.

If the graveyard catches fire because of the fire set by them to burn the bushes at the plantation site. The responsible person has to give the compensation with buffalo or bull or pig to make devotional offering as has been decided by the shaman.

7.9 Traditional judicial system

There is no judge in the village administration. The head of the village and the elders who are given authority had to act as the judges. If there is no witness of the case, it would be tried by means of the following methods;

- (1) Washing the face with chili water; both side had to wash their faces with chili water which was pounded to powder and mixed with water. If nothing happened to the face or eyes it was regarded he be not guilty.
- (2) Cooking rice packet; both side had to take a fistful of rice each and packed them with leaves. After that the two packets of rice were cooked in the same pot. When the time was due, the two packets of rice in the pot were thoroughly examined and the one, which was well cooked, was the indicator that its owner of the winner.
- (3) Submerging in the water; the judicial group had the plaintiff and the accused submerge in the water as much time as they could. The one who could stay submerged longer would be the winner.
- (4) Dipping in the boiling lead metal; the judicial group had the plaintiff and the accused dip their fore-fingers in the boiling lead metal. The one whose finger was not burnt was proved to be innocent and the other, guilty.

CHAPTER (VIII)

DISCUSSION

8.1 The cultural context

The Gekho national is officially recognized as one of the sub-ethnic groups of Kayah, the local name is hill- Kayin, and the name in colonial days is one of the Bwe Kayin groups. The research works have suggested that they are included in the Kayan kin-group and they prefer to be called as 'Kayan'.

Formerly, the settlement of Gekho national was contained in Western Karenni territory. Until the time of the last king of Konbaung dynasty, they had the privilege of enjoying the taxes of the territory. Although the Gekho's settlement remained independent even after the second Anglo-Myanmar war, after the third war was annexed and then divided into two parts and incorporated into other territorial units. Moreover, there had been a long period of unrest in Kayin State, including Thandaung where the Gekho national have been living since 1948. After having the cease-fire agreement, the settlement of the Gekho including the study area, has become part of the Kayah Special Region (2). Now, it is under the Kyan New Land Party's controlled area. When the conditions of geopolitical history of the Gekho's settlement were studied, they faced with various vigorous suppresses and had to struggle to overcome. On the other hand, the study area is not only historic site where the patriots 'Inetha-htaung' who was fighting against British and the home of legendary hero 'Kaline-phri' but also the headquarters where began to spread the Christian teachings of Roman Catholic missionaries.

The geographical condition of their habitant is densely wooded with ravines, gorges and gullies, and it is located the junction area of Nay-pyi-taw, Shan State and Kayin State, where transportation and communication is very difficult. There are some roads can be used in the open season because of earth and stone only. For education, the majority has been educated up to the Primary level, and out these, a few who can afford continue to study in Middle and High level. It can be found that the standard of education very low and informal education is flourished rather than the formal education. For health, there is no any clinic or rural health centre in the study area. It is depend on indigenous treatment for the patients and treatment taken by means of using herbs and plants as medicines.

In terms of livelihood strategies, *Taung-ya* cultivation is still done by traditional methods which is depended on weather and human energy only. They can produce rice and crops only a little more than enough and make household appliances just for them. Cardamom and chilly are the products for commercial scale. However, due to the transportation is very difficult, they sell their products relatively cheaper price to merchants. Animals breeding, hunting and fishing are done for home consuming and feeding the guests, not for commercial. It can be found that economic life of the Gekho national is beyond the level of subsistence.

8.2 Folklore on Socialization: From Infancy to Childhood

With regard to socialization of infants, the parents readily accept society's prevailing ideology on how babies should be treated, usually because it makes sense in their environmental or social circumstances (Meredith F. Small, 2007). In the article "*Our Babies, Ourselves*", she stated individualism is valued in the United State, where, parents do not hold babies as much as in other cultures, and they place them in rooms of their own to sleep. Pediatricians and parents alike often say this fosters independence and self-and self-reliance. In contrast, Japanese parents believe that individuals should be well integrated into society, and so they "indulge" their babies: Japanese infants are held more often, not left cry, and sleep with their parents. The parents in Congo believe even more in a communal life, and their infants are regularly nursed, held, and comforted by any number of group members, not just parents.

During 1931-1933, Margaret Mead worked a research among three New Guines societies lived within a one- hundred-mile radius of each other on the northern shore of Papua New Guinea. But their personalities were completely distinct. In her famous book "*Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies*". Mead argued that the individual is a product of behavior related to his culture that shape the person in common but unique manners that then are reinterpreted, re-expressed, and relived as the infant becomes an adult and as the child becomes a parent. Her study revealed that the interaction between individual and culture is the dynamic, complex process by which humans learn to be humans, but humans of very distinctive sorts.

As shown in the finding, the Gekho parents look after staying closely to the infant until it is fully one month old. As Gekho family is an extended family type, when both parents have left for work, there are grandparents who would look after the children. In the study

area which comprises six villages, it is a very rare thing to find a baby crying because family members seriously take care of it. Out of fear that a visitor might cause danger to the infant, visiting is totally forbidden until the baby is one month old, and both parents follow the taboos so that there is no danger for the child since the time of its birth.

It is useful here to mention a remark by Meredith F. Small (2007) that infants' care is shaped by tradition, fads, science, and folk wisdom, which can be seen the case in caring the newborns section. In cutting off the umbilical cord of the child, no iron instrument is used; only the cover layer of a kind of bamboo called '*wha-thaung*' (Dendrocalamus brandisii - ကြသောငါးဝါး) is used. The reason for this is; the bamboo '*wha-thaung*' has some special qualities such as it cannot be eaten by insect and it is very hard.

Furthermore, they believe that bathing the child with hot water can make it healthy and the practice of clearing the baby by using the leave of *pasakyaut* (soap acacia - ကင်္ဂုနီ) which is merely the raw product of the nature, are clearly showing that in caring their infants they are using only their traditional knowledge.

The following traditional practices in caring the infants show their ideologies. They are; burying the umbilical cord of the baby in the ground to make the baby healthy, keeping it hanging on the tree to make it wealthy; wearing the baby with a necklace made of tiger's claws to make it free from danger; hanging the honey-comb and hexagon-shaped woven bamboo strips at the entrance where there is a baby to make it free from all epidemic diseases; joining the two ends of it with a rope before passing in crossing a bridge while carrying a baby on a journey, with the belief that it would protect the danger of evil spirits; scattering rice grains in the house to drive out the evil spirits when the baby is screamingly cry.

In many cultures, women are the first socializing agents in their capacity as the infant's primary caregiver. Primary caregivers of infants and young children have the unique task of socializing the child into the culture and society in which the child lives (International Encyclopedia of the Social Science, 2008). Regarding this, in Gekho community, mother is not the only primary caregiver; father is also one because he is the birth attendant and also a one who has to closely look after until the child is one month old. Besides, this study shows that he also follows the taboos relating to the child's welfare.

For every group with a sense of its own identity, the central part of that identity has to do with folk traditions (American Folklore Society, 2007). In Gekho community, the tradition of keeping prefix names for the children is an act to remind them that they are Kayan Gekho. Especially, the embedded meanings behind the prefix names of the males are showing the normative values. The ones from serial number (2) to (9) are fighters except no (1). Moreover, in feeding the child firstly meat, it shows the value system of the Gekho. As sacred food, the meats of the bulbul bird called '*Bahan*' and squirrel (*yuit*) are given. They consider that the fish called banded snakehead (*ter-ei*) and the meat of barking deer (*khit*) are as profane food.

8.3 Folklore on Socialization: From Childhood to Adolescence

During childhood, the individual usually receives a considerable amount of instruction in basic attitudes standards, and values. George Pettitt (1936) points out many other examples of the use of stories to inculcate attitudes and ideals. For Gekho children, the story of Kaline-fri is very fascinating and he is an icon for their way of life. His courage, his leadership and his creative ability are highly impressive to them. The 'shield dance', the creation of Kaline-fri, has become the national identity, for them. He fought against the 'Shan' rulers and his follower, Inetha-htaung, waged battles against the British colonialists by using the art of fighting with shield which they call shield tactic. These facts stay forever in the children memory and they admire him very much. They also regard their grandfathers and fathers as heroes because they had fought against the Myanmar army (who they call 'Katan'), the invaders. Some of their fathers tell their children about the experience they had got when fighting against the Myanmar army, instead of the folktales. In the folktales and stories of Gekho, it might be embedded that such normative values as courage, empathy, cleverness, dutifulness, cooperation etc.

It can be found in international folktale that these traditional stories can help make the unity strong among the tribal groups, religious groups, national groups, religious groups, national groups and anti-colonial groups. For example, the fairy tale in Nigeria called '*yoruba*' is designed to educate the people to value the unity among the different tribal groups. Another evidence for the usefulness of the folktale can be seen in Congo where the leaders have tried to get national solidarity through the fairytale called "*Bakongo*" In Katanga too, the political leaders have tried to establish friendship among the ethnic groups, lauder, *luena* and *chokwe*, by using fairytales. We can also see the example how

fairytale are used in politics in Germany where the politicians have used *Teutan* fairytales to orientate the public opinion towards the belief that the Aryans are far greater in qualities than others by gene.

The earliest learning is related to the kinship group. The child is in constant contact with his parents, siblings, and a varying number of other relatives. If the family is an extended one, the contacts with other relatives may be close. By precept and example the child learns the names or terms by which he should address each person in his environment, and more important, he gradually learns the behaviors expected of him and those he may expect from others. The result shows that the Gekho children are first taught in Gekho language only how to address the names of parents, brothers, sisters and grandparents; and after that the things in their environments and the animals.

Knowledge that enables people and groups to perform ceremonies and rituals is likely also to be seen as a valuable form of intellectual property (Graham Duffield, 2013). Regarding this, by watching the performances in a ritual or a ceremony, they can learn how to do, who is to lead and who are to participate in the ritual of "*Rone-shwei*". Furthermore, children can learn in the slash-and-burn ceremony, by accompanying their parents to the site and watching it themselves. For example, if fire has spread to other places, the soil in those places becomes sour and it is not possible to use that kind of place as farmland for three years. With regard to local knowledge on environment, they have to learn: elephant has taken the bamboo shoots, the upcoming shoots will be hard and coarse; one must not make a curry out of 'spinosa' and 'mole' putting together; placenta of a chicken must not be cooked and fed to a child and unmarried persons, etc.. No one must use the method of fish finding with *hone* (poison) in the stream "*Padat-chaung*". This is one of environmental sustainable developments in accordance with their traditional belief.

In most cultures the child begins at an early age to emulate his parents. Similarly, Gekho girls accompany their mothers to the farms to help them in weeding, plucking fruits and gathering vegetables while boys help their fathers with making fence around the farmland to protect from wild boars, and with cutting wood and bamboo. This way they learn many things from experience before becoming competent forehands for their parents, equipped with the knowledge about the crops.

Proverb reflects the overall behavioral patterns of any one race that have been determined by such significant factors as their nature land, environment, way of life, attitudes of mind, traditional beliefs etc. Thus, by studying certain proverbs, it can be found that they bear traces of the social, economic life as well as the traditional beliefs of a particular society, and also their experiences and their reactions to those experiences (Sanda Swe, 1977). Although proverbs can be frequently seen in language and literature, it must be assumed that they have existed since the time these were no written forms of the language and literature (Min Naing, 1968). The result can be shown that when children are found to be wrong in their behavior, they are corrected by words, in a way of warning or admonishing; corporal punishment is a very rare occurrence. The Gekho children are learned from proverbs to be brave, to be responsible, to be honest etc., in their lives. The children may be told of one or more supernatural beings are able to see all transgressors and will punish them. At Coihiti, an Indian pueblo, the owl is said to be a supernatural punishes bad children. The result shows that when the children are lazy to go to school, they are threatened that they will be bitten by a "*myauk-mi-myauk-nan*", a kind of black ant, if they persist.

8.4 Folklore on Socialization: From Adolescence to Adulthood

Many anthropologists cite the importance of 'internal' process of social control, which include gossip, stigma, and shame, especially in small-scale societies. Shame can be a powerful social sanction. With regard to breaching differential community taboos especially Ge, Baung, and Aik, the transgressors would have to attend a formal, publicly organized village meeting, where headman and elders of the village would meet to determine the appropriate punishment and compensation. The data with regard to the breaching of incestuous relation reveal that a transgressor who committed the case of incest was suicide before he was punished by the community. A similar pattern of death was found in other small-scale society. Brownishlaw Malinowski (1927) described how Trobriand Islanders might climb to the top of a palm tree and dive to their deaths because they couldn't tolerate the shame associated with public knowledge of some stigmatizing action, especially incest. Incest is universally tabooed, except in royal incest.

Margaret Mead (1937) and Ruth Benedict (1946) distinguished between shame as an external sanction and guilt as an internal sanction. They regard shame as a more prominent form of social control in non-Western societies and guilt as a dominant

emotional sanction in Western societies. Nevertheless, in study area, it was found that though the transgressors of 'Ge-chint' case are so ashamed that they do not appear in the public those of 'Chew-baung' case are not outright humiliated like them. But they are blamed many times by the villagers who often remark, whenever there is a widespread disease in the village, that the main cause of the trouble is the presence of transgressors of 'Chwe-baung' type in the village.

In the study area, "the kind of offence that is most frequently found is to be of "Ge-chint" type. And, up to until (30) years ago, there had been quarrels and fighting's between villages which led to setting fire of the houses mutually. Only after 1988, when the armed conflict between the government troops and the ethnic groups appeared, there were much less social conflicts in the villages.

Despite the biological effects of inbreeding, marriage preferences and prohibitions are based on specific cultural beliefs rather than universal concerns about future biological degeneration (Kottak, 2006). According to the results, the Gekho community prescribed the Prohibition on Choice of Marriage partners such as not to marry between first cousin relatives, between triangular form relationship, between tribes or villages who have vowed to each other, between the third son and the fifth daughter, between different levels of shaman, and between uncle / aunt lineage and nephew / niece lineage.

Local theories presume that sickness, social misfortune, and death are directly caused by malicious sorcery in Mkua society (Kottak, 2002). Similarly, it was also found in the study area that the transgressors who breached the taboo 'Wee' can be affected to farm-yard. They believe that if these people go to the farmyard, the plants there will be infested with worms and insects or the plantation will be disturbed by wild animals.

According to their cultural context, it can be found that Gekho people are practiced in patrilineal descent system. When unilineal descent is very strongly developed, the parent who does not belong to one's own descent group isn't considered a relative. In societies with descent groups, marriages are relationships between groups as well as between spouses. With the custom of bride price, the groom and his relatives transfer wealth to the bride and her relatives. As the bride price's value increases, the divorce rate declines. With respect to bride price, groom has to pay the value for the parents of the bride (*ma su naw chu*) to be offered to them and the value of the bride price (*chi htu cha rant*) to be offered to the bride's relatives.

CHAPTER (IX)

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1 Conclusion

In some developed countries, folklores are regarded as an index of authenticity. Yet, in societies where there are no written languages of their own, or in communities that are located far away from civilized societies, the native people of these areas have to follow the traditional customs that have been orally handed down from generation to generation, and to make their societies sustainable, they have to socialize their children with these traits in character, beliefs, values and norms.

With regard to geopolitical history of the study area, geographical conditions of the study area is densely wooded with ravines, gorges and gullies, and it is located the border area of Nay-pyi-taw, Shan state and Kayin State where communication is very difficult. There had been a long period of unrest in the study area. After having the cease-fire agreement, study area has become part of the Kayah Special Region (2). Now it is under the Kayan New Land Party's controlled area. Even today, education, health, economy, transportation facilities and communication services are out of level. Ironically, cultural tradition of the study population is the kind of one which has remained intact through many years without assimilation with outside cultures.

The result firstly shows that caring a Gekho infant is full of traditional ways and folk wise. The Gekho parents look after staying closely to the infant until it is fully one month old. In Gekho community, mother is not the only primary caregiver; father is also one because he is the birth attendant and closely looks after his baby. The d meanings behind the prefix names of the males are showing the normative values. Moreover, in feeding the child firstly meat, it shows the Gekho's value system.

Secondly, the finding of the study reveals that Gekho children are received a considerable amount of institution in basic attitude standards and values during childhood. They have socialized such normative values as courage, empathy, cleverness, dutifulness, cooperation etc., which are embedded in oral literature. Gender socialization initiates in boys and girls since they have attained the school-aged. They have learned their

environment related to traditional ecological knowledge and intellectual property while going to farm-yard and helping to their parents or elders.

Finally, the results indicated that Bride price plays an important role in Gekho marriage system. Differential community taboos and customary laws for all Kayan kin-group have been prescribed for a long time and the members have to obey until now. Gekho boys and girls must be known these rules of law and taboos of their community. The transgressors have to attend a formal, publicly organized village meeting, where headman and elders of the village meet to determine the appropriate punishment and compensation. In conclusion, most of the items of Gekho's folklore have still impacted in the processes of socialization through their lives.

9.2 Recommendations

The research findings are recommended to

- To maintain and record all items of Gekho's folklore before influencing on foreign cultures
- To support informative data for conducting some researches to other related disciplines such as Sociology, Psychology and Philosophy etc.,
- To contribute for implementing further progress and development program in socio-economic sector.

9.3 Further research suggestions

This study clearly shows that the research on folklore on socialization in Gekho national focusing on the processes of socialization in infants, children and adolescences was undertaken in the study from ethnographic point of view. Further research should be studied in each items of Gekho folklore such as proverb, riddle and folktale. Then it should be conducted the process of socialization in Gekho community from the point of view of cognitive development. Moreover, a case study on breaching problems related to Kayan differential community taboos should be done.

REFERENCES

- ကယန်းယဉ်ကျေးမှုကော်မီတီ။ (၁၉၇၅)။ ကယန်းလူမျိုး၏ တရားစီရင်ရေးလေ့ထုံးတမ်း ။
 ကယန်းယဉ်ကျေးမှုကော်မီတီ၊ လွိုင်ကော်မြို့၊ ကယားပြည်နယ်။
- ကျော်သန်း၊ ဦး။ (၂၀၀၉)။ ကယန်းလူမျိုး၊ ကယန်းလေ့။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ ပါရမီစာပေတိုက်။
- ကြည်ဦး။ (၁၉၈၅)။ မြန်မာ့ရိုးရာစကားထာများ၊ ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ ဖိုးရာဇာစာအုပ်တိုက်။
- ခင်ခင်ဦး။ (၁၉၇၂)။ ကယားပြည်နယ်ရှိတိုင်းရင်းသားများလိုက်နာကျင့်သုံးကြသောတရား
 (ရှောင်လေ့များ)။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ စာပေဗိမာန်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။
- စင်ကြယ်၊ မောင်။(၁၉၆၇)။ ကရင်ဘဝ၊ ကရင်လေ့ ။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ သီတာထွန်းပုံနှိပ်လုပ်ငန်း။
- စန္ဒာဆွေ။ (၁၉၇၇)။ စကားပုံကပြောသောဒဿန ။ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ စိန်ကြည်စာပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။
- ပညာ၊ ဦး။ (၁၉၆၅)။ ကရင်ရာဇဝင် ။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ ဇွဲစာပေရိပ်မြို့။
- ပုကလေး၊ ဦး။ (၁၉၇၈)။ မြန်မာနိုင်ငံတော်တောင်တန်းဒေသများ။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊
 မတင်ရီစာအုပ်တိုက်။
- ပြန်ကြားရေးဝန်ကြီးဌာန။ (၁၉၆၇)။ မြန်မာ့စွယ်စုံကျမ်း အတွဲ(၁) က-ကု ။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊
 စာပေဗိမာန်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။
- ပြန်ကြားရေးဝန်ကြီးဌာန။ (၁၉၆၇)။ တိုင်းရင်းသားယဉ်ကျေးမှုရိုးရာလေ့ထုံးစံများ (ကယား) ။
 ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ စာပေဗိမာန်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။
- ပြန်ကြားရေးဝန်ကြီးဌာန။ (၁၉၆၇)။ တိုင်းရင်းသားယဉ်ကျေးမှုရိုးရာလေ့ထုံးစံများ (ကရင်) ။
 ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ စာပေဗိမာန်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။
- ပြန်ကြားရေးဦးစီးဌာန။ (၁၉၇၁)။ သမိုင်းဝင်စာတမ်းများနှင့်ကယားပြည်နယ်၊ အတွဲ-၁၊
 ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊စာပေဗိမာန်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။
- ပြန်ကြားရေးဦးစီးဌာန။ (၁၉၇၂)။ သမိုင်းဝင်စာတမ်းများနှင့်ကယားပြည်နယ်၊ အတွဲ-၂၊
 ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊စာပေဗိမာန်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။
- ဗရှင်၊ ဗိုလ်မှူး။ (၁၉၆၈)။ ဗိုလ်မှူးဗရှင်၏စစ်ရေး၊ နိုင်ငံရေးနှင့်လူမှုရေးဆိုင်ရာသမိုင်းစာတမ်းများ။
 ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ ပုဂံစာအုပ်တိုက်။

မင်းနိုင်၊ ဦး။ (၁၉၆၈)။ **တိုင်းရင်းသားစေတနာ့** ။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊ ယဉ်ကျေးမှုဝန်ကြီးဌာန၊
ပုဂံစာအုပ်တိုက်။

မောင်စိုး၊ ပီ။ (၂၀၀၄)။ **ကယန်းမျိုးနွယ်စုသမိုင်း**။ လက်နှိပ်စက်မှု၊ လွိုင်ကော်မြို့၊
ကယားပြည်နယ်။

မြင့်မောင်၊ ဒါရိုက်တာ။ (၁၉၆၇)။ **ထယားတို့ဌာန၊ ငွေတောင်ပြည်** ။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊
စာပေဗိမာန်ပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။

သန်းထွန်း၊ ဒေါက်တာ။ (၁၉၆၇)။ **ခေတ်ဟောင်းမြန်မာရာဇဝင်** ။ ရန်ကုန်မြို့၊
ကာယသုခပုံနှိပ်တိုက်။

Abraham Rosman and Paula G. Rubel. (1995). *The Tapestry of Culture*, Barnard
College, Columbia University.

B. R. Sharma. (1998). *Tribal Development Appraisal and Alternatives*, M.L. Giddwani,
Indus Publishing Company, New Delhi. India

Beals & Hoijer. (1965). *An Introduction to Anthropology*, 3rd ed. University of
California, Los Angeles.

Benedict. R. (1946). *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin

Charles F. Keyes. (1979). *Ethnic Adaptation and Identity; The Karen on the Thai
Frontier with Burma*. Institute for the Study of Human Issues; Inc.
Philadelphia, U.S.A

Charlotte Seymour-Smith. (1986). *The Dictionary of Anthropology*, Macmillan Press,
New York.

Cocchiara, Giuseppe. (1981). *History of Folklore in Europe* (Storia del folklore in
Europe, 1952). Philadelphia, PA: ISHI.

David A. Taylor. (2001). *Ancient Teaching, Modern Lesson*, Environmental Health
Perspective, Vol, 109, no.5, 2001

Dundes, Alan. (1966a). **The American concept of folklore**. *Journal of the Folklore
Institute* Elman R. Service.(1958). A Profile of Primitive Culture. Harper
& Brothers, Publishers, New York.

Evans-Pritchard, Edward. (1940). *The Nuer: A Description of the Modes of Livelihood
and Political Institutions of a Nilotic People*. Oxford University Press.

Funk & Wagnalls (1950). *Dictionary of Folklore, Mythology and Legend*, Funk &
Wagnalls Company, New York.

- H.JamesBirx. (2006). *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, Canicius College, SUNY Geneseo, SAGO publication.
- James Biak. H (2006). *Encyclopedia of Anthropology*, Sage Publication, Inc. Canisius College SUNTY Genesco
- Harris, M., & Johnson, O. (2000). *Cultural Anthropology* (5thed.). Nddeham Heights, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Kottak, C.P. (2006). *Cultural Anthropology*, (11thed), University of Michigan. McGraw-Hill Book Company.
- Kottak, N.C. (2002). *Stealing the Neighbour's chicken: Social Control in Northern Mozambique*. Ph.D dissertation. Department of Anthropology, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.
- Kimball Young & Raymond W. Mark.(1959). *Folk and Urban Communities* North-western University, American Book Company, New York.
- Luce, G.H. (1959 A). *Geography of Burma under the Pagan Dynasty; JBRS*, Vol XIII -I
- Luce, G.H. (1959 B). *Introduction to the Comparative Study of Karen Languages; JBRS*, Vol XIII -I
- Malinowski, Bronislaw.(1922). *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: George Routledge & Sons.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw.(1927). *Sex and Repression in Savage Society*. London and New York.Internal library of Psychology, Philosophy and Scientific method.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw.(1944). *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Malinowski, Bronislaw.(1965). *Coral Gardens and Their Magic*. Volume 1: Soil Tilling and Agricultural Rites in the Trobriand Islands. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mead, Margaret (1928). *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization*, New York, William Morrow.
- Mead, Margaret.(1937). *Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples*. New York; McGraw Hill
- Mead, Margaret. (1963). *Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive societies* (1935). Reprint, New York, William Morrow.
- Meredith F. Small. (2007). *Our Babies, Ourselves, Natural History*, Environmental Health Perspective, Vol, 109, no.5, 2001

- Michiyo Kiwako, (2003). *Children's Socialization in the Changing Society: Parents' Views in Two Gambian Villages*, Gausdal, Norway
- Mi Mi Khing.(1946). *Burmese Family*, Longmans, Green & Co. Calcutta. India
- Moe Thida Htwe. (1999). *Social Organization of Kayan (Padaung) National; Demoso Township, Kayah State*, M.A Thesis, University of Yangon
- Pettitt, George A. "*Primitive Education in North America*," University of California Publications in American Archeology and Ethnology, XLIII (1936)
- Redfield, Robert. (1956). *Peasant society and culture: an anthropological approach to civilization*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Schwartz, Theodore. (1976b). *Socialization as cultural communication*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Scott, J. George. (1900). *Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan State*; Part I. Vol I, Chapter IX
- Spradley, J. (1979). *Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.
- Thomas Barfield, (2006). *The Dictionary of Anthropology*, Blackwell publishing.
- Watson-Gegeo, Karen. (1992). *Thick explanation in the ethnographic study of child socialization*. In Patricia Yeager (Ed.), University of Michigan Press.
- Whiting, Beatrice & John Whiting. (1975). *Children of six cultures*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Whiting, John & Irvin L. Child. (1953). *Child training and personality: a cross-cultural study*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Williams, Thomas R. (1972). *The Socialization Process: a theoretical perspective*. In Frank Poirier (Ed.), *Primate Socialization* (pp. 207-260). New York: Random.
- William A. Darity Jr. (2008) *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd edition. MCMILIAN REFERENCE, USA.

APPENDIX I



Figure 2. A couple of Gekho youths



Figure 3. A couple of Gekho elders



Figure 4. A scene of the study area



Figure 5. A scene of the study village



Figure 6. A Gekho traditional house



Figure 7. A house with portable ladder



Figure 8. A primary school



Figure 9. A Christian church



Figure 10. Coming back from *Taung-ya*



Figure 11. Carrying bamboo shoot



Figure 12. Cutting bamboo shoot



Figure 13. Collecting some vegetables



Figure 14. Feeding salt to buffalo



Figure 15. Going to *Taung-ya*



Figure 16. Baskets for fishing



Figure 17. Preparing for lunch



Figure 18. A stone-pillar of lineage



Figure 19. Pounding paddy rice



Figure 20. Capturing a turtle



Figure 21. Making a basket



Figure 22. Cleansing rice to make *Khaung-ye*



Figure 23. Going to sell his some mats



Figure 24. A pregnant woman



Figure 25. A confinement woman



Figure 26. A Gekho mother (1)



Figure 27. A Gekho mother (2)



Figure 28. A Gekho mother (3)



Figure 29. A Gekho mother (4)



Figure 30. A Gekho father (1)



Figure 31. A Gekho father (2)



Figure 32. Bamboo tubes for using in confinement



Figure 33. Bamboo tubes after using in confinement



Figure 34. Bamboo tubes for using in bath



Figure 35. Used bamboo tubes to throw



Figure 36. Smoked chicken for eating



Figure 37. Hanging a honey-comb



Figure 44. A child playing with knife (1)



Figure 45. A child playing with knife (2)



Figure 46. A child playing with knife (3)



Figure 47. A child playing with knife (4)



Figure 48. A child playing with knife (5)



Figure 49. A boy playing with snake



Figure 50. Coming back from *Taung-ya*



Figure 51. A group of boys



Figure 52. Helping in *Taung-ya* burning



Figure 53. Helping in *Taung-ya* work



Figure 54. Attending school & caring baby



Figure 55. Praying in Church (girls)



Figure 56. Playing in peer group



Figure 57. Playing Gekho boys



Figure 58. Playing Gekho girls



Figure 59. Eating some fruits



Figure 60. The Gekho boys



Figure 61. The Gekho girls



Figure62. Coming back from Church



Figure 63. Praying in Church (boys)



Figure 64. A monument to Kaline-fri



Figure 65. A Kaline-fri's clothes



Figure 66. A Kaline-fri's necklace



Figure 67. A Kaline-fri's pot



Figure 68. Performing shield dance which had been changed from Kaline-fri's tactics



Figure 69. A Gekho grandfather



Figure 70. A Gekho grandmother



Figure 71. A Gekho Family (1)



Figure 72. A Gekho Family (2)



Figure 73. A Gekho Family (3)



Figure 74. A Gekho Family (4)



Figure 75. A Gekho Family (5)



Figure 76. A Gekho Family (6)



Figure 77. Coming back from *Taung-ya*



Figure 78. Caring her younger brother



Figure 79. Eating in *Taung-ya* festival



Figure 80. Looking after their younger



Figure 81. Going to *Taung-ya*



Figure 82. Helping to his parents



Figure 83. Playing adolescent girls



Figure 84. Playing adolescent boys



Figure 85. Playing and singing



Figure 86. A man who killed tiger



Figure 87. Some bride price



Figure 88. Owners of bride price



Figure 89. Nail with string in fire-post



Figure 90. Nail & string which tied the transgressors



Figure 91. The bride's house



Figure 92. Wedding reception



Figure 93. Buffalo's head



Figure 94. Some fresh to deliver

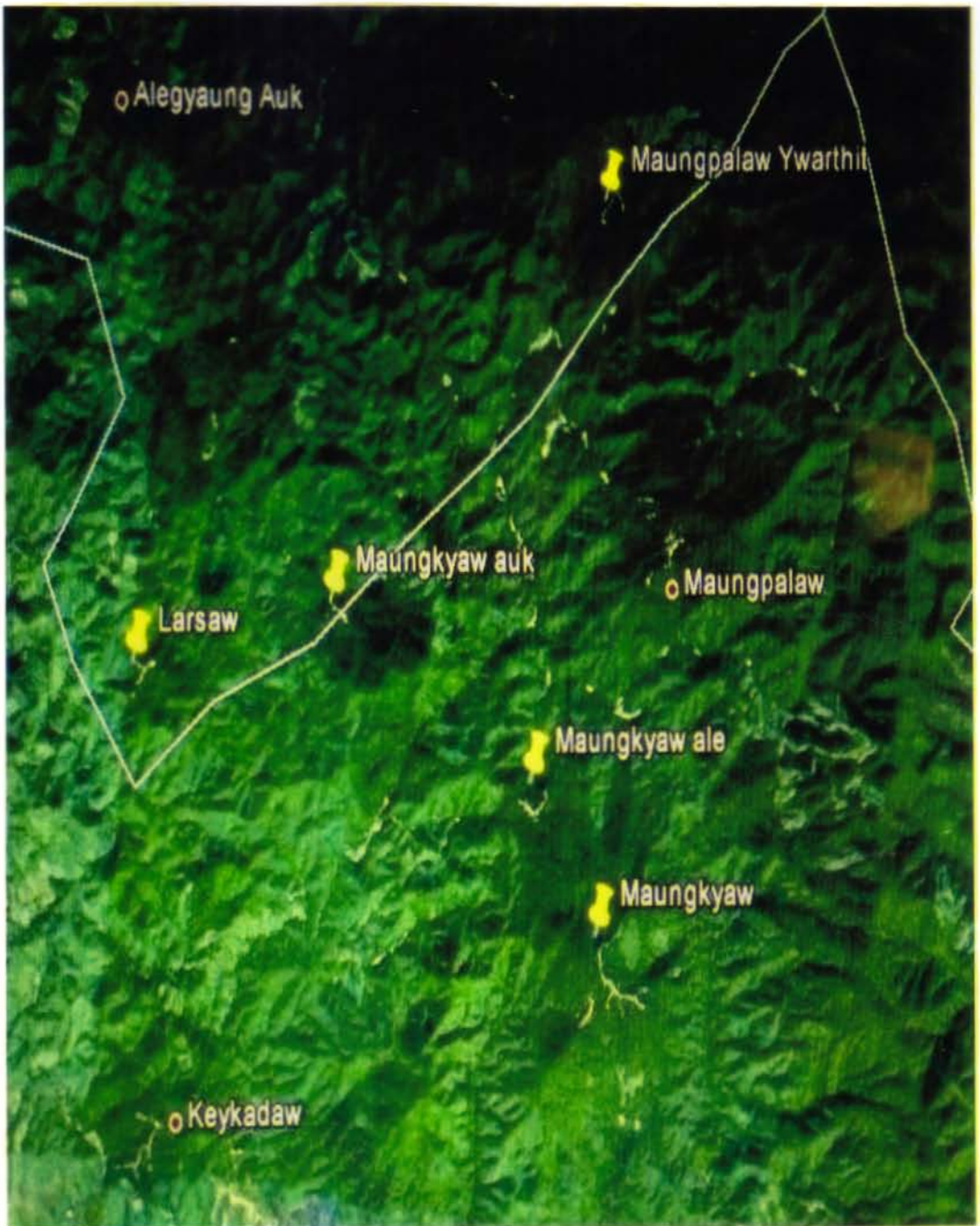


Figure 95. Eating served food in wedding



Figure 96. Blessing by the elder

APPENDIX II



Map 1. Study area



Map 2. Thandaung Township, Kayin State



Myanmar Information Management Unit

KAYIN STATE Myanmar



Map 3. Kayin State