



# Sharing and Borrowing: Musical Instruments in North East India

**Ngamkholen Haokip**

Assistant Professor, NIFT Shillong, India

Email: [pupatimes@yahoo.com](mailto:pupatimes@yahoo.com)

## Abstract

*This paper attempt to discuss, identify and aims to explore the Sharing and Borrowing of Indigenous Musical Instruments in North East India. The region shares most of the boundary with its neighboring countries. It is a land of different ethnic groups, having different culture, customs and tradition. Sharing and borrowing of culture leads to development, without which the culture will be dormant. Drums, wind, solid or metal, and string are the sub-group name of musical instrument used by different ethnic groups. Rationales like colonization, topography, ethnic conflict, plastic artifacts and modernization of traditional culture are discussed here. The paper will leads to preservation of material culture, respect for different traditional practices and properties, even towards the modernization of culture in spite of many acting forces like ethnic clash against it.*

**Key words:** Culture; Musical Instrument; Ethnic; Identity; Sharing & Borrowing.

A simple definition, “sharing” is what people used or have with another person in time, and “borrowing” is something we use which is belongs to someone else to give it back later. Different terms can also be applied for similar meaning. The term like “take”, or “use” can also be used in place of Borrowing. But here, my argument for using the term “borrowing” is that, in studying the changes of one’s culture it will be not appropriate to used the term like ‘taking’ or ‘using’ as the term itself are direct. Meanwhile, as it is the study of ethnic culture

and identity, I agreed with Dada (2002) statement “Any discussion on topics like ethnicity is very sensitive and thus continuous information update appears very vital”<sup>1</sup>. The discussion of sharing or borrowing culture has the same sensitive issue as the subject is part of the ethnicity and their tradition.

The paper is part of my field research among the Kukis in the North East region of India. We can observe some of the cultures of different group are similar, though they have different family name which is found interesting. Therefore, the study is limited on some common or similar musical instruments of the Kukis with other ethnic groups of the region. This is a descriptive study mainly relates various experiences, base on the field research as primary and various data’s’ as secondary source.

## 1. Factors

The habits in everyday life, every tradition and the beliefs identify the culture of the country, society or group of people. All these are neither dormant nor fixed to the country, society or people. So, it can be changed or mixed with other habits of life. Sharing and borrowing culture among the different ethnic groups are also practiced in North-East India. Beyond sharing and borrowing, assimilation of one culture into another culture may lead to conflicts or even pose a danger of extinction. Every ethnic group does its best to preserve and modernize its culture so as to adapt to the changing world. The anchorage in our own cultural soil must be protected. Therefore the institutions must be protected<sup>2</sup> (Kakati 2002).



Colonization, topography, ethnic politics, plastic artifacts, modernization, influencing power of traditional culture may be the main factors which lead to Sharing and Borrowing of culture.

### 1.1. Colonization

Like in other subjects, colonization also has its impact on material culture of the people. The impacts of colonization were one of the greatest factors on sharing and borrowing of culture. Due to colonization meaning the *British Raj* (reign) and also State's Administration<sup>3</sup> introduced against the traditional law of the indigenous people. First, the British administered the entire topography, in which the larger number of tribal populace in North-East India was converted into Christian religion. The people accepted their new religion as "New Enlightenment" They totally abandoned some of their indigenous culture and practices because those were not permitted in Christian religion, but theologically not all. Therefore the new and applicable ones they used for Christian religion became common culture. Secondly, Acts and Provisions for the Tribal and Scheduled Area made by the state or central government also led to sharing and borrowing of indigenous culture in the region as the Acts & Provisions are a collection of different culture made to be applicable to all for better administration and development. For example, the enforcement of **Schedule Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006<sup>4</sup>** (Chaturvedi, 2007), **Article 244(1), Fifth Schedule: Provision as to the Administration and Control of Scheduled Areas and Scheduled Tribes** (Committee). The above mentioned two statements became important agencies for sharing and borrowing of indigenous cultures between the same category ethnics and counterparts. Thus, Colonization of the British and Indian government administration had a great impact on *Sharing* and *Borrowing* of art and crafts in the region.

### 1.2. Topography

Different ethnic groups of North East India are characterized by their distinct culture, customs and traditions. Every states of the region are occupied by different ethnic groups. The 20 km wide *Siliguri* corridor connects the North Eastern region with the mainland Indian sub-continent. The region shares more than 4500 kilometers of international border with *China (South Tibet)* in the North, *Myanmar* in the East, *Bangladesh* in the South-West, and *Bhutan* to the North-West. It has more than 145<sup>5</sup> tribes recognized under Indian constitution, speaking a wide range of languages. Most of the ethnic groups belong to the *Indo-Mongoloid* race and their languages are *Tibeto-Burman* group or *Tibeto-Chinese* group.

### 1.3. Ethnic Politics

The effects of ethnic conflicts or crisis are one of the greatest losses for each society. Besides the loss of their indigenous material culture, ethnic clashes also played a great role in sharing and borrowing of culture in the society. Due to fear of each other, both the warring communities exposed each other's culture/identity than their own. For example, in the *Naga-Kuki* ethnic clashes of 1990s, both the communities wore the traditional clothes of another ethnic group like the *Meiteis* in Manipur. Therefore, the sharing of design, materials, style and even the techniques between the *Kuki-Meitei-Naga* ethnic groups of Manipur was prevalent during that period.

Different ethnic group has their own political ideology for their livelihood, rights (traditional and as a citizen of the country), cultures and so on. Different ethnic groups also claimed some material cultures belong to them and make publicized. Claiming and publicized universally is one of their theories for recognition. Therefore, the particular group will be the winning group as in the Darwin's theory of 'survival of the fittest'.



## 1.4. Plastic arts

Most of the items used in today's world are made of plastic. Plastic is a lightweight and durable material. Plastic artifacts are easy to get in market. Easy availability of manufactured plastic artifacts or implements is one of the most important reasons for sharing and borrowing of culture. Every ethnic group has left its traditional products and has come to use plastic products in their everyday life as household materials. Thus, the use of plastic products in household materials by different ethnic groups has become common culture.

## 1.5. Nature

Each culture had certain specific and distinctive practices. And this practice continues to evolve and keeps changing, even as change is inherent in the nature of culture. The dynamic nature of culture helped to adopt us in the changing environment. This also gives impetus to the development and modifications of certain aspects of culture. Anita Srivastava Majhi (2010) has rightly observed when she asserted that culture change is a permanent factor of human civilization<sup>6</sup>. Many wondering factor helps to modernised some material culture and the practises of some as well. What was very primitive and crude musical instruments are made very beautiful and attractive in the present age. The change of change has its own work on the material world including the musical instruments of some tribal. However, the reality of the traditional indigenous practices cannot be utterly ignored and discarded as they represent the time and people of certain spend and duration of time.

## 2. Musical Instruments

A large number of musical instruments are found among different ethnic groups with different names. Instruments made of pipes, gourds, bamboo reeds, buffalo/*mithun* horns etc and the drum type of instruments are the most

common with minor variations in the region. The traditional musical instruments are all monochrome in rhythm. Barthakur (2003) further categorized Indian musical instrument into four, *Avanaddha* (drum), *Ghana* (solid musical instrument), *Susira* (win instrument especially made of bamboo) and *Tata* (string instrument). Sharing or borrowing in music and its instrument is also one of the beauty cultures of the region. Mofids (2008) statement on sharing of music is

“A basic characteristic of the ethnic music of Assam is its descending scale which distinguishes it from the raga-based or folk music from the rest of India. This style is shared by ethnic music of the hill people surrounding the state of Assam, and by the music of Thailand, Myanmar and China.”<sup>7</sup>

### 2.1. Drum

A Drum (*Avanaddha* in Indian classical Music) is a round and hollow musical instrument to hit with hand or stick. Drum is the oldest universally used musical instrument. Epanandya (2007) presumed that the origination of drum to be as early as 6000 BC.<sup>8</sup> A hollowed out body, covering extended over the end with the help of tuning keys or pegs which stiffens or loosens the membrane to get different tones. The body of the drum generates the sound and the membrane and its vibration creates the sound when struck.<sup>9</sup> All the Indian drums are also found in North East India. Almost all the tribes of North East India used drum in their culture as a musical instrument. It is the integral part of their music of all time. A drum is a monochromatic music which only can represent the whole music. One cannot sing a song without a drum making sound like the beating of drum. Particularly in Assam, Bengal, Manipur and Orissa of the eastern India this instrument is considered to be almost sacred (Barthakur 2003; 89). Though it is used by all ethnic groups the difference in style, design, materials and uses can be easily distinguished. Generally called *Khol* in Assam



are drum like *Mrdanga* and so on the name and the size are different from each ethnic group. Log-drum is also very popular among the tribal's for using in their *Jhum* cultivation fields. They use it as a time keeper and to prevent the field from wild animals.

## 2.2. Wind Instrument

By the word *Susira*<sup>10</sup> we know that it is a wind musical instrument of India. There are a number of wind musical instruments most of them are made of bamboo. Different types of wind instrument can be found among the tribes of North East India. Flute is very common and used in other parts of the world too, especially in India by many other ethnic groups. It is also very popular in North East India, by their culture or likeness on it. The *Gosem (Kuki)* or *Ejuk Tapung (Mishing)* type of wind musical instruments are also found in other parts of the world too. Barthakur (2003: 124) give the statement, "In *Laos* and *Burma [Myanmar]* too this type of instruments is found. More sophisticated than these are the *Sheng of China*, the *Sho of Japan* and the *Shaeghwang of Korea*".<sup>11</sup> Another wind musical instrument *Lhemlei (Kuki)* and *Kang-Kang (Tai Buddhist)* type are also found in Tibet, Burma [Myanmar] and in some part of East Asian countries. Barthakur (2003) assumed that it came to Assam from Tibet [and] Burma. *Nepali [Nepali]*, *Bodo* and *Adi* groups also use this type of instrument.<sup>12</sup> Here, among the ethnic groups they all shared or borrowed whichever is good to use and best for them.

## 2.3. Solid Musical Instrument

Ghana (Gong) is a solid musical instrument made of metal bronze or copper. It is one of the musical instruments used by different ethnic groups in the world. It is also used by other groups of South East Asian countries. The origin of Gong may be traced back to some 2000 B.C., and the word originated from

*Malaysia*<sup>13</sup> (Magic n.d.). The word gong is Javanese and it was used in Java during the 9th century. Gongs have been created in Southeast Asia, India, Tibet, China, Korea, and Japan. The most gong-manufacturing country is *China (Yunan province)*.<sup>14</sup> The Gong was introduced to West during the period of colonization.<sup>15</sup> The materials used and process of making are also mention by Magic of the Gong:

"Gongs are made of bronze. The primary alloys in the creation of a Gong are made of copper and tin, but small amounts of lead, silver and gold are often added to alter the characteristics of the sound. The production of a Gong includes the process of forging, hammering, and tuning. Musicians use a variety of tools that generate different types of sounds. These include Gong Mallets of Lambskin, Solid Woolen Mallets, and Soften Silicon Mallets."<sup>16</sup>

In India, most of the ethnic groups use Gong as musical instrument and symbol of wealth. They also place it as of the highest cultural value. It is also used especially by the *Chin-Kuki-Mizo*<sup>17</sup> group who trace their origin in Cave. J. Guite's (2012) statement on the Kukis' gong was "It is a peculiar custom of the Kukis that gong, which is not locally produced and which has to be procured from long distances, has constituted the core item of their cultural practice."<sup>18</sup> Gong is not a luxury good nor is it a thing only of royalty; it is a necessity to them. Gongs are a symbol of prosperity for the *Kukis* too, like in China. Guite (2012) also gave detailed use of gong by the *Kukis* as

"...Certain ritual cannot be performed without it. It constituted a necessary part of the bride's price....On the occasion of death it constitutes a prime importance. It was also one of the commonest musical instruments during all festive occasions. For musical purpose one large gong with a set of three small gongs, each with separate note, are used. Certain gongs were used as war drum. Thus, the utility of it will go on as one observes their cultural practices. The



colonial observers were surprised to see how this item had constituted part of their core cultural symbols when they are not able to manufacture them....”<sup>19</sup>

The importance of gong lies not only in its utilitarian value but also because of its cultural value of recollection. The importance of gong as socio-cultural symbol is significant in that the *Kukis* continued to keep alive this practice to keep abreast with their home-identity<sup>20</sup>. Hence, gong as a material culture, always connects us with our roots or else it's a sharing or borrowing. Ltd. (2010) relates, it is also used by the *Nagas* of Nagaland<sup>21</sup>. The statement of Joshi (2008) also mentions the use of Gong by people of Garo Hills in Meghalaya throughout the ceremony of *Chachat Soa*.<sup>22</sup> Courtney (2013) mentions the use of Gong in *Ghanta Patua*<sup>23</sup> dance (folk dance of Odissa), performed in the Hindu month of *Chaitra*.

Besides, not exactly like the gongs of other ethnic groups, but a gong used in North Eastern India is just called *Ghana*. Some of the Gongs generally used in Assam called *Tala*, *Bhortal*, *Patital*, *Khutital*, *Cymbals* are also used by other ethnic groups. Names of *Ghana* instrument used by some ethnic groups are: *Jatha*, *Therka*, *Kowjang* of *Bodos*; *Dahbu*, *Ding-dung*, *Tongrep* of *Kukis*; *Membew*, *Inntowai* of *Jemi Nagas*; *Lenong*, *Lupi* of *Mishings*; *Makati*, *Jhaj* of *Tea-Tribes*; *Jamtong*, *Chang-an* of *Tai-Buddhists* and *Saraileo*, *Taka* of *Tiwas*.

#### 2.4. String Instrument

String Instrument (*Tata*-Indian classical name) is a category of musical instruments in which sound is produced by the vibration of string or cord. Some of the Indian string musical instruments are *Dilruba* or *Esraj*, *Gotturadhyam*, *Santoor*, *Sarangi*, *Sarod*, *Sitar*, *Surbahar*, *Tanpura*, *Veena* and *Violin*. Almost all the instruments mentioned above are found and used in North East India. Though the style of playing is different from *Sikhs*, *Sarangi* is very

popular in the region. Locally made of four strings generally called *Sarinda* is also used and played by most of them.

The string musical instruments of North East India are not so typical. The ethnic group commonly known as Tribals, who followed Christianity from British rule modernized their traditional habits and used western musicals too. However, this does not mean that all their traditional musical instruments have vanished. They used it for their traditional dance, ritual performance and on very special occasions. In the region, the instruments like *Ektara*, *Lao-Tokari*, *Gopi-yantra*, *Khamak*, *Dotara*, *Bin*, *Vina*, *Rabab*, *Sarinda*, *Dhup Talow* (Barthakur 2003) are commonly used by the plain and hill people. Besides these, *Sarinda* and *Bin* type but, in their respective indigenous style are mostly used by the hill people. For example<sup>24</sup>, *Bodos*, *Dimasas*, *Deoris*, *Kukis*, *Khasis*, *Nagas*, *Mishings*, *Tai Buddhists* and *Tea Tribes* use it, but the name, structure, style, concept and uses are different. The same kinds of instruments are also found in other countries.

#### Conclusion

North East India has different culture, customs and way of living tradition. Its richness in culture makes the region an attraction to the world. The practice of specific and distinctive culture continues to evolve and keeps changing. It is inherent in the nature of culture. Many wonderful factors helped to modernise some material culture and the practices of some as well. What was very primitive and crude musical instruments are made very beautiful and attractive in the present age. However, the reality of the traditional indigenous practices cannot be utterly ignored and discarded as they represent the time and people of certain duration of time. Every ethnic group has a shared or borrowed culture with others, not only within the region but with the neighboring countries as well. Sharing and borrowing of culture among the different ethnic groups of North-East India



in terms of Music and Musical Instruments is one of the most common practices.

All the similarity we can observe in their musical instruments is not occurring naturally. This is one of the fashion trend which share or borrowed as it is easy to make or good to use in their culture. The attraction value may be because of its tune, sound, structure and material. As many of the ethnic groups do not have a written record of their centuries past, it is very complex to say who used first or who borrowed others culture as for their culture. Another subject like “Blame and Claim” game type of theory is possible, in which everyone can give their own statement for self validation with various legends, history, folktales and folksongs etc. But, the instrument may be originated from other country by other community, which is being used by them through sharing and borrowing. Modification and changing by nature is also possible. If there is a distinction on it (musical instrument) will be the uniqueness or characteristics of the particular culture, in which modification or changes.

The coming of Westerners’ in North East India brought education and Christianity to many hill people. Sharing and Borrowing of Indigenous Culture mainly takes place in the process of colonization, preservation and documentation, ethnic cleansings, easy availability of manufactured artifacts and modernization of traditional culture. Assimilation of one’s culture may lead to conflicts or even pose a danger of extinction. Preservation of material culture, respect for different traditional practices and properties, even towards the modernization of culture and amicable understanding among the different ethnic and identity group will bring the indigenous cultures to developing.

## References

[1.] Barthakur, D. R. (2003). *The Music and Musical Instruments of North Eastern India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications.

[2.] Bhadur, M. Y. (1996). *Tribal Art of Manipur* (Second ed.). Imphal: Mutua Museum.

[3.] Chaturvedi, K. (2007). *Schedule Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006*. The Gazzete of India, Legislative Department. New Delhi: Ministry of Law and Justice.

[4.] Chongloi, H. (2008). *Indoi: A Study of Primal Kuki Religious Symbolism in the Hermeneutical Framework of Mircea Eliade*. New Delhi: ISPCK.

[5.] Committee, C. D. Indian Constitution. *Constitution Drafting Committee*. New Delhi: Government of India.

[6.] Courtney, D. (2012, February 5). *www.chandrakantha.com*. (D. a. Courtney, Editor) Retrieved October 1, 2012, from [http://chandrakantha.com/articles/indian\\_music/nritya/folk\\_dance.html](http://chandrakantha.com/articles/indian_music/nritya/folk_dance.html)

[7.] Danda, A. K. (2002). On Problems of Ethnicity. In S. S. Indira Burua, & S. S. Indira Burua (Ed.), *Ethnic Groups, Cultural Continuities and Social Change in North East India* (p. 1). New Delhi: Mittal Publication.

[8.] Dr. Kailash Kumar Mishra & Dr. Richa Negi. (2008). Minutes: The Threadbare discussion on Spirit of North-East India held on 27-28 August, 2008 in Guwahati (Assam). *Minutes: The Threadbare discussion on Spirit of North-East India held on 27-28 August, 2008 in Guwahati (Assam)* (p. 2). New Delhi: Indira Gandhi National Centre for the Arts.

[9.] Epan, V. (2007, November 5). *Articles Base*. Retrieved October 1, 2012, from <http://www.articlesbase.com/music-articles/history-of-drums-252541.html>

[10.] Goswami, T. (1985). *Kuki Life and Lore*. Haflong, Assam: North Cachar Hill District Council.



- [11.] Guite, J. (2012, September). Memories of Origin and Migration: From Noimang to the Chin Hills. *Journal of North East India Studies*, 35.
- [12.] Haokip, L. (2008, November 1). Kut-An Identifying Agency. (L. Kipgen, Ed.) *Kut 2008 Souvenir*, p. 9.
- [13.] Haokip, N. (2011, December 18). Artist/Craftsman. (N. Haokip, Interviewer, N. Haokip, Editor, & N. Haokip, Translator)
- [14.] Haokip, U. J. (2011, October 20). Village Elder. (N. Haokip, Interviewer, & N. Haokip, Translator)
- [15.] Joshi, D. (2008, November 16). *The Assam Tribune*. Retrieved October 1, 2012, from [theassamtribune.com: http://www.assamtribune.com/nov1608/sunday1.html](http://www.assamtribune.com/nov1608/sunday1.html)
- [16.] Kakati, D. (2002). Towards a Coherent Society in India's North East. In S. S. Indira Barua, & S. S. Indira Barua (Ed.), *Ethnic Groups, Cultural Continuities and Social Change in North East India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publication.
- [17.] Ltd., I. M. (2010). *India Video*. (Invis Multimedia Pvt. Ltd.) Retrieved September 29, 2012, from [India Video.org: http://www.indiavideo.org/nagaland/travel/gong-nagaland-4082.php](http://www.indiavideo.org/nagaland/travel/gong-nagaland-4082.php)
- [18.] Magic, G. (n.d.). *The Magic of the Gong*. Retrieved October 1, 2012, from [The Magic of the Gong: http://www.gongmagic.com/History\\_of\\_the\\_Gong.htm](http://www.gongmagic.com/History_of_the_Gong.htm)
- [19.] Majhi, A. S. (2010). *Tribal Culture, Continuity and Change*. New Delhi: Mittal Publication.
- [20.] Mofid. (2008, February 28). *Assam Tourism*. Retrieved October 2, 2012, from <http://tourismassam.blogspot.in/2008/02/music-of-assam.html>
- [21.] Note, C. (2012). *Cliffsnote.com*. Retrieved October 2, 2012, from [http://www.cliffsnotes.com/study\\_guide/Symbols-and-Language-in-Human-Culture.topicArticleId-26957,articleId-26851.html](http://www.cliffsnotes.com/study_guide/Symbols-and-Language-in-Human-Culture.topicArticleId-26957,articleId-26851.html)
- [22.] Thomsong, T. (2011, March 17). Historian & Politician. (N. Haokip, Interviewer, & N. Haokip, Translator)

<sup>1</sup> Ajit K. Danda, *On Problems of Ethnicity*, Chap. in *Ethnic Groups Cultural Continuities and Social Change in North East India*, Eds. Barua, Sengupta, Das, Duttaa, New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 2002.

<sup>2</sup> See Devdas Kakati, *Towards a Coherent Society in India's North East*, Chap. in *Ethnic Groups Cultural Continuities and Social Change in North East India*, Eds. Barua, Sengupta, Das, Duttaa, New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 2002.

<sup>3</sup> The State and Central administrations of independent India in terms of constitution and acts.

<sup>4</sup> See Chaturvedi, K. (2007). *Schedule Tribes and Other Traditional Forest Dwellers (Recognition of Forest Rights) Act, 2006*. The Gazzete of India, Legislative Department. New Delhi: Ministry of Law and Justice.

<sup>5</sup> See About the Book of Th. R. Tiba, *Scheduled Tribes of North-East India and Development New Delhi*: B.R. Publishing Corporation, 2010.

<sup>6</sup> See Majhi, A. S. (2010). *Tribal Culture, Continuity and Change*. New Delhi: Mittal Publication.

<sup>7</sup> See Mofid. *Assam Tourism*. February 28, 2008. <http://tourismassam.blogspot.in/2008/02/music-of-assam.html> (accessed October 2, 2012).



<sup>8</sup> Epanand, Victor. *Articles Base*. November 5, 2007. <http://www.articlesbase.com/music-articles/history-of-drums-252541.html> (accessed October 1, 2012).

<sup>9</sup> Ibid

<sup>10</sup> It is a traditional music instrument-win instrument made of bamboo and gourds.

<sup>11</sup> See Barthakur, Dilip Ranjan. *The Music and Musical Instruments of North Eastern India*. New Delhi: Mittal Publications, 2003, p. 124.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid, 125.

<sup>13</sup> See Origin of Gong, *Gong Magic*, Internet, Available from

[http://www.gongmagic.com/History\\_of\\_the\\_Gong.htm#top](http://www.gongmagic.com/History_of_the_Gong.htm#top), accessed 1<sup>st</sup> October 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Guite, Jangkhomang. "Memories of Origin and Migration: From Noimang to the Chin Hills." *Journal of North East India Studies* (Association for North East India Studies), September 2012: 35.

<sup>15</sup> Magic n.d.

<sup>16</sup> ibid

<sup>17</sup> The Mizos in Mizoram, Kukis in other part of North East India and Bangladesh and the Chins in Myanmar (Burma) trace their origin in cave, somewhere in China. They are ethnically, culturally, linguistically one and same people.

<sup>18</sup> Guite, 35.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid

<sup>20</sup> What I mean here is the original identity.

<sup>21</sup> See Ltd., Invis Multimedia Pvt. *India Video*. Invis Multimedia Pvt. Ltd. 2010.

<http://www.indiavideo.org/nagaland/travel/gong-nagaland-4082.php> (accessed September 29, 2012).

<sup>22</sup> See Joshi, Dharmaraj. *The Assam Tribune*. November 16, 2008.

<http://www.assamtribune.com/nov1608/sunday1.html> (accessed October 1, 2012).

<sup>23</sup> See Ghanta Patua dance, the name is derived from the large brass gongs known as "ghanta".

<sup>24</sup> Mention only some ethnic group, just to get comparison study on sharing and borrowing culture.