

1 January 1964

Bangkok: Bitt's family left.

2 Jan.

Bangkok

3 Jan.

Bangkok: Dinner w/ Dr. Abner Hurwitz, FAO advisor.

4 Jan.

Pataya - with Jill & John Hale.

5 Jan.

Pataya

6 Jan.

Pataya

7 Jan

Return to Mahasarakham via Bangkok.

8 Jan.

MK.

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Then the level is correct.

This erection of the granary was an example of 20 11 11 / 20 11 11 (log khē:k/khō:re:ŋ) or in lao, 2774 (wā:n). The men who helped were repaid by locally-made rice wine, tobacco and a feast at midday. While the men were working, the females (and a few males who enjoy cooking or who had to kill & clean chickens) made the food. A truly good example of traditional co-operative labour.

#

13 December - 10 January - involved in going to Bangkok to meet Prof. Skinner, preparing for parents visit, taking them around up here & in Bangkok, and in staying a few days in Bangkok.

On the 26th of December my parents, my sister, & my Aunt Vivian spent the day in the village. This was a great day for the village and the villagers went all out to make my family feel at home. We flew the huge kite which Mr. Njan & the priest had made.

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9 January, 1964

Economics:

While I was in Bangkok, I had a talk with Mr. Hans Platenius, the World Bank Adviser to the Northeast Development Comm. Among other things, we discussed a couple of things which bear directly on the economic activities of the village. This year the

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govt. has been encouraging the growing of watermelons in the N.E. & distributed free seed to many villagers. As a result, according to Platenius, the market price has dropped tremendously. It will be interesting to see if the amount of watermelon production drops next year as a result of the low market.

I have often wondered why since there is a tobacco station in Ban Khue which purchases Turkish tobacco, why no one (except the school last year) produces tobacco for sale to the station. I mentioned this to Mr. Platenius & he suggested that the following might be the reason for lack of tobacco production in BNT. Tobacco bought by the Govt. Tobacco monopoly is purchased on a quota system. If the farmers are not in the quota, then anything which they produce may or may not be purchased depending on the demands of the station and the quality of the tobacco produced. Thus, Platenius suspected, BNT villagers may have thought that the production without the quota was too risky.

I also discussed the tobacco situation today with Mr. Wichian. He suggested two reasons why BNT does not grow tobacco commercially:

- 1) No one from the tobacco station has ever gone to show the people how to grow the tobacco.
- 2) When a few years ago the station was buying Virginia tobacco instead of the

Turkish variety, the villagers did grow it. However, they were often unable to sell this tobacco because it was usually adjudged to be of an inferior quality. Thus, they became discouraged & ceased growing tobacco.

Mr. W. also said that people (i.e. villagers) weren't getting their proper share of the money paid

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~~base~~ This arose because there is no competition in tobacco purchasing & the Govt. Monopoly decides on the price it will pay. But, I wonder if this isn't Mr. W.'s own feelings.

Mr. Ng. says that he thinks villagers don't grow tobacco is because "they don't have enough land." When I queried this saying that they have enough land for kernal & rubber, he elaborated by saying that tobacco requires much water which these other crops don't. It is necessary, he said, for a person growing tobacco to make certain that the plants get water everyday.

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MR. NGU'S INVESTMENTS:

Mr. Ng. has bought 6 new pigs at \$450 each from the village of Bân Pâ: Kug near Sarakhom. He says that though he has had them only for 2 days, he could already sell them for \$500 each. However, he wants to wait until he can sell them for \$600 each. Nonetheless when some men from another village came visiting today with an interest in buying some pigs, he said that he would be willing to sell them if he could have sold a large number. He now has ~~2~~ 3 pigs and that is too many to take care of he claims. He says that he would rather invest his money this way than by placing it in the Govt. Savings bank where he would only get a low rate of interest.

CHILD TRAINING:

Mr. Ng. says that when he ~~was~~ was a child, his parents used to frighten him into being good by threatening him with sayings such as "We'll let the cat come and eat

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you;" "We'll throw you away in the forest;" "We'll give you to the elephant." He also admitted that they would sometimes strike him if he were not good.

ATTITUDES TOWARDS NAT'L GOVT:

I tried to get Mr. Ng., Mr. Saw, & the son of the headman involved in a discussion about the merits of the new P.M. They were non-committal because "he hasn't been in long enough." The son of the H.M. thought that Thanom was from Ubon (he's not). All three agreed that if Thanom were to go, Genl. Phapad would take over.

DIVISION OF LABOUR BY SEX:

Threshing is strictly men's work - i.e. the beating of the rice stalks to loosen the rice from the husk such "hard work" that only men can do it. However, women "beat the straw" (ti: k'ing) after the rice has been threshed. The pair of sticks used in threshing is called ti: k'ing (ti: k'ing) after the rice has been threshed. The pair of sticks used in threshing is called ti: k'ing (ti: k'ing) after the rice has been threshed.

FORTHCOMING CEREMONIES:

On 17/1/64 (17/1/64) (wan s'it kh'yn 3 kh'om d'yan 3), i.e. Friday, 17 Jan., Mr. Phon will sponsor a ceremony of thambun bân / s'uk kh'yn kh'om

Also in the 3rd month will be the ceremony of ti: k'ing (ti: k'ing) which is also called ti: k'ing (ti: k'ing).

In the 4th month will be the ceremony of Bun phra w'it (wan s'it kh'yn 3 kh'om d'yan 3).

ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY:

Today a young man, ti: k'ing (ti: k'ing) (s'uk s'it kh'yn 3 kh'om d'yan 3) also known as ti: k'ing (ti: k'ing)

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began talking about Jesus. I asked him where he had heard about Jesus; he said he had read a book which a friend gave him. As he was talking about "respecting Jesus" & learning about "sin" & "good deeds", I gathered that the book was one of those pamphlets which the local C.M.A. missionaries distribute.

In actual fact we have found that the missionaries in this area have had very little success. One reason why this may be so is due to a lack of curiosity about foreign ways & manners among the Thai-Lao. When I have tried explaining about customs and ceremonies of Westerners, I find very little interest (this does not hold for Western economic patterns). There would seem to be two reasons for this lack of interest (& similarly for lack of interest in news of the "outer world"):

- 1) The existence of a self-contained social world which needs very little from without;
- 2) a contentment with the system as it now exists. In other words, the world in which the Thai-Lao villagers finds himself is self-sufficing & there seems to be little (other than material things) which the villagers desires from the outside.

BIRTH Customs:

Today Jane went to visit the 3rd Daughter of Mr. H⁵: who had just had her first baby. She had had ~~considerable~~ considerable trouble in having the baby, and thus had had to be taken to the hospital by taxi at a cost of B90.00. Mr. H⁵: her husband, & one other male relative accompanied her. She was, she claims in labor for 3 days, but fortunately she did not have to have a caesarean. She spent a little over 2 days in the house. at cost of B300 (Mr. H⁵: says B100; one woman said B500; but Mr. H⁵: says B300 and was

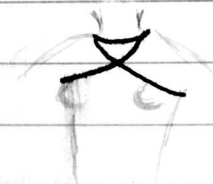
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concerned in his others.

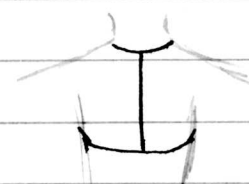
Jane observed Na:ng Khig (the new mother) "^{lying} by the fire" (əŋ' bɔ̌ - jū: fəj) and the following are her edited observations:

"She... said that altogether she would ^{lie} by the fire" for 11 days. About 60 other people (all women except one small boy) came along too. The Headman's wife explained to me that the girl was ^{lying} by the fire in order to dry her inside thoroughly.

"Mr. H⁵:'s daughter was lying on a plank of wood propped up by green coconut logs at each end. The whole was fixed to a couple of bamboo poles attached to the roof to prevent the underlogs from rolling about. Mr. H⁵:'s daughter was sitting up with her legs stretched out flat before her. She had her phū: sin pulled way down below her tummy button, and right up her thighs forming a sort of pair of knifcs. Her hair was wet from perspiration, & the water was running down her back. She had been burnt slightly on one hip from being close to the fire. She had straw round her wrists & ankles, & fastened around her neck, over the breasts, and passing around to the back (see diagrams).



Front



Back

There had been put around her to protect her against the phū: by Na:ng Khom malin (Nŋu Nŋu⁵ 16), a mī:kanphō: (21 Nŋu⁵ 16) from KAKA. In the ceremony of tying

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these strings he reads from a book called 1104103 (phē:n thō:y). Nag Khig complained bitterly several times of "cracks" from having to sit on the hard wood plank.

To her right lay the fire, on which stood a clay pot used for cooking a special medicine which Nag Khig had to drink frequently. This medicine called kē:n khā:m (11716 9732) consists of the inner wood of the tamarind tree boiled with plain water. The resulting tisane is scooped out with a chicken bowl & is drunk boiling hot. The old woman explained that this was to help the mother produce plenty of milk. The rest of the mother's food consisted of rice (2 khā:w nāw basketfuls being placed beside her on her left), salt & pepper, but no regular kāp khā:w. She was also allowed to chew betel, & in addition I saw a paper twist of a brownish-yellow powder which looked and smelled like khamin but may have been some kind of medicine. Mr. Ng. said he thought it might be a medicine called wā:n (11716 9732) which is used to help coagulate the blood.

"The baby lay to the ~~right~~ left of foot of the mother in a cloth sling tied to the bed post. I was also shown a special collapsible mosquito net for the baby though this wasn't in use at the time.

A FISHING EXPEDITION:

Went fishing with Mr. Ng. in the pond in the fields of Mother Ho:n - Mr. Phom. This pond is called 1104103 (Nō: gna: t̃ỹk) or nō: g nē: t̃ỹk in Lao = is ~~the pond~~ where Mr. Ng. worked in conjunction with his brothers-in-law Mean, Bunthom & Suphom with little that the little son of Mr. Phom, Thong Deng joining in more in play than in earnest.

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This ~~the~~ outing illustrates two interesting social facts:

- 1) Children learning ~~new~~ behavior by being present during an activity. In other words, though the outing was an occasion for swimming & splashing about in the water for that & Thong Deng, they were also learning how to fish and were given responsibilities (part. that was) such as placing captured fish in the basket. Small boys are always to be seen on the fishing (and other) expeditions of adult males.
- 2) Economic cooperation between matrilineally related males. More specifically, & just some endeavours between males of a parent-in-law and son-in-law household. The fact that son-in-law Mr. Ng. was the leader of this group follows from his being the oldest male (his father-in-law being dead). In a sense he is often the father surrogate for the Ngāw - Ho:n households.

The methods for catching fish were 3:

- 1) simply barrowing in the mud with one's hands & catching what fish one could
- 2) Using a hē: (1. 1191)
- 3) Using a sāwīg (1192)

The latter was used by one person making sweeping motions with his hands in the water towards another person scooping with the sāwīg. The fish caught consisted mainly of minnow-sized fish which will be used whole to make a 1104103 (m̃i:k). Some larger fish were also caught.

LACK OF FOOD IN VILLAGE:

Mr. Ng. was again bemoaning the fact that the mkt. (Sarakhom) was too far away and so

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"people lack food" in BNT. This certainly illustrates that though the mkt. is only 15 km. away, it is not seen as source of food for the daily diet.

THRESHING FLOORS:

At the place where Mr. Phon has his threshing floor, 2 other households also have their Mother Ho:m & someone from KNKN. These floors are all separate & distinct. The determining factor seems to be proximity of fields.

OUT MIGRATION FROM NEIGHBOURING VILLAGE:

Mr. Ng says that about 10 families have recently migrated away from B. Don Du because of the great trouble & damage that floods have caused. They have gone to such places as Kamphaengphet, Nakhon Phanom, Nakhon Sawan.

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ECONOMIC INNOVATION:

This past rice season, Mr. Wichian was able to get a new type of glutinous rice seed called ๑๑๑๓๒๑ (do:ga:nua:n) from the Agric. Str. in Sarakhae. He distributed this seed to selected people in the Tambon. In BNT 7 people each planted one ng each:

Mr. Phon (HT) the headman

Mr. Cho:ng (S) Asst. Headman

Mr. Horn (T) Acting Asst. Headman

Mr. Li: (H) which one I'm not certain (think canthayang - xw)

Mr. Phon (W) KL

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Mr. Phon (H) KL

Mr. Say (S) KPH

Today, as the rice harvest is over, Mr. W. came ^{away to} to get seed from these people in order to be able to distribute it again next year in the Tambon. The results in BNT were:

1) Higher yield: The headman, & Mr. Horn thought that the yield was about 30 thong (300kg) /rai as compared with 12 thong (120kg) /rai average that Mr. W. says is normal in the Amphoe.

2) Satisfaction: Mr. Phon and others said the new rice "has a good smell".

3) Decision to Plant again: Those who planted this year want to plant next yr. on a more extensive scale & are willing to help spread the use of the seed.

This was the first year that the seed had been planted in BNT.

Another innovation which has been made this year is the raising of watermelon. The govt. distributed free seed to a large number of interested people (but by no means not to everyone) in the villages throughout the area. Most of the watermelons raised have been for home consumption & not for sale. However, at least 3 people in BNT, Horn Thapauri & Banich Saitraksa, have grown them for sale. Mr. W. said that Banich has received \$3,000 for his work which he has done on govt. land. One of the results of the govt's program of encouraging increased watermelon production has been a decrease in the price of watermelon - naturally!

LINGUISTIC DETERMINANTS OF STATUS:

In observing teenage boys looking at the pictures which we have taken, I have

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heard them use the following linguistic determinants of status for identifying people in the pictures:

- 1) prefix māk- or bāk- (มāk-) for male children and male members of peer group
- 2) prefix zi: (zi-) for female children & female members of peer group.

Other forms, I have already described: thit, stāy, lūy, mē:.

COOPERATIVE LABOUR:

This morning Me. Sōm who lives in KW opp. to the headman had neighbors, friends, & relations help in bringing in the threshed rice from his fields to place in his granary. Me. Hōm explained that he wanted to get the rice into the granary with all due speed. This activity was called by one person log khēik hō:phā:w (log khēik hō:phā:w), though Me. Hōm said that it wasn't a true log khēik.

For their work, those who carried the rice, usually in their own baskets, received a midday meal of kē:g kōp ("frog stew") which was made with phāk chi: and frog and kē:g nō:mā:j sāj pla: ("Bamboo shoot stew with fish") and, of course, rice. They were also given tobacco and plenty of rice wine.

ECONOMICS:

Densuk was over and said now that he was finished with his watermelon growing, he was going to Bangkok to "find work". I asked him how he had done on watermelon and he answered noncommittally.

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Went over to meet a watermelon from Me. Phon in KL. He has quite a small commercial operation in watermelons, owns a kam and his house is full of these things. He & the group of young men who live with him certainly form one of the most active agro-economic groups in the village. It was interesting to hear that they "inject" sugar into their watermelons.

13 January, 1964

TRIP TO ROI ET:

Went to Roi-et today with Me. Ng. who was going on one of his ~~per~~ regular buying trips for stock for his shop. He always buys from the same store in Roi-et - a Chinese store which seems to specialize in large orders from village shop-keepers. I asked Me. Ng. how he first found this store and he replied that he just went looking around until he found a store which was doing a large trade. He gets a discount for buying in quantity & then resells his goods in the village for not much more than the retail price in Roi-et (which is sometimes less than the retail price in Sarabham). Nearly all business of this sort, both in towns and in villages, seems to operate on the principle of large rapid turnover of stock with small mark-ups.

One item which Me. Ng. always buys in quantity is salt. The salt ~~he~~ he gets from Roi-et is from Bangkok & prob. ultimately from the salt fields of the Choburi - Na Khya Southeast Coast Area. I asked Me. Ng. what people did before salt was able to be transported from great distances & he said that people used to make their own salt. They had methods for distilling it from the saline N.E. soil.

The headman - Me. Phon - also went to R.E. with us. It seems that ^{his} ~~the~~ ^{again}

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purpose was to buy a gold necklace & pendant for \$140 from one of the most reputable shops in the area. He bought there for his daughter Thong-jai (Thong-jai:), but there was no special occasion why he bought it at this time. Mr. Ng. said that he wanted to buy some jewelry for his wife & younger sister but was short of cash at the moment.

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Today has been my bad day. The only day that I have ever got drunk on the local rice wine & the village has visits from two sets of important guests. At about 2:00 this afternoon a land rover full of Ministry of Health officials including a Norwegian WHO Nurse arrived. Their purpose was to investigate the results of inspections given to children for smallpox and T.B. (BCG shots) last Sept. (we missed their coming). There is a real attempt to get all the children in the country injected before they are too old (preferably before 6) - but this usually means while they are school aged.

After this group left, I came back to take a nap. About an hour later I was awakened by someone calling me. This someone happened to be Mr. Chuenchais, the Changwat Primary Educ. Officer, who had arrived with the Governor, the Nai Amphoe, the Changwat Educ. Officer, & a few other officials. Fortunately, I was sober by this time. They had just come from making a visit to the "Friendship School". The gov. did show an interest in Mr. Ng's milling, but the Changwat Educ. Officer asked us how we could stand the noise of the rice mill and the smell of the pipe.

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LONG KHĒ:K HĀ:P KHĀ:W:

The occasion of my getting slightly high was a long khē:k hā:p khā:w (long khē:k hā:p khā:w) for carrying my Mr. Hoi's rice from the field & placing it in his granary. He joined those who were bringing in the rice as a meal of tā:p kōj and liquor. In contrast to the long khē:k we observed yesterday, at this one the rice was brought in in khuan. I asked how much rice there was, & the answer was that they didn't know the amount but the granary would be completely filled (and indeed it was). These occasions are certainly ones of great joy & merrymaking on the part of the men (only men participate) who join in.

SALT
SALESMAN:

A man selling salt came to the village today. He comes from Wapi Pathum. His salt costs 310 Baht.

PHU: KHE:N:

Jane observed an important phukhe:n ceremony in the middle of the road today. Nang Khoin, who lives opposite, has a baby who is at well at the moment. She was walking along the road with her child when she encountered a young man (whose name was perhaps le: or le:) who is a mō. She stopped him to get him to perform the "tying of the string" ceremony. He did this by casting some ritual words, blowing over the child's head a few times, and then tying the string.

KIN RELATIONS:

Mother Hoin apparently had only two siblings - an older sister & a younger brother. The house that the headman lives in was Mr. Hoin's parents' house. Mr. Ng. says that Mother Hoin's father had been phū:jāj bā:n. I had originally understood that Mr. Phoi's own father

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had been headman, but it was really his father-in-law who had been. This error should be noted.

OBSERVANCE OF WAN PHRA:

This morning as it ~~was~~ is wan phra Jone went to the wat with Nuan to feed the priest & notice. The pattern was as usual except that she noticed that some people (women) had brought little bottles of water with them. Their purpose was for "spreading the merit" to the ancestors during the triat na'im part of the ceremony. Some people pour the water through the cracks in the floor while others pour it into a dish.

RICE THRESHING:

About 6:00 we went over to the fields of Naij Di: to help thresh rice. I asked why threshing was done at such an hour & Mr. Ng. replied that it was because it was cooler than it is in the morning, that threshing was never done during the heat of the day. The method of threshing is as follows: one has a pair of sticks which are joined at the top by a rope with the right-hand stick protruding further beyond the rope than the left one:



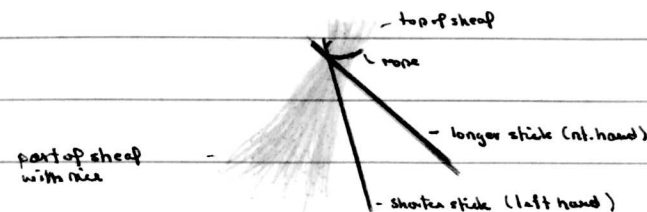
threshing sticks

ไม้ตี (mâi ti: khâ:w)

Then one takes a sheaf of rice & places ~~at~~ the end with ~~the~~ the rice on the ground. Then one grips the top of the sheaf by laying the rope of the threshing sticks on top of the sheaf, taking the right hand stick and twisting it so that the top goes behind the sheaf and ends up on

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top of the second ~~sheaf~~ stick (see diagram):



One now has a vise which will hold the sheaf of rice. To thresh, one stands holding the sheaf in the vise on top of a pile of already threshed rice, on the the threshing floor. Then one lifts the vise-and-sheaf above one's head & then brings it down striking it hard against the pile of rice. This process is repeated until all the rice has been loosened from the sheaf.

FROG GATHERING:

This morning Jone went on a frog gathering expedition with Nuan. The following are her notes: "Went out ~~for~~ hunting frogs (h&: khiet) with Nuan. (I get the impression that the difference between khiet and kôp is that khiet are land frogs, while kôp live in water / creek). We each took a siam, and that came along with a fish basket of this shape to put the frogs in

siam: along
narrow shovel

fish basket

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"We went out to nō:n t̃y:n [the pond], which was just about dry & started hunting in the fields round there. The frogs live in holes in the hard clay surrounding the old rice stubble, or in the dykes dividing up the fields, or in the still ~~not~~ slightly wet & marshy land where the ~~bank~~ kenaf had been laid out to soak. They often dig holes 2-3 feet deep, so that ~~the~~ chipping out the clay to get down to them can be quite hard work. We caught 10 frogs, 1 mouse, & several crabs. I asked ~~if~~ Nuai if she wasn't afraid of the mouse biting, but she ~~replied~~ said she had pulled its teeth out to prevent this. Similarly she broke the legs of the frogs to prevent them jumping away. All these beasts were caught by hand, Nuai placing her hand over them as they tried to run.

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WATER CONDITIONS IN VILLAGE:

Mr. Ng. This morning was saying that he would like to request that the Nai Amphue give BNT enough of the circular cement frames used in building a well to build a well about 10m in depth in Khum wat. He says that as it is now, people from Khum wat have to walk great distances to reach a well in the dry season. This is not true of the other khums (each khum has its own well(s)) because they are on lower ground than is Khum wat. He says that he figures it would take about 15 of the cement frames at \$30 / frame to build a proper well.

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FEAR OF THE POLICE:

This afternoon Mr. Ng. had a visitor - a friend whom he knew in Bangkok & who is making a visit to his native N.E. As a result Mr. Ng. broke out the local rice wine, which they were drinking, a policeman in civics but carrying a rifle came along. Fortunately, Mr. Ng. concealed the wine, but was fearful lest he should be discovered. He said that he thought it wouldn't matter because he knew the policeman - the younger brother of the wife of Khui: s̃arit, but he wasn't about to take any chances. The policeman was investigating villages to search out the making of local liquor, gambling, participating in the local lottery, or killing animals without paying the tax.

CEREMONY OF LĀNG PHĪ: NĀ:

In the 10th month, each farmer prepares an offering to the field spirits (LĀNG, PHĪ: NĀ:) in order to propitiate them for their help in protecting the rice, making the rice grow ~~then~~ tall, & bringing in a full harvest. The offering must be as Mr. Ng. has described before for a LĀNG PHĪ: ceremony - i.e. lāw hāj káj to: (lāw hāj káj to) which is literally translatable as one 'pot' (hāj = pot or container) of liquor and one chicken. These two ingredients are essential to the offering. However, charcoal ash mixed with bran is a legitimate substitute for the liquor, though "liquor is better". In previous ceremonies which I have seen, the ash-bran mixture is placed in bamboo containers. In actual fact the offering consists of more than these two things, including other things to eat like rice, meat, fish, etc. & tobacco & betel.

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Moo, included in the offering will be a chain made from bamboo. Mr. Ng didn't know the reason for this, but said that it is always included.

The offering is taken to the "house of the phi:" in the field which I have briefly described before. This house is called $\text{phi} \text{ hēik}$ (lit. "first eyes"). The offering is presented in a worshipful position & the priest asks that the phi: protect the rice of the offering & grant that the rice will grow tall, the heads will be full, and the fields will be protected from damage & danger.

TYPES OF SPIRITS RECOGNIZED IN BNT:

Mr. Ng. gave me the following list of types of spirits/ghosts recognized by villagers:

1) W (Phi:):

- a) $\text{phi:} \text{ nā:}$ ($\text{w} \text{ nā}$) - field spirits.
- b) $\text{phi:} \text{ pōg}$ ($\text{w} \text{ pōg}$) - also a field spirit which, however, lives in big trees.
- c) $\text{phi:} \text{ sūa}$ ($\text{w} \text{ sūa}$) - ancestral spirits; ghosts of dead relatives.
- d) $\text{phi:} \text{ lō:k}$ ($\text{w} \text{ lō:k}$) - general word for spirits/ghosts
- e) $\text{phi:} \text{ kōng kō:j}$ ($\text{w} \text{ kōng kō:j}$) - mountain spirits
- f) $(\text{phi:}) \text{ pū: ta:}$ ($\text{w} \text{ pū: ta:}$) - patron spirit (single spirit - not plural as name might indicate) of village; arrives in village when village first settled.
- g) $\text{phi:} \text{ pō:p}$ ($\text{w} \text{ pō:p}$) - The Thai dictionary (Modern, pp. 767-8) defines this spirit as "a spirit believed to dwell in the body and eat the bones."

Mr. Ng. says that this spirit ~~has~~ possesses the individual

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and eats blood & follows other ghastly habits. This type of spirit is especially feared in this area. Villagers think that Naig Beg died of possession & destruction by a $\text{phi:} \text{ pō:p}$ because she died so suddenly. Now a person in B. Nok Kradok is also possessed & it is thought that this is the same one who possessed Naig Beg. This phi: may be multiple spirits which appear in multiples of 3: i.e. 3, 6, 9, 12 (12 being the highest). When a mā: is employed to kill the $\text{phi:} \text{ pō:p}$, it is necessary to pay him \$100 for each of the multiple phi: that he kills. Thus if there are 12 phi: , it is necessary to pay the mā: \$1,200.

- h) $\text{phi:} \text{ phē:t}$ (phē:t $\text{w} \text{ phē:t}$) - the ghost of a person who has committed murder & who lives in the precincts of the wūt . Apparently, is not a malevolent spirit (other than frightening people by its gigantic & grotesque features). Its only desire is to gain merit so that it can be reborn again.
- i) $\text{phi:} \text{ phā:j}$ ($\text{w} \text{ phā:j}$) - spirit of woman who dies in pregnancy. Becomes a large bird & "eat" pregnant women.
- j) $\text{phi:} \text{ fā:}$ ($\text{w} \text{ fā:}$) - Mr. Ng. is not certain what this spirit is though he has often heard the word. Thinks may be same as $\text{the:} \text{wada:}$. lit. translated "sleep spirits".

2) Other spiritual beings:

- a) $\text{Nā:g} \text{ khō:} \text{ sōk}$ ($\text{khō:} \text{ sōk}$): The rice goddess. Equivalent to Thai $\text{Mā:} \text{ kho:} \text{ sōk}$

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(112) (๓๓๓). Is a Thewada. Not the same as Nāy thārānī: (๓๓๓ ๕๕๕) who is the Goddess of the Earth. During the ceremony of xi: khuan khā:w (๕ ๕๕๕ ๕๕๕), this is the spirit who is propitiated.

1) Nāy thārānī: (๓๓๓ ๕๕๕) - Goddess of the Earth.

A LEGEND:

Mr. Ng. says that the Lan people believe that the Khōm people who inhabited the land before the Laks came were a race of giants 8 sōk high (one sōk is equivalent to the length between the end of one's fingers to one's elbow; thus 8 sōk would be about 10-12' in height). One reason why they were so conceived was because they were thought able to carry the large laterite stones as found at the kū: on their shoulders.

16 January, 1964

A BIRTH:

Janet's Observations: "This afternoon went over to the house of Nin's mother-in-law (Nag Bua) where his wife, Nag Sūa, had just had a baby. Mr. Ngāw says that women always like to return to their mother's house to have babies. The child was lying in a heap on the floor yelling, still tied to the afterbirth, & covered in a yellow-green film. The mother was wet & shivering, having just been bathed by having had a bucket of water tipped over her. A number of women and children were sitting around watching. Nin's mother-in-law was acting as midwife. Also ordering people to things was Mr. Suan's wife (also a relative & next door neighbour

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to Nin J. The child was left on the floor for some 15-20 minutes while the fire was built by Nin. He brought up 4 boards and formed these into a square, laid a piece of old matting down in the square and then covered this with a couple of buckets full of earth. He then went and got 3 clay pot stumps, set these well into the earth, placed a clay pot over these & then filled the pot with water to boil.

"While the fire was being built, Nin's mother-in-law tied the cord joining the baby (a boy) to the afterbirth in 4 places & then cut the cord between two of these ties. (Checked whether it was a bamboo knife, but it wasn't. It was a regular metal one.). The afterbirth was left lying on the floor.

"The baby was then picked up by the mother, who washed away some of the yellow-green substance coating it as the mother-in-law & Mr. Suan's wife tipped water from a khān over it. The mother then took an old cloth & wiped away some more. The baby was then taken by the mother-in-law and wrapped in an old phasin and laid on a kradog (~~winnowing basket~~) or wicker tray used for winnowing rice. (Nuan told me that the baby must always be put on a kradog for the first couple of days of its life). The child was then put out in the front room while the mother was put by the fire.

"The afterbirth was wrapped in a piece of banana leaf, tied with string and later buried by Nin.

"New vocab.: hām = penis

hē: = afterbirth "

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BURYING THE AFTERBIRTH:

After Nin's baby was born today, he took the afterbirth (hē: , 1121) and went to bury it in a white ant hill (phāu puak , 1207) in the woods near his house. Mr. Ng. says that some people bury them at the foot of the stairs while others place them in an ant hill. Why the latter, he didn't know. Nin pointed out that this ant hill had been used before for the same purpose. He dug a hole with a long small shovel (siam) and then he took a pre-made cigarette and a chew of betel and placed them near the hole. Then he requested permission (of the local spirits) to bury the afterbirth in this place. Then he buried the afterbirth - without actually touching it with his hands - covered the place with sticks and logs "to prevent dogs from digging it up" and placed the tobacco and betel on the top of the hill.

THAM BUN BĀN:

Tomorrow, Mr. Phon is sponsoring a thambun bān. Today he did three things in conjunction with the ceremony:

- 1) Special food: the household prepared khāu w phū:n (1207 1208) and a special chicken kāi to go with it. A meal of this was served to selected guests for the noon meal.
- 2) sūat monjen: The priest came to the house at about 6:00-6:30 and chanted the sūat monjen. This seems always to ~~come~~ precede (the evening before) any thambun.

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- 3) Sponsored a mo:lam troupe: In this case it was a troupe made up of local people primarily from KW and some from KV. The leading woman was Mr. Phon's daughter Thō:gi:jū; and the leading man - Muān. Many of the actors had uniforms and they own their own backdrops. The troupe is under the supervision of Mr. Sāu, and the performance was held on the stage in front of Mr. Phon's house.

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THAM BUN BĀN:

This morning a thambun bān ceremony was held at the house of Mr. Phon. The properties of this ceremony include the following:

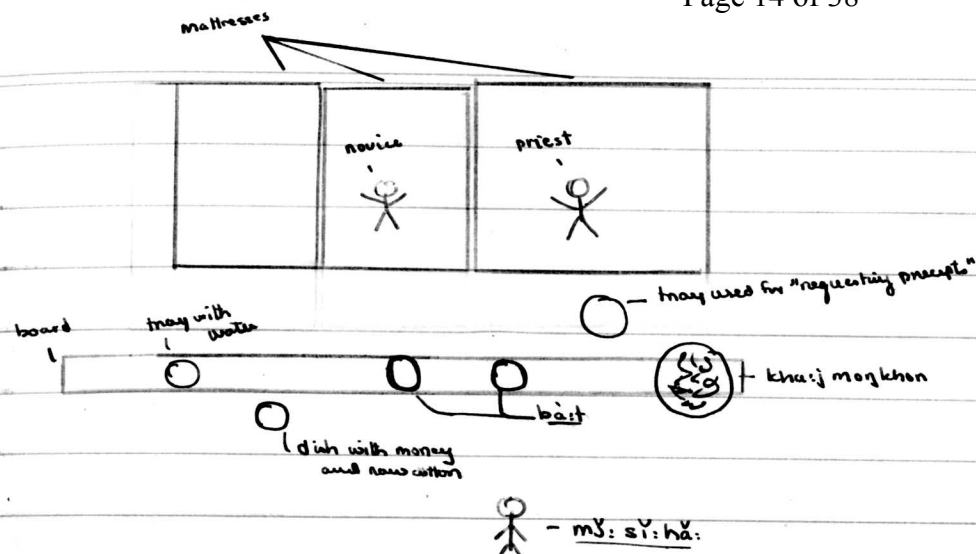
- 1) Pā:j phōm mācā:ī (1207 1208 1209 1210): This is a thread which runs from the house of Mr. Phon's son-in-law, Na:j Khāj, to Mr. Phon's granary, to the mothers of Mr. Phon and down to the way known as khāj mōngkhon. It is over this string that the merit made in the ceremony passes to the elements of the "household" for which the ceremony is being held. Note the integration of a matrilineal extended family. Mr. Sāu says that phā:phōm (1211 1212) is the supernatural being who intrudes in the ceremony and transfers the merit from place to place. I was somewhat uncertain as to my understanding

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of this explanation, but I would guess that the term used should be ^{as their} something
 fáij phrom máca:ri: (ฟ้าย พรหม มาคาริ) where fáij (fáij) is
 'string', phrom (phrom) refers to the "God Brahma", and máca:ri:
 (ca:ri:) means "door". Then, the meaning would be something like
 "the string which Brahma uses." The Hindu/Brahmic implications are
 obvious. Mr. Sāw also used the word ฟ้าย มาคาริ = ฟ้าย (phrom má:
 ca:ro:kha:), the meaning of which escapes me. The thread is also known
 as fáij mongkhan (ฟ้าย มงกขน).

4) kha:j mongkhan (กขจ มงกขน): The above described string ends in a tray which is placed in
 front of the priest. This tray and its contents are ~~known~~ known as kha:j
mongkhan. In this case the tray included 5 candles, raw cotton, a bait net,
 5 flowers, ~~lighted candles~~ a bowl of water in which were placed the crossed
 sticks (floating on top of the water), 2 pre-made cigarettes, cotton thread.

At the beginning of the ceremony, there was the following arrangement of major participants
 and artifacts:



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The ceremony was begun by mā:sī:hā:, as the leader of the laymen, leading a chant by the
 laity. He then took a small tray on which were placed two lighted candles & leaves and
 presented this to the priest (in the diagram, the tray in front of the priest). This was the tray
 which accompanies the "request for the precepts" (กขจ - kha:j sīn). Then mā:sī:hā: began
 the namo... repeated in response form by laity with priest leading. Then the priest gave
 the "precepts" again in response form with the priest leading.

When the "precepts" were finished, the priest blew out the candles and then mā:sī:hā:
 chanted something. Then the priest & novice chanted. ~~which is called~~ which is called
 สวด นม-สัจ (sūt phra hūg). While this chanting was going on, the bait was filled
 with rice and a woman (~~the~~ the wife of Mr. Phomma, KNKN, whom I saw sleep often
 arranges the monk's food or trays or was phra) prepared two trays of food.

The food was presented to the priests when they had finished chanting the sūt

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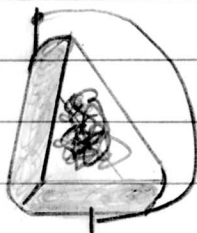
phở hũng. This ritual presentation of food is called thả vế sớ (thả vế sớ) (thả vế sớ) by Mr. Sào. During this presentation, laymen (not women) kneel in front of the priest and raise the brazier and the trays of food.

After the priest had finished eating, a meal was given to all the guests present.

When the people had finished eating the priest and novice chanted the triat nām
(มรตนะ) which Mr. Sāo also calls ภาวนาปริตมวงค (ka:n'saet pārit mōngkhon).

~~This finished, and the water poured through the ~~can~~ into the ~~hole~~ and the~~
~~hair containing the ~~oil~~ and have moved to "inside the inside"~~

~~The food offering is placed during sitting~~ into a special container which had been brought in during the meal and set in front of the priest. This container, which was triangular (see diagram) and made from banana tree "bark" was a special offering to the Earth Goddess - phó nāg thá rā nī. (p. 105 = 103 of 1964).



This offering is called ~~it~~ in Lao ດື່ງນ້ຳວຸ້ນ (thō:g nō: wūa) and included the following items: glutinous rice (cooked), yellow rice, black rice, khā:w phāi:n, 1 egg, and 1 chicken breast.

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When the bratnā:m was finished, a small bowl in which cotton was placed (the money having been removed) was taken by Mr. Sāo who attached two lighted candles to it. This was the khajj thē:t which mō:sī:hā: took and presented to the priest while chanting a formal request for a "sermon." The ~~serm~~ "sermon" in Thai and Pali was read/chantered by the priest.

Then when this was finished a water basket filled with water and in which was placed a leafed branch was placed in front of the priest. He took two long lighted tapers which he held over the basket and while chanting let the molten wax fall into the water. This was the preparation of the "sprinkling water". This is called ḡāḡ ḡāḡ (sūt chag rot ná:m). When the chanting was nearly finished, he began sprinkling the water on the inhabitants of the room. When he had completed chanting he took the basket and sprinkled water in other parts of the house.

N.B.: I may have confused the order up not no'im & trust no'im in my accounting.

Check on this.

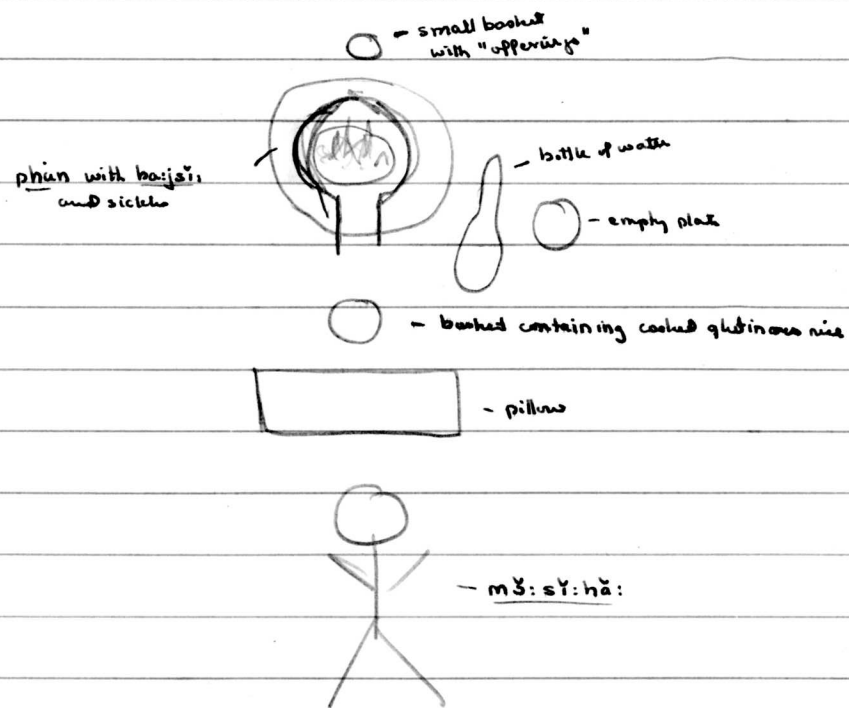
Other observations at ceremony. Priest provided with premade cigarettes. Ceremony held in inner room of the house. Khau-co phun, the chicken dish, and a fish dish served at the meal. Fish purchased previously day at Maheasarakham mkt.

Sù: khwǎn khâ:w:

On the 3rd day of the waning of the moon in the 3rd month (i.e. today) in

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every granary in the village the ceremony of sà:khwân khô:w (สั:ควัน:ห่อ) is held. Prior to this all the rice has been harvested (or rather the major rice harvest is complete), the rice has been threshed and transported to the granary. Thus, this ceremony marks the official end of the rice cycle. I observed two incidents of this ceremony - one in the granary of Mr. Phom & one in the new granary of Mother Hoim. In Mr. Phom's granary, the following arrangement was observed on top of the rice.



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The first object, the small basket, had placed in it khâ:wôm dɔ: (glutinous rice in banana leaf), khâ:wôm, phýak (lɔ́ɔɔɔ - bar), 2 chewed betel, 2 pre-made cups, and glutinous rice (cooked).

On the large phan (ฟั้น) which was an old-fashioned bronze tray ^{with} pedestal was placed two sickles each with a ball of glutinous rice at the end and a water scoop in which was placed a ba:ja:, khâ:wôm, 5 candles (called lhan s), phýak man, ^{hand-}a broken chicken's egg, 1 burnt cotton, flowers, bottle of nám hóm, string, pa:ij monlekhan.

The ceremony is held as an offering to the rice goddess - hɔ́ɔɔɔ (Nǎi khô:sák). The participants include m̃s̃:s̃:h̃: as the major official, Mr. Sáo, and Mr. Phom on the outside of the granary (observing only).

The ceremony began by the lighting of two candles and attaching them to the phan. The m̃s̃:s̃:h̃: began by chanting the name... and then continuing as a ritual request to the Rice Goddess to accept the offering and to look after the fortunes of rice for this family. During the chanting, Mr. Sáo would occasionally break out by repeating phrases of the chants and in a manner seconding the requests of m̃s̃:s̃:h̃:. When the chanting was over, the candles were blown out, the egg was taken and broken. If the egg was good, then fortune would be good. In the case of Mr. Phom, the egg was unfortunately not good. Then Mr. S̃:h̃: took the burnt rice, the string, and some of the khâ:wôm as recompense. Finally, a basket was filled with rice (paddy). This would be taken to the wit and given there.

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One more note: 2 pieces of glutinous rice placed on the cross beam above Phom.

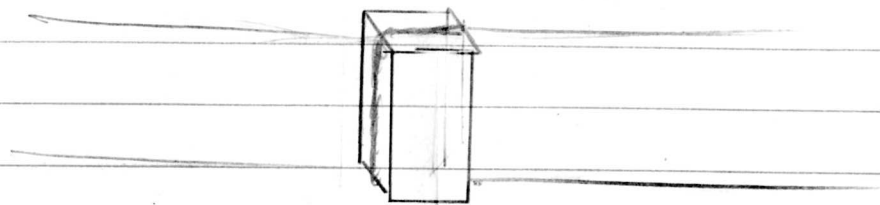
The ceremony in Mother Hoim's gallery was nearly the same also with Mr. SY:nh: officiating. Started ceremony with names... Then went in to chant about the rice & propitiating the rice mother. In this case there was a sheaf of rice (already threshed) next to the other objects, & 4 sickles on the Phom. No small basket of offerings. Again Mr. Sain acted in role of recorder to msp. pouch. Also, in this case there was a banana leaf container placed in lip of bottle of nám hōim. Phs:SY:h: sprinkled nám hōim with flowers taken from this container. Also did this in other case at end of ceremony by pouring nám hōim in the empty dish and using flowers to sprinkle nám hōim around the gallery. Then the egg business - this time it was a very good egg. In banana leaf container in the mouth of bottle of nám hōim were 2 flowers, 2 candles, 1 cig., 1 chew of betel.

A COOPERATIVE FISH HUNT:

After the sik:khuan khian ceremonies, we went out to the fields of Mr. Phom & Mother Hoim. In the fields of both there are small ponds which are the exclusive property of the Phom and Hoim families respectively. Today as these ponds are nearly dried up, it was decided to drain them in order to get all the fish in them. Thus, relatives of the two families were called into help. Working on Mother Hoim's pond were Mian, Phom, and the boys, Mr. Ng. and 3 other men. There was another group working in Mr. Phom's pond.

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The first thing that needed to be done was to drain the ponds of remaining water. This was done in the following manner. To a kerosene tin which was completely open at one end ropes were attached ~~to~~ so that there were two ropes attached top and bottom to two sides of the ~~tin~~ tin (see diagram):



Two men standing on the edge of the pond would swing this tin into the water, fill it, and lift it out, emptying it on the bank.

When the pond was nearly empty, dikes were built so that small buckets of water could be caught and emptied through sluicing. Also, when the pond was finally emptied, the people would dig in the very soft mud to catch fish that burrowed into it.

After both ponds had been nearly cleaned out of their fish, a meal was held in the field house of Mr. Phom. This was a very large group for whom was provided liquor (rice wine) somtan, ~~and~~ eaten with new mirrors, and a fish king. The atmosphere was extremely festive.

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A C.D. DURING IN BAN KHUAW:

Today, in return for the visit which people ~~are~~ from Ban Khuaw made

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a five-months ago to Ban Po: Phao in Roi-et, villagers from that Tambon came to Ban Khuaew for an explanation and view of the development projects in Tambon Khuaew. In actual fact, the event boiled down basically to a picnic event for all concerned as a huge feast and entertainment was held in B. Khuaew school. For an explanation of events and a history of C.D. in B. Khuaew, see sheet which Mr. Wickham prepared.

A LEGAL INCIDENT:

Mr. Ngau was trying to explain to me today about a legal incident which occurred in BNT. It seems that Mr. Chaij, the asst. headman, "stole", killed, and ate a cow. I am not quite certain as to whom the cow belonged, but at any rate, Mr. Lè made a complaint. The incident was referred to the Kamnan who today made his mediation. He mediated the dispute and an indemnity of \$200 was decided upon. Mr. Ng. says that if relatives had not been involved, the indemnity would have been much higher.

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THE FATHER OF MOTHER HO: M:

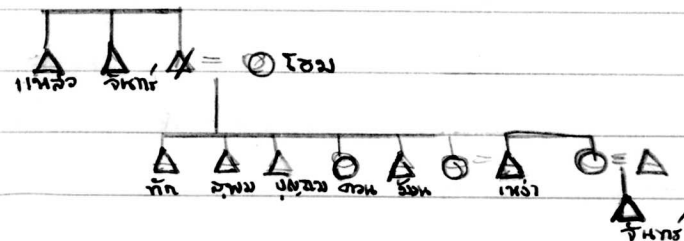
Mr. Saw confirmed the story that the house of Mr. Phom had been his fa-in-law's house; that his fa-in-law had been the headman. He also said that the fa-in-law had been a priest for a long time and had been a nák prāit (နက်ပြာဒ်). By this he means a nák prāit (နက်ပြာဒ်) (nák prāit - different spelling) - 'a scholar'. Mr. Saw said that he thought that the reason why Mr. Phom has more land than Mother Ho: m is that Mr. Phom has purchased more land.

21 January, 1964

FISHING: CATCHING FISH IN THE COMMUNAL POND:

Previously, I described the fish hunting project in the ponds of Mo. Ho: m & Mr. Phom. This pond draining fishing is called sā: pā: (သာပြာ). I also mentioned that the project was limited to kinsmen. The case of who worked in Mo. Ho: m's pond presents an interesting use of bilateral kinship for bringing together on a communal project a group of kinsmen. There were the two younger brothers of Mo. Ho: m's husband - No: j lē: w (နဝ်လီဝ) & No: j cān (နဝ်ဇာန်) both of KNKN, the son of Mr. Ng. 's elder sister's ~~husband~~ - no: v t h nō (နဝ်တစ်နှစ်), Njāw, Māon, Bantān, Duan, Phom (i Thud). Mr. Ng. was the head of the group as the leading male in the central family - i.e. Mother Ho: m's. The following kin diagram shows the working party (those participating shown in red):

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Obviously, the key figures in this ^{are} Mr. Ngai and Mr. Ho:m.

THAMBUAN BÂN:

Observed khô:wphân being made at the house of Mr. Ta:p. Mr. Ng. says that he will have a thambunbân tomorrow. Mr. Ng. says that at this time of the year when the rice cycle is complete & the rice has been placed in the granary, people like to have thambunbân. In addition to Mr. Ta:p, Mr. Hok (XN) - ^{Lê:} Mr. Ng.'s brother-in-law - and Mr. ^{Lê:} (in K) are in preparatory stages for thambunbân.

LEGAL INCIDENT:

In the case of Mr. Char:j killing the cow, it seems that the cow belonged to Na:g Suaj, the daughter of Na:g Beng and the wife of Na:j le: (Lê:) in K. Mr. Char:j's explanation was that he had been working in the fields and he had seen the cow which he thought was already dead. He was very hungry and so he decided to eat it.

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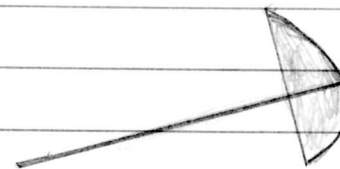
SCARECROW:

That came by with a scarecrow made of straw - called hún in Lao (H). Exactly same pattern as in west: made in shape of man; placed in garden (Mr. Ng. mentioned watermelons); used to frighten away crows; clothes & hat placed on it; associated with instrument which makes sound in wind.

22 January, 1964

MATERIAL CULTURE ASSOCIATED WITH RICE:

Paid a visit to the ~~at~~ threshing floor of the family of Na:g Beng (Na:j Sam's:n is now head of family). In the middle of the threshing floor (lân, 17th) there was a huge pile of rice which Mr. Ng. said was the biggest harvest in the village. On one side was the pile of straw (Lao ¹thô - fâ:g; Thai ¹thô - fâ:g) which will eventually be put in a straw stack. On another side was a small pile of rice sheaves as yet unthreshed. On the opp. side was a much larger stack of sheaves which will be used as seed. The sheaves are known in Lao as khô:w pû:k (XN 1/27). The rice which is threshed is taken into the pile by means of using a long stick to which is attached a curved board (see diagram). This in Lao is called mâ:j kâ:thâi (Lân 17: m).



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A sort of weed burner, called in Lao māj khān lā:w (ມ້າໝາກລ້າວ), is used to sweep the pile up rice free of extraneous matter.

During the time that the rice is on the threshing floor, some one sleeps at the floor. He sometimes sleeps in a small hut, but occasionally will sleep in a burrow made in the straw. This burrow is called in Lao sām (ສ້າມ).

On the way back from the fields we saw some men making a platform on which the straw will be placed. This platform is called hā:n fīng (ໜ້າຟຶງ). Sometimes, the straw is also placed in a tree. Both practices are to get the straw up and of the reach of the buffalo and cattle.

Also, noticed at the threshing floor a hoe which is called māk cāk (ມ້າຈັກ) in Lao.

Mr. Ng. explained to us that there are two types of ox-carts depending on whether the frame is attached to the outside or inside of the axle. If it is attached to the outside, it is called a kian (ກິ້ນ) in L. and a khuiang (ຫຼີ້ງ) in Thai. If it is attached to the inside it is called a lāi (ລ້າ) which lit. means "wheel".

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A SOCIAL REALIGNMENT IN KHUM PA: HÒ:t:

Near the house of Mr. Can Thapsuri, a new small house has been erected. This is for the father of Mr. Lee Le: Somphithak, who also ~~he~~ lives in KPH. Apparently, the old man who is very deaf, moves from one son to another & had been living with another son in KL prior to moving here.

THE ILLITERACY OF MR. CAN THAPSURI:

Mr. Can Thapsuri who is still a young man and who lives in KPH explains the fact that he is illiterate by the fact that his father died when he was very young, and thus he never had an opportunity to go to school.

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THAMBUAN:

Mr. Ng. says that he is planning to buy white rice in the market today in order that the making of khā:w phūin for a thambun can be begun. I asked what thambun? He replied a thambun either for the Khum Voi or for the whole village. He said that Mr. Phom & Mr. Sī:hā: will be making this decision.

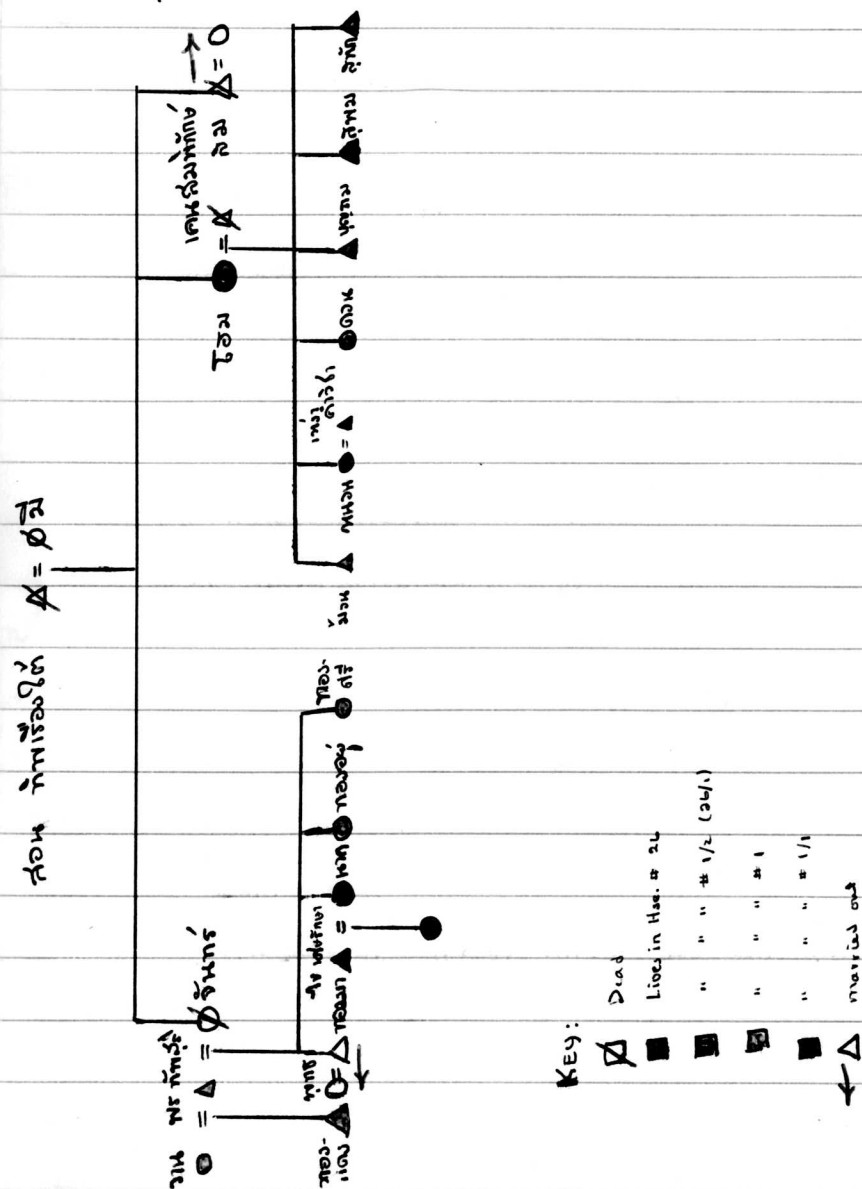
WAT LEADERS:

In referring to Mr. Sī:hā: as leader of the wat, he called him the thā:jók wāt (ໜ້າຈັກວັດ). If there was a female leader (there is none in BMT), she would be called thā:jīka: wāt (ໜ້າຈີ່ກາວັດ).

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GENAEOLOGICAL ILLUSTRATION OF KIN STRUCTURE IN BNT:

The following kin diagram 3 generations of descendants of Mr. Sōn Thipyagāj:



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Certain ~~kin~~ social structural features can be seen by referring to the people included in the diagram.

1. Residential Uxorilocal Residence Rule:

Upon marriage, ~~the~~ to ~~was~~ Na:ij Canthi:, Na:ij Phon came to live with his parents-in-law. Similarly for Na:ij Khe:n, the husband of Na:ij Horm, ~~for~~ though later Khe:n built a separate house (26) near the house of his parents-in-law's house (1). Phon continued to reside in his parent-in-law's house, and eventually inherited the house. In the next generation, Na:ij Khaj orig., on marriage to Na:ij Naik, the da. of Na:ij Phon & Na:ij Canthi:, came to live with his parents-in-law (Hr. 1), but later built his own house (1/1). Na:ij Som, the son of Na:ij Sōn, married out and went to live in the village of B. Don Due. Similarly, Na:ij Thongae, the son of Na:ij Phon moved out, on marriage, & went to live with his parents-in-law.

There are two exceptions to this rule: The first is the case of the 2nd wife of Na:ij Phon who, Na:ij Wain, who moved in with her husband. The reason for this was because when the marriage occurred, late in life, Mr. Phon had an established position (headman) & ~~an established~~ land (inherited from his first wife) in BNT. The second exception is Ngāw who came to live near his mother-in-law's house before he had any intention of marrying Na:ij. However, once he did marry her, the pattern became established, though the relationship of Ngāw - Ngāw went through stages of servant, mistress, and finally, wife (without formal ceremony). In fact something might

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be made of the pressure of traditional patterns on Mr. Ngaw for him to make permanent a relationship which he himself admitted to us when we first arrived in the village as being merely temporary.

2. PROPERTY INHERITANCE:

Upon the death of the parents So:n and Mi:, their two daughters inherited their property. The inheritance was uneven with Na:g Can thi: getting the house & more land than Na:g Ho:m. The reason for this is unclear but seems to have something to do with a preference for the son-in-law Phon. When the property passed to the 2 daughters, it became joint property with their respective husbands. The son and brother Som received nothing.

Mr. Ng. gives one reason for matrilineal inheritance as due to the fact "that it is easier for men to find new land or money." It should be noted, however, that this principle is supplemented by the fact that men make decisions about selling (i.e. buying) land, about building new houses, and about ~~fast~~ leaving and starting up in a new area.

Upon the death of his wife Can thi:, after 20-25 years of marriage, Mr. Phon inherited all joint property. Since his new wife came to live with Mr. Phon, he did not brook this inheritance. Mr. Ng. says that Phon is to be pitied because he has 3 daughters who will divide up his ~~to inherit~~ property & land.

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3. POSSIBLE INHERITANCE OF POSITION:

Another interesting fact which may or may not be significant is that on the death of Mr. So:n, who was headman, Mr. Phon, his son-in-law, was "selected/elected" to be the new headman. From my inquiries, I have found no feeling that a principle of "matrilineal inherited" position should exist. Mr. Ng. has said repeatedly that there are a number of qualified people who could succeed Mr. Phon as headman (none of whom are his son-in-law). When I had mistakenly thought that Mr. Phon's ^{own} father had been headman, and Mr. Phon had succeeded him, I had opined that one of the reasons for this being the case was because Mr. Phon had exercised the duties and powers of headman in the old age of his father. This same reason would make far more sense in the case of son-in-law succeeding father-in-law when the son-in-law is living in the same house as his father-in-law. In any event, if there was matrilineal inheritance of position in the past of headmanship, it does not seem to be an unchangeable position at the present time.

4. Economic Units:

The matrilineal extended family, even when more than one household is involved, seems to be an economic unit. Thus, households #1 and #1/1 cooperate on rice farming & fishing (see example above). Similarly, for households #2 & #2/1 (1/2), though since Mr. Ng. is not a rice farmer, he does not participate in that phase. However, the households also retain a separate economic identity in that a son-in-law household

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may & often does have separate rice land (the old # 1/1 has 2 rai of rice land) which it takes care of itself. Whether the rice from this rice land goes into a communal or separate granary, I am not yet certain, but this will come out in the current economic survey which I am making.

5. RITUAL INTEGRATION OF MATRILINEAL EXTENDED HOUSEHOLD:

In the thambun bân ceremony which Mr. Phun (H.H. # 1) sponsored, & which was described above, the parent H.H. (# 1) and the son-in-law H.H. (# 1/1) were symbolically brought together by the "string".

6. KIN BEHAVIOUR:

Mr. Ng. has a strong^{feeling of} responsibility towards his mother-in-law and has already helped build her a new granary & is planning to contribute in both money & work to help her build a new house. Part of his feeling of responsibility may stem from his greater wealth and from the fact that there is no head of household for Mr. Ho:m's household.

Mr. Phun exercises a certain masculine influence over the family of Mr. Ho:m because of the fact that the male head of family - Khe:n - has died. He feels perfectly free, and has done so, to criticize what he considers atypical treatment as a wife which Nuan has received from Mr. Ngaw.

~~24 January, 1964~~

24 January, 1964

MORNING ACTIVITIES:

This morning, I went to the fields near K.Y. well to watch the priest flying the kite. As it was about 7:30, I was able to observe some morning behavioural patterns. Many people were at the well - mainly adolescent girls & young teenage boys - 12-14. Some women & children were out catching fish with a sawing in the nō:g known as nō:g tum or were digging for small frogs with a siem in the mud flats around the drying pond. I passed several groups of men who had already begun making bamboo walking.

A CASE OF MALE INHERITANCE:

This morning we saw a group of men going out to the fields. What transpired was that they were going out to divide some land for the inheritance of Mr. Le: Somphitak (H.H. 20). This story went something like this: Mr. Le: married out & went to live with his wife's family. When his own parents died, his sister inherited this land & property, & as was traditional, he received nothing. However, his own wife died, & he decided that he didn't wish to continue living in her home and managing her property, so he returned to BNT. He then said laid claim to part of his sister's land as his own inheritance. And this is what he got today. He threw a small feast after this division for the large group of men present.

Some points of analysis: It is interesting to note that such a situation can occur - i.e. that a man can lay claim to a part of his parents' legacy and more interesting - that

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his claims can be sanctioned by others in the community. Mr. Ngai however said that it was not truly proper behaviour of Mr. L.: to do this and obviously himself disapproved of such a trespass of what he considers the correct patterns.

WAT COMMITTEE:

The following 9 people are members of the wat comm. (๗๕๕ ๖๗๕ ๖๗ / ๗๕๖ ๗๕๖)

๑) ๑๗ - kamáka:n wát / kamáka:n sà:tsáa: :

Mr. Horm Thapsuri (๓๐๖ ๗๗๕๖)	KV	ant. Headman
Chai Somphithak " ๗๕๖ ๗๕๖ (๗๕๖ ๗๕๖)	KV	" "
Mr. L.: Thapsuri (๓๗ ๗๗๕๖)	KL	
" L.: Cantharyay (๗๗๕ ๗๗๕๖)	KW	
" Di: Phonkhan (๗๕๖ ๗๗๕๖)	KW	
" Daw Thapthani: (๗๗๕ ๗๗๕๖)	KWKN	
" Sain Sain Se:traksu: (๗๗๕ ๗๗๕๖)	KWKN	
" Phonma: Se:traksu: (๗๗๕ ๗๗๕๖)	KWKN	
" Bursi: Re:tsá:há: (๗๗๕ ๗๗๕๖)	KL	

In addition to this committee there are old respected laymen from nearby every whom who are in charge of looking after wat affairs. These are called sá:á:wát (๗๕๖ ๗๕๖) and include the following:

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Father Hó: ("cek") Thapsuri (๗๕๖ ๗๗๕๖)	representing	KW ≠ KN
Father Mi: Thapsuri (๗๕๖ ๗๗๕๖)	"	KV
Mr. Father Bua Thapthamut (๗๕๖ ๗๗๕๖)	"	KWKN
Father Phan Thapsuri (๗๕๖ ๗๗๕๖)	"	KL

Finally, there is Father SY:há: Thapthani: (๗๕๖ ๗๗๕๖) who is sá:á:wát for the whole village and is kind of supervisor of village religious affairs. He is also called tha:jók wát (๗๕๖ ๗๕๖) and supervisor (phú:du:le: , ๗๕๖ ๗๕๖) and "permanent secretary."

Taken together, it is the responsibility of these men to look after the religious affairs of the village.

A REARRANGEMENT IN H.H. # 36:

After the death of the wife of Mr. Mai Thapsuri (๗๕๖ ๗๗๕๖) who lived in H.H. #36, he took a 2nd wife from B. Klang (Bride price \$100). Then the old household #36 split up. Half the house (physically) was moved from the original spot in KV to a new spot near the house of Mr. Chu: at the crossroads at the entrance of the village. He took with him his new wife & his children by his first wife.

Na:y Mú, the sister of Mr. Mai's 1st wife (and who incidentally is blind) and her infant daughter continued to live in the 2nd half of H.H. No. 36.

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VILLAGE MEETING:

This evening there was a meeting - this time held in the khut in the wat instead of at the msi:lam stage in front of Mr. Phan's house - probably a result of the meeting concerning reliquious matters. The meeting concerned the following: (1) Thambun ceremonies for khums (KW, KU, KL will prob. hold ones); (2) Bun Khawu ci or Bun Khawu ki; (3) Bun Phra West; (4) and paying for a Burmese gong that was received last year but which hasn't yet been paid for.

I am continually amazed at these meetings that anything gets done at all because everyone talks at once and no one seems to chair the meeting. At any rate what seemed to have been decided was (1) the ordering of events: the thambun for KW followed by that for KL & then KU, Bun Khawu ci, & finally Bun Phra West. (2) that there ~~must~~ will be a collecting of money from everyone in the village to pay for the gong. A point was made especially of telling me about the need for the money for the gong.

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Objects and Possessions of Households:

This morning began economic survey. While giving the survey in the house of Mr. Phan Thapsut - one of the more wealthy households of the village - Jane made a list of things in the households. The following are the things which she observed:

On each clay water jars of various sizes (some the cheap kind from S. Nsi, other exp. from Saraburi)

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~~khut~~ coconut shell water scoop with handle

metal water scoops (khian)

knorn (maj khuat)

thay for measuring rice

clay bowls

khian - shopping board

~~khut~~ ~~khut~~ khutak (กฐก) & majti:phik (จกขิน) - mortar & pestle

knives of various shapes

water carrying baskets

palm ~~leaf~~ or palm tree hat

- tau hij (โถงข) - charred stove

- sawing (จกข) - fish net

- hzi (ขข) - fish net

basket
- ~~khut~~ for drying cotton & other things (kradong)

fish baskets of various shapes

crack stand

shirts, phakhammas, sarong, blouses, cotton underpants, phusin, T-shirts

(on people) earrings, watch

rubber & leather thong sandals; sneakers; soap

shawls

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metal strips for carrying water

different sizes of earthen bowls

reed mats

spoons (metal with painted coloured flowers)

bamboo bed

mattresses

pillows

large chopping board with handle carved into it

blankets, towels

plastic jars

4-sided stand for winding silk & cotton on

special silk baskets for worms to spin in

Rattan chairs & tin stools

crochet hooks for making fish nets

metal sets

glass screened food cupboards

wireless

khâw nâw baskets of various shapes

steamers for khâw nâw

clay cooking jars

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wood spoons of straight bamboo

spindles

weaving looms

wicker chicken cage

siam (1/15/63)

hoe

rope

mirror

photos, calendars, posters

carrying sticks

tin spoons

nickles

sticks for threshing rice (mâj ti: khâw)

weaving circle

khwan / 15' and large basket which fits on it

flowered trays for taking food to priests

metal pails

axe : hammer

umbrella

cotton bow for cleaning cotton

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mail box looking contraption in which can be placed a kerosene lamp thus forming a sort of primitive flashlight

kerosene lamp

(new) sewing machine

un-lacquered basket for carrying rice

VILLAGE ACTIVITIES:

In KY observed near place where men are working on blacksmithing, women collected in a kapok-tree orchard. One woman making bamboo matting. Other women working on thread winding. Two women tending children. One woman lying down.

VISIT WITH NAI AMPHUE TO TAMBON NONG KUNG:

Today, the Nai Amphue came to the village with Mr. Sawaj (CD supervisor), Mr. Wichian, ~~his~~ his family (wife, two daughters, small son), female CD officer for Nong Kung & two PCV CD workers (one of whom will live in Mahasarakham). We were invited and joined in on a bus of Tambon Nong Kung. I was especially interested to see this tambon because that is where the feared ("killed 2 men") Kammuan Sit lives. The Kammuan certainly has vast holdings in livestock, upland (lots of watermelons this year) & rice land, and house property (he has 5 or 6 houses and a different wife in everyone of them). I was also interested to see the Nai Amphue in action. He certainly exercises a ^{droit} ~~not~~ *de seigneurie* attitude towards most of the people and he came back with gifts of watermelon & fish. His family were obviously

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I was ^{at} the wife indicated that though she has lived in Mahasarakham for 14 years, she has never learnt a word of Lao. The group had brought a picnic lunch built around white rice & central Thai dishes. To this was added ~~the~~ kajjiao, watermelon, and some Lao dishes by Kammuan Sit. I was amused at the eating arrangements. Except for Jane all the men ate separately & then no villagers, not even Kammuan Sit, was included.

It has long been known that a "special relationship" exists between the Nai Amphue & Kammuan Sit. What this relationship exactly is, I am not certain, but I did see some excellent machine produced lumber for the building of bridges, whereas further up the road in Ti Khwam, near BNT, the villagers have had to make their own lumber. I suspect, but have no substantial evidence, that a "financial arrangement" beneficial to both Kammuan Sit & the Nai Amphue which is mutually beneficial.

We came back to town for the evening where we had supper at the Nai Amphue's house. He got completely drunk & made an absolute ass of himself.

The Nai Amphue has a very gruff manner & his ~~habit~~ exercising of the traditional official-in-power relationship vis-à-vis villagers does not endear him to the villagers though he certainly is shown every outward sign of respect and deference. Fortunately, he will retire in 7 months & perhaps one of the "new breed" of officials will take his place. But the system is unfortunately thoroughly permeated with this type, and even the best have a difficult time in running against the current.

26 January, 1964

AGE, BETEL, & TOBACCO:

Noticed the other day a small female child of about 4-5 who was chewing betel. Jane says that Mother Hone says that women usually start chewing betel at about age 12 & that young boys of any age can start smoking. One often sees very small boys picking up the lighted butt which someone has discarded and taking a few final puffs on it. However, despite how early young girls can begin chewing betel, most betel chewing as a daily habit is limited to women middle-aged and older.

27 January, 1964

THAMBUNBAIN:

This evening & tomorrow morning the households of Mr. Di: Thapsuri (ดี ท้าวสุริ), Mr. Hō: (หวอ / หอ), Mr. Lē: Lantharyan (ลิ้น ลันธารยัน) & Mr. Zein Sō:trakā: (โซ่ ตระกา) are holding concurrent thambunbain ceremonies. There will be separate ceremonies for each household & not one ceremony encompassing all the ~~concurrent~~ households. Apparently, the fact that the wives of Mr. Hō:, Mr. Lē:, & Mr. Zein are sisters is not a reason for this holding of a ban on the same day.

28 January, 1964

THAMBUNBAIN

Did not get opportunity to see part of ceremony previous evening, but priests come to greet me & a meal is given to those present. This morning went to the ceremony in all 4 houses and will give a composite picture up the thambunbain ceremony from these 4 and then will give individual

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Variations on this theme.

1) Preparations for ceremony:

A string, Pa:j mōkheon (see description on pp. 504-5 above) is taken & wound around the house and ends in a tray placed in the room in which the ceremony is to be held. This tray is called khaj mōkheon (see description of what is included on the tray on p. 505 above). The priests come in and are seated on mattresses which are placed ^{on top} ~~in front~~ of reed mats. In front of them are placed empty ba:t as nearby is placed a large container of prepared khā:w nāw. Other accoutrements may be present or brought in when necessary. These will be explained below. In the case of the 4 ceremonies in point, phrā: mīhā: sēj: kha, the brother of the headman from west Doi: in Mahasarakham, had come to the village & acted as head priest.

2) "Requesting the Precepts"

The ceremony begins by the khō:sīn (ขอศีล). Phō: sī:hā: acted as leading layman* in these occasions and he led the laity present in "requesting the precepts" by taking a water scoop in which the three ^{with two lighted candles attached} knōy buichas^a had been placed, held it up in a worshipful position while kneeling in front of the priests and then leading the laymen in the ritual request: when the request had been made, Phō: sī:hā: presented the bowl to the ^{head} priest who indicated the priest's willingness to comply with the request by touching the bowl. The bowl was thus placed, by Phō: sī:hā:, in front of the priests.

* the tayok.

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3) The Giving up the Precepts

Beginning with the namo..., the priest lead the laity in a response manner in repeating the Pali versions of the precepts.

4) Suat Phra hūy

After the finishing up the repeating of the sū, the head priest picked up the bowl with the kriyaburicha: i.e. the two attached lighted candles and blew out the candles. Then after a short chant by Mr. Yi hāi, the priests and the novices chanted a suat, which was termed by one informant as suat phra hūy (สวดพระหุ้ย).

5) Saj bait

During the above chant, or immediately following it, one or more laymen will saj bait (๙๘๖๗๕) - i.e. fill the monks bowls with rice from the one or more containers of rice present. This is done by taking a handful of the rice and begin by placing it in the head priest's bait, then a handful is placed in each of the succeeding bait, down through and including the novices' bait. When the last bait has been reached, a second handful of rice is placed in the last bait, and then the person filling the bait moves back up towards the head priest's bait. The process is repeated until all the bait are filled. Also, during this time, someone, usually a woman, will arrange the dishes of kaep khāu on a tray. Sometimes cash is also placed in the bait.

6) Presentation of food to the monks:

When the food has been ~~present~~ arranged, the ritual presentation of the food to

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the monks was done. This is known as thawāij sāy khāthain (๙๘๖๗๕) - a name by which the whole morning ceremony of the tham bantain is also known because of the fact that it is the actual presentation of the food to the monks which brings the ban of the ceremony. During the chanting of the presentation chant, those laymen presenting the food kneel (rather than sit in the "wat position") and hold the offerings - trays of food and bait - and face level. When the chant is finished, the food is placed in front of the monks, i.e. they in deplete their acceptance by touching the containers. Only men may make this actual presentation of food to the monks. ~~Sometimes cash is also placed~~

7) Monks eating up food

The monks thus partake of the food. If money has been placed in the bait, it is automatically taken out and placed in the monks' bag. Sometimes, money is presented directly by the sponsor of the ceremony to the monk just before he begins eating. There is certainly no reluctance on the part of the monks to touch money.

The monks must eat their fill because it is by so doing that merit is conveyed. Thus, since there were 4 ceremonies this morning, the monks were obliged to eat at all 4 places. There is always more food ~~more~~ than the monks can eat. They indicate their being through by the customary practice of drinking water and washing their hands. The trays of food and bait ~~and~~ are then removed.

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8) Feeding of guests:

After the traps have been removed from in front of the priests, they are placed in front of the guests present. The laity can eat from the same trap as the monks, but they could eat the rice from the basin. People usually eat in small groups of 4 or 5 and ^{one} ~~other~~ food, if there are many guests ^{is} ~~are~~ brought forward.

9) Making of holy water:

Either during the time the laity are ~~meeting~~ eating, or immediately after they had finished, the priests made "holy water" (na'im phra phuet tho man - $\dot{\text{h}}\text{a} \text{ na} \text{ i} \text{ m} \text{ ph} \text{ ra} \text{ ph} \text{ u} \text{ e} \text{ t} \text{ ho} \text{ man}$) by holding eucalyptus over buckets of water which had leaves in it. Appropriate chants were made during the making of the holy water. There is apparently some allowance as to what order this occurs in the evening.

10) Requesting a "Sermon"

After the "holy water" had been read, Mr. Sĩ Hài took a water scoop ~~by taking~~, a khải thối, and attached to lighted candles to it. Then he ritually requested a thối. Phrámahāsēy indicated his willingness to give a sermon, by taking the khải thối and blowing out the candles. He then made a short introductory chant & then "entered into an extemporaneous sermon (in Thai, not Lao). During the sermon in all 4 places, he explained the significance of the thambunbân and hoped that blessings would come to the house, the members of the family, & especially the head of household whom he would

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mention by name. On some occasions, hardly anyone paid any attention to what was being said, but this didn't seem to bother Phra mǎhā: sǎy. He concluded the sermon with a short chant.

ii) trượt nồm

There, followed the trút nâm which has a special variation in the case of tham bưu bân. A ^{stake} banana basket called in Lao either thống nĩa: giã or thống trút nâm was placed near a house post. A description of the contents of such a container is given on p. 507. This was an offering for the earth goddess who is called in Lao phần nãi tho tã nĩ (No: 1675 B 8 26). During the pouring water during the chumot (p. 214, 215 1707 07 (chum nưm tho: wadac), ~~tho~~ in which the burn made at the ceremony is spread to all creatures, humans, and spirits, the water in this case is poured specially in the offering for the Earth Goddess and not to of the ground for all beings. The only time I have observed this offering is at the tham bưu bân ceremony. In the home of Mr. Di., the offering was not present - ordinary trút nâm.

12) rút nấc:m

Then followed the sprinkling of the "holy water". The heads of household are first sprinkled during the chanting. Then the priest sprinkle water on the other inhabitants of the household and then around the house to all the corners, and all rooms. After this & the chanting is over, the priest may take the remaining water and actually bathe the head of household's wife. This

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was done in all 4 cases.

- 13) Sometimes, the ceremony ends at this point, but in the case of Mr. Di, there was another thing. 4 flat banana ~~leaves~~ stalks (mang) with offerings were taken and ritually presented to the phī: so they went through the household. for a description of this part of the ceremony see Mr. Hō's thambunbān ceremony last year. & especially the description below.
- 14) The ceremony is concluded by taking the offerings to the Earth Goddess and the offerings to the phī: & placing them at a "Three corners" intersection of paths.

OTHER OBSERVATIONS ON THAMBUN BĀN CEREMONY:

During the monk-like activities, some men and women have phakchawmas draped over their left shoulder & across the chest. However, this does not appear in all cases.

An offering is laid at the entrance to the granary. This offering is called in Lao ~~pi-sāi~~ pi-sāi (ປີສ່າຍ).

29 January, 1964

MORE THAMBUN BĀN:

Today there is to be a thambunbān at the house of Mr. Hok (Mr. Ng's brother-in-law) for the whole of Khūm wāi. Last evening the priests first went to the house of Mr. Hok (2 priests, no novice). There they sat upon cushions with their

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khaj mangkhon placed in front of them. From the khaj Mangkhon was attached a shring which was wound around the house. The priests were ritually "requested" to chant - sūat mon [I do not understand the parts of this particular chant]. Quota of Mr. Hok's house were then fed a meal.

The scene then shifted to the mō:lam stage which had been set up in front of Mr. Hok's house - i.e. in the centre of khūm. After the priests finished at Mr. Hok's place, they were led to the stage. Strings were tied around every house in the khūm & then ~~passed in front of the monks~~. Again, they were requested to chant & again they chanted sūat mon. These strings & attached to the mō:lam stage. The khaj mangkhon was placed in front of the priests. Again, they were "requested" to chant & again they chanted sūat mon. There was no ensuing sermon though phua mākā: sēy had been requested (not formally) to give one.

The mō:lam performance which followed was very much an essential part of the thambunbān for the khūm ceremony. During the previous day & again yesterday Mr. Hōim had gone around collecting money from people in KW so that a generator & electricity could be made available for the mō:lam (people gave from \$2.50-10.00). The stage had been erected in the centre of the khūm. No outside troupe was hired, but the troupe from the khūm (with Muān & Phajjui as stars) were on for the evening. The mō:lam got underway at about 6 p.m. after much time was spent in dressing, in wāj khūm, etc.

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It seems to me that the story of the production was irrelevant for what people enjoy are the humour, the horseplay, the costumes, the dancing.

During the day yesterday, in preparation for the big thamban, people were making khauw phui:n.

Thambanbân at Mr. Hok's:

Noticed that the sprinkling of water was done not only over people but also in various places in house. Also, the heads of household were ritually bathed, but in this case it wasn't done by the priest but by Mr. Tarp. The offering to phrānā:ng thōlānī was placed near a post - this I have observed in the other cases as well.

An important aspect of the ceremony which was observed in more detail than yesterday were the offerings placed at the corner posts of the house (no. 13 in the listing above). The offerings consisted of black, yellow, white rice (in this case no black rice was present in the house & so the rice was sprinkled with charcoal dust), khauw phui:n, phui sticks, tobacco, betel (prepared chews), & flowers. These implements were placed on flat banana stalk containers of the following shape



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Though these offerings are also called thiōg, they are not for phrānā:ng thōlānī but from part of the ritual to ward off and to appease malevolent spirits (phī:sā:j - cōōt) so that they will leave off the house & its inhabitants alone during the ensuing year.

Other implements of the ceremony consisted of 4 sticks about 2-3' in height and a mixture of sand & pebbles.

The order of events was as follows:

- 1) the priest (in this case) would move from corner to corner of the house and at each corner or direction would stand touching the stick which in turn touched the thiōg placed at foot of the post. He would chant something, then repeat the process at the next post. This is called in Lao sūt thō:t (spelled for me as ສູດ ທົ່ວ). It is possible that sūt is the word for sutra & thō:t means 'to take off, to pull off'. It is also called in complete form sūt thō:t sūt thō:t (ສູດ ທົ່ວ ສູດ ທົ່ວ) in which thō:t means 'to withdraw, retreat'. Thus, it is possible that the meaning of this aspect of the ceremony may mean [the chanting] of a sutra [to cause the phī:] to withdraw or leave.
- 2) When this first aspect of the ceremony was over, a second priest would stand at each successive post at which was ~~placed~~ placed a bowl (khūn) containing money, flowers, and candles, and a dish with earth and pebbles called in Lao hīn hē:kāp sā:j (หิน หี กะป สำจ - pebbles and sand) or alternatively lūk kūt sā:j lūk (ลูก กู๊ด สำจ - don't know what kūt means). The

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householder would dig a small hole by the pole in which the priest would place the pebbles and sand. Then the priest would sprinkle some more around the pest after the ~~hole~~ hole had been filled over. He would say a few khathas. This part of the ceremony is called ^{Lo} in sā:t njāt (ส่ำต้งจ๊ำ) in which njāt means "to cram or stuff".

After, this last aspect of the ceremony was over, the 4 banana leaf containers of offerings were taken to a sā:mjê:k (ส่ำมจ๊ะก) and left there. This Mr. Sāw called buang sāng la hū: (บ่วงสงลหู่) where buang sāng means "to give worship to", but I have been unable to find the meaning of l hū: (the spelling is Mr. Sāw's). The purpose is to oóng pi: sāt (อ่องปีส่ำต) - ~~as~~ the meaning of which is probably something to do about scaring away an evil spirit or force called pi: sāt.

I enquired into the significance of the sand and pebble aspect of the ceremony. Mr. Sāw explains this as because these elements were kept by Buddha & then their placing them at the foot of the corner of the house brings good fortune on the house.

THAM BUN BÂ:N FOE KHUÂN:

Running in conjunction with Mr. Hok's thambun was the thambun bâ:n for khâm wát. In this case the priests were on the mô:lam stage. Exactly same ceremony with the priests having given a second meal brought by every household in the khâm. Also, every household prepared a thiōg offering for phū nā:g thō lān:. In this case, as in all others, phū mǎh sǎg made a sermon asking blessings on those living in the khâm. Baskets from each household were brought & filled with holy water. PMS sprinkled the people present & then they took

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the water home.

Sā: khwǎn khāu:

Following the thambun bâ:n for KW, Mr. Hok had a sā: khwǎn khāu ceremony. The ceremony was held in the house rather than in the granary.

Implements: in wash basin were placed leaves (3 bunches), khāu tōm, bottle of liquor, basket containing cooked rice, candles, egg, phū mǎn, khāu tōm dō:, njāt bāj. Whole thing called khāu hū:. 4 sickles with rice at end, pillow with small khāu ball of rice on it.

The ceremony apparently followed the same form as previously described (sā:hū: was officiant), though was unable to see it because of activities of thambun bâ:n going on concurrently.

EVENTS OF THIRD MONTH:

This has been an important month for thambun ceremonies. The following have been held:

wan khǎn 3 khām	(Fri, 17 Jan.)	Mr. Phun
" " 8 "	(Wed, 22 "	Mr. Tāp
" " 14 "	(Thurs, 28 "	Mr. Hō:, Mr. Dī:, Mr. Ze:n, Mr. Lē:
" " 18 "	(Wed., 29 "	Mr. Hok, KW
" 12:m 15:30 2 "	(Fri, 31 "	KL

In addition, the ceremony of khāu lē: (khāu lē:) will be held on 12:m 6 khām (Thurs, 4 February).

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RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOUR:

Priests shaved today - say do it once a month on *khyn 14 or 15 khâm*.

LINGUISTIC DETERMINANTS OF STATUS:

Overheard Mr. HS: calling Mr. LÈ: *canthanyang*, *hō:j lē: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100*. Asked Mr. Ng: about this & he said that the title *hō:j* is given to people who are skilled or well-known merchants/traders in animals (maybe other things as well but past large livestock). Mr. La: *Thapsuri* (the nakeg) is also accorded this title.

REALIGNMENT IN HSE # 14:

When I did the ~~age~~ *agrie. census*, the head of household # 14 was Naig *paus* *Thapuni*. She died & her son-in-law Na:j *mi: Khambunkat* (2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100) became head of household. About a wk. ago, he moved half (physically) of the orig. house to near the house of Mr. ~~Suan~~ *Suan Sī: wantha:* (2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100), House # 16. & establ. a separate household. Then Naig *za:u*'s other son-in-law, Mr. *Thoj Di: Mahtas* (1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75 76 77 78 79 80 81 82 83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90 91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98 99 100) - Hse # 17/2 - moved his family from his old hse. to become head of Hse. # 14. He sold his old house to the son-in-law of Mr. LÈ: *canthanyang*.

BRIDE PRICE:

Jane talking with Mother Ho:m asked why Mr. *paus*'s daughter rec'd. \$1,400 bride price. Because only daughter & therefore "precious". Also, son-in-law came from wealthy family. Highest known bride price in village.

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CEREMONY FOR THE DEAD:

Have heard one ceremony for dead referred to as *cō:k khāu* (lit. "to distribute the rice"). Ceremony in which rice is given to the dead person by presenting it to the priests - better Mr. Ng: says than putting it in the ground, because Buddha establ. This way for making presents to the dead.

THE DATE OF A CEREMONY:

In giving the date for a festival/bun, people often give the day when the special food is made, not necessarily the day for presenting the food to the monks. Thus, for *Bun Khāu cī:*, the date of the *Lēm 6 khām* is given. This is "the day for making *khāu phien* and *khāu cī:*", not the day for presenting these foods to the monks which is the following morning.

Mr. Ng: & Nō:j said that often *Bun Khāu cī:* & *Bun Phra wē:t* are held ~~together~~ in conjunction with each other, but not in BNT where they are kept separate.

The general pattern of ceremonies is always the same: Day for making food, evening entertainment (if it can be afforded), morning presentation of food to monks accompanied by special ceremony if any. This is not an invariable formula as there are exceptions, but it holds for the major festivals.

Mr. Sō:n Khamkō:g:

Mr. Ng: says that Mr. Sō:n Khamkō:g who lives in the place which is somewhat like a restaurant used to have the liquor license & used to have a small shop. However,

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he decided that he wanted to become headman of KAKU (even though there was at that time no headman), and so he started giving away liquor to influence people to vote him into office. Apparently, he also drank heavily himself. As a result he ~~had~~ got himself into very bad debt with the Govt. Liquor store & had to sell off his nice land to pay up his debts - as well as making off the stocks of the shop. He, thus, now is one of the poorest people in village.

30 January, 1964

VISIT OF MEDICINE MAN:

[Jane's note]. "A man came round in a truck with a speaker asking for empty bottles. In return the villagers were given medicines, of which there were two kinds: -
a) a powder to make the blood rich (for adults), & b) pellets for children - an all purpose cure. The salesman came from Sarakham, where he has a pharmacy. He was formerly a teacher for many years."

SALE OF TAMARINDS:

[Jane's note]. "Duang went off by herself to the market today in the bus. She received 16.00 Baht for her makham piak, at \$0.75/kg. of this \$5.00 went on the fare, \$1.00 on a pair of earrings, + an unspecified amt. in tea. Mother felt she'd received pretty little."

NŌ:j's MARRIAGE:

NŌ:j (my former ant.) is going to be married again with a girl from Ba:n Jai. He

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says that he will get married in the 6th month, but he will go "to request" the hand of the girl - khŏ: sā:w (๙๐๗๓) - in the 4th month.

HOUSEHOLD BELONGINGS:

Noticed on the walls of Mr. NŌ:j Thapsuri (NŌ:j Thapsuri) in Hse #18 KW, a large mirror, pictures (framed) of King & Queen, pictures of male members of the house in priests' robes, small pictures of male members of household & friends. Have noticed in several houses the large mirrors, which seem to be a status symbol of sorts because they are displayed prominently in the main room of the house. Also, there is a great love of photographs of members of household - not in priests' garb, in urban clothing, in ~~sanitary~~ ~~thrive~~ surroundings. Older people like to have photographs which can be used at their funerals.

HOUSEHOLD STATUS INDICATORS:

Mr. Lur Thapsuri (KL) is called by some people by the title cam (khaucum) which is the title given to Mr. Tarp - the village & intermed wing to the pū:ta. However, there does not seem to be any basis for his being called this term, but people call him that in a joking, kidding manner.

REARRANGEMENT IN HSE. #97 KAKU:

Mr. Puin Thaptham (Kŏ: ๗๓๓ ๗๓๓๗๓) took his family & built a new house near that of Mr. Si:bu: (Kŏ: ๕๗). The head of household #97 is now a new son-in-law Pŏ: Puin Ma:tra: (Kŏ: ๗๓๗ ๗๓๗๗).
Pŏ: Puin Ma:tra: (Kŏ: ๗๓๗ ๗๓๗๗).

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ATTITUDES TOWARDS BAST:

God. Land taxes seem to the villagers to be arbitrary because they do not seem to have any relation to actual land holdings. E.g. people with small land holdings have paid relatively large taxes; vice versa. In making the economic survey, Mr. Ng. has commented on how "crazy" the god. it is because it does not actually make correct taxes.

SEX RULES AND ECONOMIC BEHAVIOUR:

Women also make bunnus matting though this is a pursuit normally restricted to men.
31 January, 1964

CEREMONIES:

Mr. Ng. says that in the 6th month when the ceremony of liang phi is held, there is a feeding of phi: at lak bain also. At that time there is also a mô:lâm held at lak bain. I didn't observe this last year but this may be because we left for Bangkok in the afternoon right after the ceremony was held at the shrine of pû:tes.

Today & tomorrow is a thambun bain for KL. This evening there was a mô:lâm performance by the local troupe from KV after the sunset. Mr. Ng. says that the mô:lâm in this khum is Vientiane style - mô:lâm viang (ໂມ່ລາມ ວຶງ), whereas the one in KN is a different style called mô:lâm sin sã:j (ໂມ່ລາມ ສິນ ສ້າງ). The troupe from KL is made up of people from KL & KV, but is directed by a woman from a village near Roi-et. Tomorrow morning there will be the same ceremony for the thambun bain which is called by the general word sãng hãt thain (ສ້າງ ຫໍ່ ຫໍ່) which means formally presenting food to the monks.

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NAMES OF THINGS:

The full name in Lao of KL is bân lăw pû:hăit (ບ້ານ ລ້ວ ປູ່ ຫໍ່) by which is meant "the village of the small forest (lăw = "small forest", pû: = "forest") of hăit (hăit = atyap trees) trees."

The word for the local rice wine in Lao is lăw thô: (ໂລ່ ຫໍ່ ຫໍ່).

BUN PHEN WEI:

Today at Bân Doin Mă:k Jā: (also known as Bân Hăim Khăin) there was a Bun Phna wei ceremony. In the afternoon, people took over a money tree (kan lăin - ກັນ ລ້ວ) to present to the head priest of the village.

The wig grounds had been especially prepared for the festival. In the center was a special pavilion, decorated with a huge tablecloth depicting the life of Phra Wei (this cloth is from P.N.). In the center of the pavilion was a "preaching platform" to which priests & novices mounted to read their assigned segments of the phra wei story.

Priests from all over the area had been invited to preach various sections & the priest from our village also went to participate.

We had neither the time, nor was there any good informant present, so I only got a superficial impression of the ceremony. However, I hope that when there the ceremony is held in the 8th month in BAST, I get better information.

The procession from BAST entered the village & subsequently the wat with a tantone of drums & gongs. The procession was made up primarily of phu:sai:w and phu:ba:w.

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obviously out ~~and~~ for a good time & a chance to meet other young people. The procession circled the ~~the~~ phra^uwaⁱt pavillion & then dispersed. The group listened to the sermon-making in the pavillion for a while & then gathered together outside the pavillion. Here, they sat down in front of the head monk of B. Do:n M^oik j^oi, and led by Ph^o: Si:h^o, they presented him with the kan b^on. He responded by giving ~~him~~ a special sermon.

A rather unusual thing occurred. The head monk of the village was served and recites one of the Thai coconut & sugar chants. Mr. Ng. & others said that this was quite against the rules.

4 February, 1964

BUN KH^ou ci:

This evening and especially tomorrow morning will be the ceremony of kh^ou ci: which is pronounced kh^ou kⁱ: (ก^อว^อ ค[ิ]) in the local dialect. Yesterday, people made or prepared one of the special kh^ou^on for this ceremony - the kh^ou kⁱap (in L. ก^อว^อ ค[ิ]ว^อ) or in Thai ก^อว^อ ค[ิ]ว^อ (kh^ou kⁱap). They also made today (or yesterday) the two ubiquitous rice dishes made at nearly all ceremonies - kh^ou ph^om and kh^ou t^om. Finally, tomorrow morning, they will make, just before going to the waⁱt, the particular kh^ou^on for this ceremony - the ก^อว^อ ค[ิ] (kh^ou ci:). Kh^ou kⁱap are only made for this ceremony and for the ceremony of bun ph^ou waⁱt.

TRAVELLING MEDICINE SALESMAN

When we arrived in the village this noon, a travelling salesman - a rather

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salesman - was here. The main salesman was giving his pitch by showing magic tricks. The only one which we observed was the placing of a empty handkerchief on a empty board, and yet apparently something was underneath the handkerchief because it moved & he hit it with something & it sounded hard. This magical sight-of-hand is termed ko:n (which one person spelled for me as ก^อน). The main salesman was accompanied during his patter by others accompanying him in dress & cymbals. They were selling laxatives & a medicine "to protect the teeth". Laxatives were quite popular and Mr. Ng. says that most people take laxatives at least once a ~~day~~ month.

5 February, 1964

BUN KH^ou ci:

This morning observed the ceremony of kh^ou ci: (kh^ou kⁱ:). Every household was preparing kh^ou ci:, cooking the kh^ou kⁱap, and making the k^op kh^ou. Kh^ou ci: is prepared by taking already prepared glutinous rice, forming an egg-shaped lump which is then stuck on the end of a bamboo stick. This lump is warmed over the fire, & then is painted with beaten egg, and toasted again on fire until the result is nicely browned. Then the lump is removed from the stick and some people will then place a lump of palm sugar in the end of the kh^ou ci:. However, in a poor village like this, many people don't place the palm sugar. Such a situation as this, apparently, is what has given rise to the traditional saying that "If palm sugar is not placed in the kh^ou ci:, the novices will cry." (For explanation of this saying see mo^oho^orad^ok cha:w zi sa^on). We have not yet got the