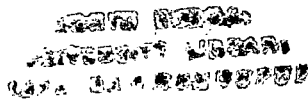


The Aka, Miji and their Kindred in Arunachal Pradesh :
An Enquiry into the Determinants of their Identity

Volume One

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PREFACE

Arunachal Pradesh is a myriad of tribes generally unknown to the outside world because of their long isolation from the main land due to the difficult terrain, hostile weather and nearly non-existent communication of the state. The effect of this isolation was felt by me too when on a sudden order, I was sent through helicopters with my guns to survive on nature's bounty. My ration-less 45 days, brought me in very close contact with these people, who turned out to be extremely friendly and generous, allaying my all fears of ignominy, isolation and hunger. This crucial contact developed into a deep attachment with these people and the country, and my regular stay in Arunachal from 1985 to 1987 became a memorable experience which I longed to share with the outside world.

The most glaring point, which had hurt me, was the lack of knowledge in main land - India about the land and the people of Arunachal Pradesh, and these people were generally described as wild, jungle, primitive etc. The government records about them too were confusing. No detailed research on them was available. Even the number of officially listed tribes was misleading in which the number of tribes rose from 11 to 1956 to 110 in 1971, exactly 10 times within 15 years. At a mere glance on the names recorded and the population tables of these tribes, one could find mind-boggling anomalies; in six cases a single person got an

individual tribe-name, 28 tribes were shown having a population less than 15, 14 tribes got enumerated under more than two different tribe-names, and the like. These anomalies were due to lack of serious effort to identify them and this aspect needed a detailed research by qualified researchers.

A detailed study into the officially designated 110 tribes is a tremendous task and needs a team of researchers. But eager to clarify the puzzle individually, I was in the process of evolving a via media when my contact with Dr. B.P. Misra, the then Director, Centre for Himalayan Studies turned out to be a boon. As an experienced ethnologist, he had a vast experience and expertise in this field. Having discussed the problem, he gave me the honour to be his student and not only helped me in narrowing down the choice to Aka and Miji tribes and defining the subject, but also guided me with his light of wisdom through the path of near darkness.

As the work progressed, the staff of North Bengal University Library provided me the needed printed material while Shri S.M.S Chowdhury and Shri A. Chowdhury, D.Cs of West Kameng and East Kameng Districts and Dr. B.B. Pandey and Dr. Shrutiker, District Research officers of the two districts helped me in arranging the informers and provided guides, transport and accommodation which lessened my difficulties during the field study.

During collection of the data Shri Wanjaw Ramdasow, District Election Officer, Bomdila (the only Hrusso graduate and gazetted officer), Shri A.Bora, Extra Assistant Commissioner Thirizino, and Principals of Government Degree College, Bomdila and Govt. Higher Secondary School, Bhalukpong, provided me both guidance and assistance in the form of informers.

The continuous encouragement and assistance in the form of directions to the officials to assist me by Shri A.Tayeng Director Research Arunachal Pradesh, eased my most of the tensions.

Achambu Aka the Political Interpreter attached to me for the duration of the field work and Shri Panku Sidisow, an energetic and upcoming youth leader, deserve my special thanks for arranging informers and interpreting and filling up gaps in information. I am also indebted to the Hrussos, Dhammais and Pichangs in general who came out with the much needed information and accepted to become informers.

For drafting, Havildars S.P.Sharma, Mukhtiar Singh, C.K.Das and R.K.Shukla deserve my thanks while for final typing I am grateful to Shri Chanchal Kumar Pal, Surath Kundu and Manoj Chakraborty. Dr. D.P.Boot and Naik Sham Singh's drawing work and Shri Ajit Ray's computer work need special mention. I am also indebted to L/NK Subramani who drove me

for years without caring for any rest. Col. D.S.Kang and Col. P.S.Bhan by sparing me for crucial hours of research made the work possible to be completed in a shorter time. My gratitude is to Lt. Col. Bali who organised my flying over the area of study and made me reach the remotest of these people, and also to Col. Gill and Maj. Sandhu who provided me a base to work upon.

I will be failing in my duty if I do not thank my father, my wife Gurcharan and sons Navtej and Gurtej, who not only have born my long neglect calmly but also cheerfully assisted me in compilation and reading through the various drafts.

This work is a result of the assistance of all the above and many others, and once again I thank them all.

I am sure this study will help in providing answers to some of the anomalies in tribal identities and will be of some worth for future study.

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THE AKA, MIJI AND THEIR KINDRED IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH :
AN ENQUIRY INTO THE DETERMINANTS OF THEIR IDENTITY

Volume I

	<u>Page No.</u>
Preface	i-iv
1. Problem formulation-I : Introduction	1-32
2. Problem formulation-II : Objective, Scope and Methodology	33-81
3. Determinants of Identity-I : Name, Territory and Culture	82-157
4. Determinants of Identity-II : Marriage and Kinship	158-232
5. Determinants of Identity-III : Language	233-342
6. Summary and Conclusion.	343-363

Volume II

Appendices

Bibliography

CHAPTER 1

**PROBLEM
FORMULATION**

I

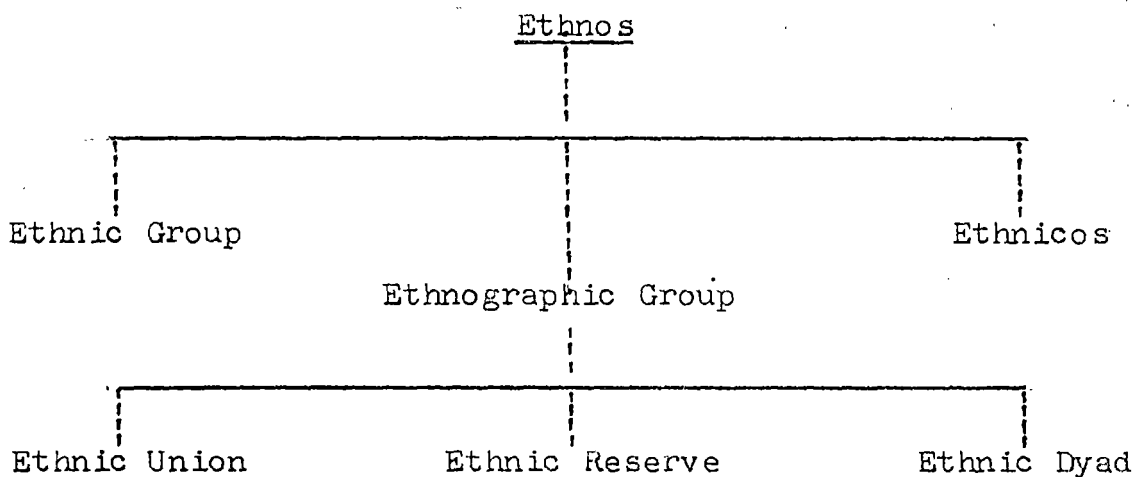
INTRODUCTION

The world today is in an ethnic turmoil. A sudden "spurt in identity assertion in ethnic terms has become a global phenomenon. Disintegration of U.S.S.R., the world super power, is the result of uncontrollable identity assertion by her ethnoses. The recent ethnic violence in America, the other super power, warns this mighty nation that the eddies of ethnic identities are going strong. The heat-waves generated by ethnic wars in Yugoslavia, Afganistan and other such affected nations, seem to have gradually moulded Czeckoslovakia to consider peaceful parting of its two chief ethnic groups Czecks and Slovaks. Most other nations whether affected by this wave of assertion of ethnic identity, or likely to be affected by it, are thinking over this problem seriously.

In India, the proportions of ethnic problems are next only to U.S.S.R. Kashmiris, Sikhs, Gurkhas, Jharkhandis, Bodos, Karbis and many ethnoses are fighting for establishing their separate identities. Even in remote, but so far a quiet state Arunachal Pradesh, ethnic movements like United People's Volunteers Group (U.P.V.A.) have been found to be active, making the nation aware that the problem of ethnic identities is very serious in India too, and it is wise to settle it amicably at the earliest, whenever possible at the onset.

This situation is hence alarming, and demands serious study of the problem. Solutions exist for every problem, provided they are correctly understood, suitably approached, and logically and systematically tackled by appropriate methodology. Foremost need is to understand the problem. The problem here is of the increasing assertion of ethnic identities. Key terms are 'ethnic' and 'identity'. To understand the problem, these key terms must be understood well.

'Ethnos' is understood in the sense of the 'people' or 'community' in general. 'Community with very large or very small populations, and again both archaic and modern people alike may be called ethnos'¹. B.P. Misra draws the following heirachy of ethnos².



He describes ethnoses in a tribe-nation continuum and states the elementary ethnic group as the tribe³. Ethnographic groups, on the other hand, consist of either an ethnic union or an ethnic reserve or ethnic dyad. The ethnic union is formed of two or more ethnic groups who tend to merge into a new identity. The ethnic reserve may be treated as made of one dominant ethnic identity into which various others merge themselves, whereas ethnic dyad is split into oscillating between more than one ethnoses, the latter being the manifestation of an identity which is highly developed both spiritually and materially⁴.

This structural pattern is dynamic as is any human being. The formation of ethnic groups, ethnographic groups, ethnic union, ethnic reserve or ethnic dyads or the reverse of it, is a regular and continuous phenomenon. This process may take various shapes as is shown in table 1.1 as described by S.K. Acharya⁵, and to understand the problem of ethnicities, these processes must be taken into consideration.

The elementary group in this process is a tribe as seen in the tribe-nation continuum, and in the sense of a community or a society. The process of linking 'a tribe' with community or society has been a practice in the past too. 'The Oxford Dictionary' links the term 'tribe' with "the then three most civilised people i.e., The Romnes or Latins, the Tities or Sabines and the Lucerea or Etruscans ; all three commonly

Table 1.1 : The dividing/unifying ethnogenic processes

Sl. No.	Name	Process		Types of Ethnos/es Involved	Effect
		Main Type	Sub Type		
1.	Ethnogenic divergence	Dividing	Ethno-trans-formational	One ethnos	Two or more ethnos are born
2.	Ethnogenic inter-ethnic consolidation	Unifying	"	Kindred ethnos	A new ethnos is born
3.	Ethnogenic mixing	"	"	Non-kindred ethnos	A new ethnos is born
4.	Intra-ethnic consolidation	"	Ethno evolutionary	One ethnos	Smoothing of intra ethnic differences*
5.	Inter-ethnic integration	"	"	Non-kindred ethnos	(i) Homogenisation, and (ii) Formation of meta ethnic entities
6.	Assimilation	"	Trans-formatio- nal and evolu- tionary	Non-kindred ethnos	One of the ethnos disappears

Note : * Some of the sub units become ethnographic groups, others sub ethnos.

called as Tribes in Latin, depicting the trifold division of the people of Rome"⁶. Indeed, retreating to times even more distant than the founding of Rome, we encounter other words in the spirit of tribes, all showing similar meanings. The Greek word 'phyle' is found to have been applied during Homeric times to groups of uncertain composition. According to historian Victor Ehrenberg, "The Greeks themselves came into the land as tribes"⁷. An Indo-European tribe referred to the largest kind of social and political community which existed before the existence of the city state. More elementary social units were included in it, from the smallest, the 'genos' and the 'phratra' and the latin 'gens' and 'curria'⁸. To clarify this reality of 'a tribe' in the form of 'tribe' as a 'type of society', Andre Beteille states, "A tribal is, in an ideal state, a self-contained unit. It constitutes a society in itself"⁹.

Morgan, the father of modern anthropology, too described a tribe to be a 'completely organised society'¹⁰. He noted the attributes of a tribal society as 'common name, dialect, territory, religion, endogamy, and equality and fraternity'¹¹.

"A century later, the tribe is still defined much the same way in terms of commonality of territory, descent, language, culture and name"¹². Other definitions of a tribe are not very different from Morgan's. After Morgan, the

prominent anthropologist A.W. Hewitt defined a tribe as ' a larger or smaller aggregate of people who occupy a certain tract of hunting and food ground in common, who speak the same language with dialectical differences, who acknowledge a common relatedness and who deny that relatedness to other tribes"¹³. According to a committee of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, "A tribe may be defined as a politically or socially coherent and autonomous group occupying or claiming a particular territory"¹⁴. Dictionary of Anthropology states, "A tribe is a social group, usually with a definite area, dialect, cultural homogeneity, and unifying social organisation"¹⁵. G.P. Murdock describes, "language, contiguous territory, common culture and a tradition of common descent and a common name"¹⁶ as the attributes. R. Piddington defines tribe as " a group of people speaking a common dialect, inhabiting a common territory and displaying a certain homogeneity in their culture"¹⁷. Dictionary of social Anthropology states, "A tribe is a social group usually with a definite area, dialect, culture, homogeneity and unifying social organisation"¹⁸. While studying the Andaman Islanders, Radcliffe Brown, found that, "A number of clans who had the same language and similar customs, formed a linguistic community"¹⁹, which he referred to as a tribe.

If we analyse all the above definitions, we find that the tribe is defined by its essential attributes which

are generally stated to be the common name, territory, culture, descent (kinship) and the languages.

Common name for a group of people establishes their image, their identity, and shows their allegiance, solidarity and sense of belongingness to the group as a whole. Image here refers to the ideas, emotions, concepts and perceptions of the group; identity refers to the individuality of a group. To study the image and identity of a tribe-name with which it is identified/identifies itself, it is worthwhile to start with the etymological meanings of the names of individual tribes or the appellations which the tribes use for themselves. The legends and traditions associated with the names of particular tribes constitute another significant aspect of study. A study will remain incomplete if we do not take note of the factors of change or ignore the forces that have affected their self-image and identity.

In dealing with the etymology of tribe-names, it may be noted that several tribes have two sets of names - a popular name by which the tribe is known by its neighbours (exoethnonym) and a name which the tribe uses to identify itself (endoethnonym). Both types of names generally refer to certain common characteristics or qualities of a given tribe. There are also some appellations which are resented by the tribes as derogatory and need an analysis. In a nutshell, we must study etymological meanings of tribe-names, and tribe-

appellations, the solidarity with the tribe-name, exoethnonyms and endoethnonyms ; legends and traditions associated with tribe name and the factors/forces affecting their self-image and identity.

The next attribute "Common territory" of a tribe, describes the compactness and spread as well as the natural ecological and economic environment of the tribe. The ethnic boundaries of a tribe are generally compact and well-defined. The tribe may derive its name from a particular territory or give its name to a particular territory. The territorial boundaries may be described either geographically or administratively. Geographic isolation of the tribe from other tribes is indicative of its circumstantial identity. The geographical or administrative boundaries are, however, breaking up with the fast speed of development of communication and contact all over the world. The flow of tribe members out of their geographical boundaries has become quite frequent, "moving out of a person from the predominant or exclusive area of the tribe does not debar him from identifying with the tribe. The geographical and administrative boundaries still persist despite a flow of personnel across them"²⁰. In other words, categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility and contact. In a nutshell, to study the tribal identity based on a common territory, we will have to study the geographic and administrative boundaries of the tribe ;

any in-flow/outflow and its impact, the mobility and migration of the population and the tribal identity with the name of the area and the place of origin of the tribe.

Territorial boundaries generally match the cultural boundaries. Cultural boundaries are marked by areas of least difference amongst the cultural traits of ethnoses. A tribe can be identified by the particular traits of the culture. Differences in trait inventories become differences in tribes or ethnoses.

A.L. Kroeber and C. Kluckhohn, after analysing 160 definitions of culture, present a synthesis that embodies the traits of culture positively accepted by most contemporary social scientists : "Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of behaviour acquired and transmitted by symbols, constituting the distinctive achievements of human groups, including their embodiment in artifacts; the essential core of culture consists of traditional (i.e., historically divided and selected) ideas and especially their attached values ; culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, on the other, conditioning elements of further action"²¹.

B. Malinowski describes these traits to be material and non-material, and states : "Material traits are his artifacts, his implements and weapons, the liturgical paraphernalia

of his magic and religion, and the non-material traits are the knowledge in the production, management and use of artifacts, implements, weapons and other constrictions, and are essentially connected with mental discipline of which religion, laws and ethical rules are the ultimate source"²².

The traits of culture in respect of a tribe can be innumerable but which are more commonly applied for determining identities of a tribe are life cycle, means, instruments and implements for livelihood, instruments for recreation, pleasure and enjoyments, customs, traditions, rituals, religion, laws, ethical rules, belief etc.

These common traits of a culture generally arise as a result of mutual relationship between the various members of a tribe, and the most important binding relationship is the kinship. The kinship system, as defined by Radcliffe Brown, is "a system of relationships between person and person in a community" that means "a network of relations"²³. The network of relations are either by blood (through descent) or through affinity (brought about by marriage).

Consanguinity emerges from lineage and is traced through genealogy. Affinity is bounded or expanded by endogamy/exogamy. Quoting Morgan and McLennan, Godelier states a tribe to be 'an endogamous group while the clan is exogamous'²⁴. Endogamy is very essential to maintain effective social group and also for the purpose of inheritance which passes on through

descent may be through a male-line (patrilineal), or female-line (matrilineal) kinship depends on the social recognition and cultural implementation of relationships derived from descent and marriage, and normally involves a set of kinship terms and an associated set of behavioural patterns and attitudes which together make up a system as a whole. Thus, a kinship system is usually taken to refer to the complex of rules in any one society, which by governing descent, succession, inheritance, marriage, extra-marital sexual relations and residence, determine the status of individual and groups in respect of their ties of consanguinity and intermarriage. "It is one of the universals in human society and therefore, plays an important role in both the regulation of behaviour and formation of social groups"²⁵.

Kroeber²⁶ laid the following eight principles of kinship identification :

- (1) Difference in generation levels (father, son; Grand parent, grand son etc.).
- (2) Difference in age levels with the same generation elder and younger brother, etc.).
- (3) Difference between lineal and collateral relationship (father, uncle; brother, cousin; etc.).
- (4) Difference in sex of relatives (brother, sister; uncle, aunt; etc.)..

- (5) Difference in sex of the speaker (males and females may, have two separate systems of relationships).
- (6) Difference in sex of the person through whom the relationship is established (father's brother, mother's brother; father's father, mother's mother).
- (7) Difference between genetic relatives and those connected by marriage (mother, husband's mother; etc.).
- (8) Difference in status or life conditions of the person through whom the relationship is established (living or dead, single or married etc.).

Fred Eggan, however, lays down the following characteristics of kinship for differentiating societies²⁷ :

- (1) The extent to which genealogical and affinal relationships are recognised for social categories.
- (2) The ways in which relatives so recognised are classified or grouped in social categories.
- (3) The particular custom by which the behaviour of these relatives is regulated in daily life.

- (4) The various rights and obligations which are mediated through kins.
- (5) The linguistic form which are used to denote kin categories.

The principles laid down by Kroeber appear to be more discrete and clearer in determining the identity of a tribe.

To identify the kinship, following identifying aspects can be evaluated:

- (a) Kinship system :- Descent (matrilineal/patrilineal) affinity (endogamous/exogamous), residency (patrilocal/matrilocal), genealogy, lineage, etc.
- (b) Kinship levels :- Generation, age, lineal/collateral, sex of person, relatives or status etc.
- (c) Kinship terminology :- Descriptive and classificatory linguistic forms, grouping, stages etc.

Another important attribute for identity of a tribe is language. "Language constitutes the single most characteristic feature of a separate ethnic identity"²⁸. No other bond can bind the people of a particular society firmly and permanently than the linguistic identity. Members of the same ethnic group or society forget their differences, private or public, social or political, over the language issue. They

stand united to preserve, protect and defend their mother-tongue wherever its existence is threatened ; linguistic identity, in a given society begets a sense of fellow-ship, kinship, brotherhood, and one-ness among the people. In short, "no other bond is so strong and durable as the bond of linguistic identity"²⁹. The same view point is given out by Sergey Arutyunow, " the language, more often than any other cultural factor, serves as the basic factor of ethnogenesis and ethnodifferentiation. It is also one of the basic standpoint of formation and preservation of ethnic identity"³⁰. The various aspects of language on the basis of which the identity of a tribe is determined are the language name and the language boundary ; commonly known as language/dialect geography. C.F. Hockett (1973) ³¹ describes the procedure for preparation of the language boundary as follows :-

(1) A preliminary survey of a region is made to get some notion of the ways in which usage varies subregion-wise and some impression of the way in which the region is broken up by variations of usage.

(2) Two basic frames are then prepared. One is a list of the geographical points at which usage will be checked in more detail. The other is a list of items of usage to be checked at each point ; this is in the form of questionnaire.

(3) Field workers travel through the region stopping at each pre-selected point, finding suitable informants and

filling out a copy of the questionnaire for each informant. Only one or two informants can usually be used at each point, and they are generally chosen from the oldest living generation of people who resided at or near the point since early childhood. The collected material thus represents only a tiny sampling of the total sampling of the region.

(4) When all information is in, maps are drawn showing the distribution of each alternative usage for the items in questionnaire.

The items which are selected for survey can be of various sorts. C.F. Hockett³² gives out a representative sample of these :-

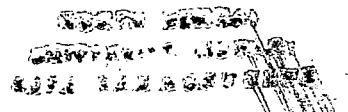
- (1) The word or phrase customarily used for certain meaning.
- (2) The meanings for certain word, provided that the word is known.
- (3) The pronunciation of a given word.
- (4) The phonemic identity or difference of two forms.

The modern linguists sum these up as phonology, morphology, semantics and syntax.

It can then be stated that relevant material should be available for providing the details about the language-name, and its characteristics based on phonology, morphology, semantics and syntax. This material can be obtained through sample

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survey of the region which can then be compared for determining the identity/identities.

The aforesaid five attributes have been applied universally to define a 'tribe' in the sense of a community and society. The universality of the definition of a tribe, however, has been found to be mutilated by European colonialists. The word 'tribe' during the European Colonialism was also used "to reflect them equivalent of savage, barbaric, primitive, aboriginal, jungle, banfu, nomadic, pagan, heathen and many other disparaging and contemptuous terms with all its connotations of primitivity and unfounded distinction between primitivism and civilisation in terms of inferior and superior"³³. Falling in line, even Morgan described a society according to its condition of relative advancement and decided upon three major stages of advancement i.e., savagery, barbarism and civilisation. Tribe according to him belonged to the second stage. In 1968, Marshal Sahlin³⁴ advocated Morgan's point of view of three stages of evolution but naming them as band, tribe and state.

The term tribe in this sense was freely used by the colonial powers to dominate the people of third world. Subsequently, with the rise of national liberation movements in the colonies, ironically, these colonialists spearheaded a policy of 'divide and rule'. In order to create a wedge between the various communities for this purpose, they started

eulogising those who could be won over and downgrading others who could not be. Tribal people being very simple souls, were an easy prey of this game plan ; hence, colonialists focussed their attention on them. "Their culture was magnified and the myth of 'noble and contented savage' was spread to deride the struggling people and join hands with pro-imperialists' sections from among them',³⁵.

In India, the effect of above stated colonial policy was felt variedly. The systematic segregation into various groups in accordance with the policy of 'divide and rule' resulted into giving special designations to the tribal people through the various Acts of the Government. The enactment of Scheduled District Act XIV of 1874 brought in a special status for the 'aboriginals' which included those groups which were distinguished by "tribal characteristics" and by their spatial and cultural isolation from the bulk of population. The British attempted to protect these "aboriginals" by placing areas in which they were concentrated outside of ordinary administration to permit a policy of insulating them from 'exploitative or demoralising contact with more sophisticated outsiders. These enclaves were called "Backward Areas" in the Government of India Act, 1919. The first clear attempt to identify the "primitive" tribes based on the above criteria was in 1931 Census which counted 24, 613, 848. These enclaves (called 'Excluded Areas and Partially Excluded Areas', in the Government

of India Act) were placed under the operation of general law and were the object of broad executive powers to provide special protective regulations. Some provinces had undertaken a policy of protective treatment of tribals outside these areas. In the 1935 Act, for the first time, provision was made for some representation for 'Backward Tribes' in the reformed provincial legislatures and a total of 24 of 1535 seats in the provincial legislatures were reserved for these 'Backward Tribes'. A list of 'Backward Tribes' was promulgated in 1936 for all of the provinces except Punjab and Bengal. The 1941 Census counted 25.4 million tribal people (6.58% of the total population)³⁶.

The Constitution of India, 1950 carried forward this dual treatment of tribal areas and tribal people in a set of provisions for their 'protection and advancement' far more elaborate and detailed than the provisions for the other categories of the backward classes. Along with the reservations in legislatures and services comparable to those for the Scheduled Casts, there are provisions for their direct control over administration ; for direct central responsibility , for annual reports by the Governors to President for extensive executive power over Scheduled Areas to insulate them from the application of inappropriate law and to fashion protective legislation, especially regarding allotment and transfer of land ; and money lending ; and the formation of Tribal Advisory

Councils to participate in the formulation of policy³⁷.

As per the Constitution, term 'Scheduled Tribes' means "such tribal communities or parts of or groups or within such tribes or tribal communities as are defined under Article 342 to be Scheduled Tribes for the purpose of Constitution". The list of tribes defined, 'Scheduled Tribes', however, is to be specified by the President, after consulting with the Governors. Once promulgated, the list can be varied only by Act of Parliament. The 'Scheduled Areas' are to be ordered by the President, 'who retains the power to alter or deschedule them'³⁸.

In 1950, the President promulgated the list of Scheduled Tribes apparently by making some additions to the 1935 list of Backward Tribes. Some groups had been listed in Scheduled Tribe List. The 1951 Census counted 19.1 million in these groups (5.30% of the total population). Some tribes had been omitted ; about a million members of these "left out" tribes were temporarily accommodated in the Other Backward Classes (O.B.C.)³⁹ category adding 2.5 million tribals, mostly in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, bringing the total to 22.5 million persons were added, bringing the total to almost 40 millions.

Although the lists contain groups throughout the country, the tribal population is heavily concentrated in

central and northeastern India. Unlike the relatively dispersed Scheduled Castes population, about 90% of the tribals are found in nine states. Out of the 471 tribes listed in the 1971 census, Arunachal Pradesh alone accounts for 110 tribes⁴⁰. The Scheduled Tribes were defined partly by habitat and geographic isolation, but even more on the basis of social, religious, linguistic, and cultural distinctiveness—their "tribal characteristics". Just where the line between "tribals" and "non-tribals" should be drawn has not always been free from doubt.

In 1951 the Commissioner of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (CSC ST) noted that no uniform test for distinguishing the Scheduled Tribes had been formulated. He circularized the state governments for their views. After surveying the divergent responses, which included racial, religious, linguistic, and cultural tests as well as tests of political, economic and social organization, and degree of contact, isolation, or assimilation/distinctiveness, the Commissioner proposed as the common elements: tribal origin, primitive way of life, remote habitation and general backwardness in all respects⁴¹.

The Lokur Committee in 1965 reported that, "in revising the lists, we have looked for indications of primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographic isolation, shyness of contact with the community at large and backwardness;

we have considered that tribes whose members have by and large mixed up with the general population are not eligible to be in the list of Scheduled Tribes"⁴².

The above set of attributes which includes primitive traits, geographic isolation, shyness of contact, backwardness, remote habitation, tribal origin, distinctive culture etc., serves to designate a stage of evolution i.e., barbarism (a la Morgan). Tylor, simply places civilised nations at one end of the social series and savage tribes at the other. Arranging the rest of mankind between these limits, ethnographers are able to set up at least a rough scale of civilisation, a transition from the savage to our own. As the country was handed over to us in 1947, we also took over the legacies of the British, which also included this definition of tribe. It was found remarkably suiting in new conditions in India. Our tribal people, who had already tasted the fruits of the division did not understand the implication. They not only accepted but insisted on being called tribes as this designation got lot of benefits for them as described. The political parties too, found it suiting to their political requirement and this term came to stay, with the characteristics of defining tribals on the basis of stage of evolution.

This definition based on the 'barbaric' stage of evolution could define the people as tribals but was found wanting to distinguish between tribes themselves. With the

increasing demand for benefits, a struggle arose to gain maximum. The stronger the tribe, the better benefits he had. Thus started a wave of demand for identities of individual tribes. For the purpose of determining the identity of 'a tribe', the attributes required to define a stage of evolution did not suit. The attributes which suited to distinguish between tribes were the same as described for defining a society i.e., common name, territory, culture, kinship and language; these attributes were also accepted in later empirical work investigating ethnic identity⁴³.

These attributes are applicable in case we are to distinguish one tribe from other tribe where the tribals are already identified, but cannot be applied where the requirement is to distinguish tribals from non-tribals. To distinguish between a tribal and non-tribal, the second set of attributes will help us out. For example, if we have to differentiate Toto tribe of Bengal from the non-tribal population adjoining the tribe, we will first apply the second set of attributes, and then, to confirm their individual 'tribe identity', we shall apply the first set of attributes to confirm whether Toto is really 'one tribe' or more. Similarly, if we have to identify the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, we shall first distinguish the tribals from non-tribals based on the criteria of second set of attributes and then with the help of first set of attributes, we shall establish identity of each tribe.

It will be pertinent to point out here that all the attributes may not be necessary for providing these identities ; sometimes even a single attribute or even single aspect of it may be providing a clear identity, but this depends upon tribe to tribe, place to place or even time to time, as the conditions and situations keep on changing with time; so do the definitions and applicabilities of the attributes.

If we apply the second set of attributes i.e., primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographic isolation, backwardness and shyness of contact with community at large, we find these attributes generally applicable to all the North-Eastern states, Northern-Hill region, Central-Hill region and a few other areas. Out of these above, maximum number of tribes recorded in the Census records and also accepted by the Government of India as tribes, are in Arunachal Pradesh. This then turns out to be a priority area for any study into the tribes and their characteristics/attributes and we must pay full attention to tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. This area, which is generally described tribal area, is extremely important strategically, as it is situated on India's North-East corner ; bordering Tibet in the North, China and Burma in the East , Bhutan in the west and Assam and Nagaland in the south.

Its other characteristics in brief are as follows : it is spread over 84,000 square kilometres of land of evergreen forests, snow-topped mountains, deep valleys and beautiful

plateaus, and records one of the heaviest rainfall in the world. It is inhabited by 6.32 lakh people out of which about 70 percent are tribal, living in 3257 villages as per 1981 census. The state has remained isolated from rest of the world due to its difficult terrain, nearly non-existent communications and inner-line-permit-system ordered by the British during their rule over Assam. The tribals, hence, lived their own independent, uninterfered and untempered life, and developed their own language, culture and indigenous system of governance in their isolated ethnic existence,

From the above description, we find the people of Arunachal Pradesh having the following clear characteristics:

- (a) They are in the most remotest and isolated region of India.
- (b) They are the most backward economically.
- (c) They retain their primitive cultural traits and value these most.
- (d) They have been in an isolation in the form of geographical pockets where they had restricted contact even with their tribal neighbours.

Based on above characteristics, the people of Arunachal Pradesh, in general, have been stated as tribals. Their identities as individual tribes, however, have not yet been properly determined. This is apparent from the number of tribes recorded from time to time as scheduled tribes. In the

Presidential Order of 1956 only 11 tribes of this state were listed. This list was amended from time to time based on the later census reports and this number rose to 80 after 1961 census and to 110 on the basis of 1971 census counts. Further amendment to this list has not been done after 1981 census, in which the number was accounted as 105, 5 less than that of 1971 Census. The results of 1991 census are still awaited. This problem of identity of tribes of Arunachal Pradesh becomes all the more important, because these tribes have started asserting their identities themselves. Firstly, these people would like to introduce themselves by their original and authentic names and not by misnames which their neighbours or people from the plains used to address them. Secondly, for all round development and for getting preferences from the government, they feel that the individual group identity as 'a tribe' has become a necessity.

'It is observed that most of the tribal communities of Arunachal Pradesh have started to reject their earlier identity and have taken new names on the pretext that those were not their original names and were given to them by the plains people. This happened probably because today they are afraid of losing their identity and rich culture and becoming more and more close with the people in the plains. Their elite have come up with the opinion that it is high time for them to identify with their original name and at the same time form

some cultural groups for every community where they should revive all their activities or there is a chance for them to loose everything in the wake of rapid changes due to modernization⁴⁴.

Such happenings, however, should not always be viewed as unhealthy or disruptive forces, but may be, these are the initial steps taken by the tribesmen to come to the national mainstream, but at the same time to maintain their self-image. As soon as they are provided with a definite identity, automatically they are also demarcating the area people by their men. In due course they get a seat in the assembly to fight their cause, develop the communication system and get subsidies of different kinds. Subsequently, they also manage to get other modern amenities and educational facilities. This also helps them in getting absorbed in different government jobs and derive benefit of government schemes and projects. For all these reasons people have started to attach much importance to identity specially as a scheduled tribe.

As tribal identities have become dear to them in the wake of increasing benefits, it is important that this aspect is understood before any detailed study is taken up about any specific tribe. Unless we know how many tribes are there in Arunachal Pradesh detailed studies are not possible either. For this purpose an attempt has been made in the next chapter

to have a count of all these tribes from the available sources so that there is some base available for further studies.

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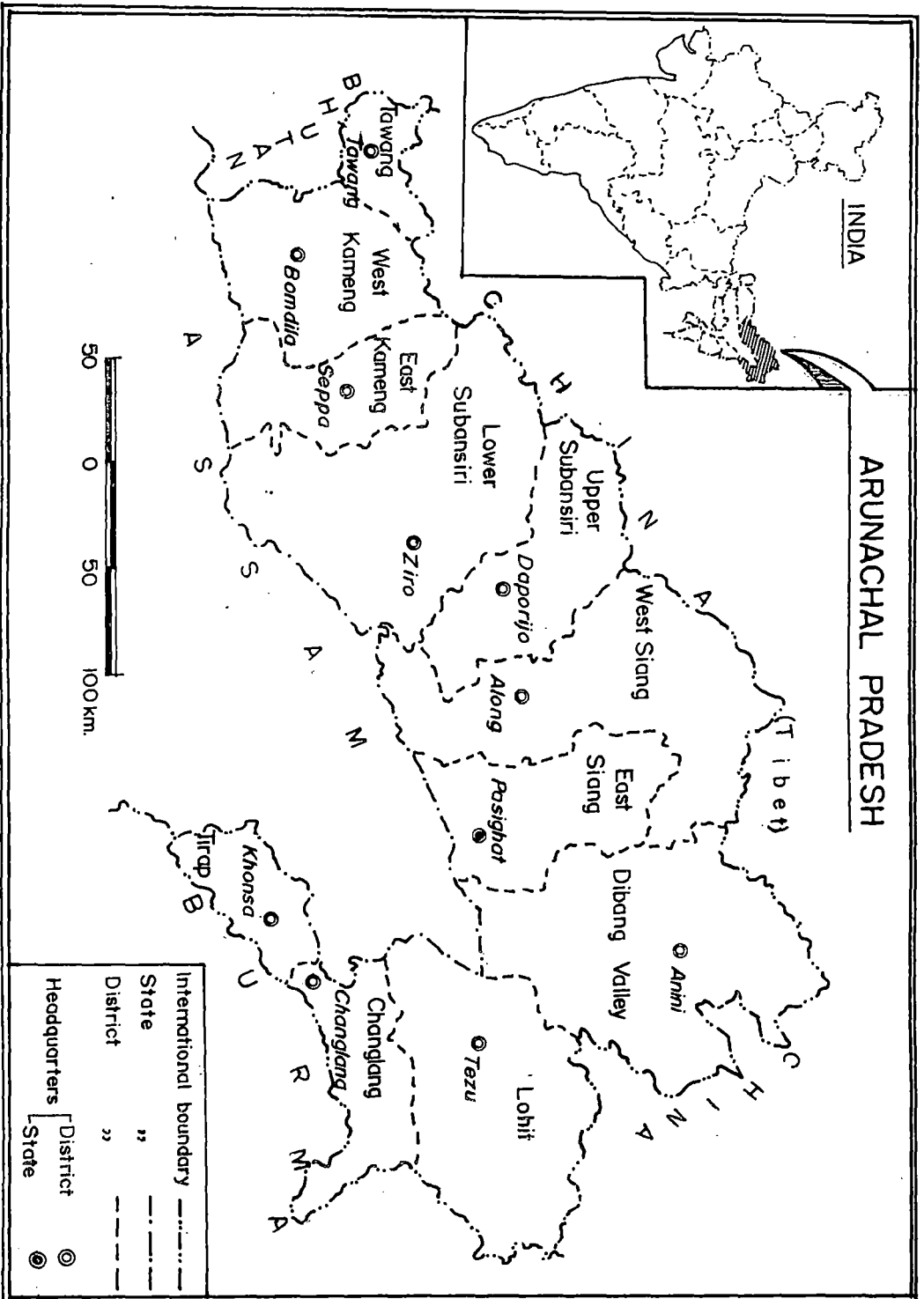
CHAPTER 2

**PROBLEM
FORMULATION**

II

**OBJECTIVE
SCOPE AND
METHODOLOGY**

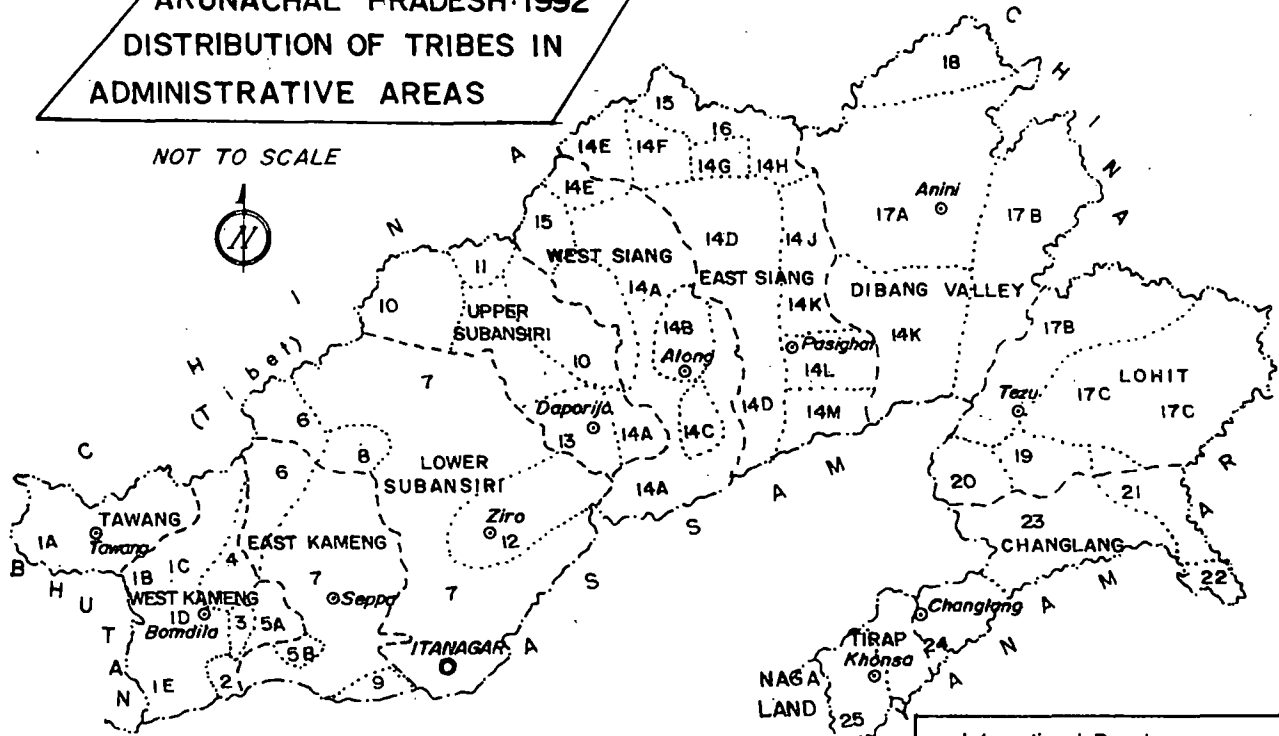
ARUNACHAL PRADESH



International boundary	-----
State	-----
District	-----
Headquarters	⊙

**ARUNACHAL PRADESH 1992
DISTRIBUTION OF TRIBES IN
ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS**

NOT TO SCALE



- | | | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. MONPA
A. TAWANG-MONPA
B. LISH PA (a)
C. DIRANG-MONPA (a)
D. BUT-MONPA (a)
E. KALAKTANG-MONPA | 6. SULUNG
7. BANGNI / NISHI
8. BARO
9. MIKIR (⊙)
10. TAGIN
11. NA (+)
12. APATANI
13. HILL MIRI (SARAK) | 14. ADI
A. ADI-GALLONG
B. ADI-BORI
C. ADI-KARKA
D. ADI-MINYONG
E. ADI-BOKAR
F. ADI-PAILIBO
G. ADI-ASHING
H. ADI-SHIMONG
I. ADI-MILLANG
K. ADI-PADAM
L. ADI-PASI
M. ADI-PANGI | 15. MEMBA
16. KHAMBA (a)
17. MISHMI
A. IDU-MISHI
B. DIGARU-MISHMI
C. MIJU-MISHMI
18. MEYOR / ZAKHRING (a)
19. KHAMPTI
20. MIRI (⊙)
21. SINGPHO
22. LISU/YOBIN (a)
23. TANGSA
24. NOCTE
25. WANCHO |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|

International Boundary	-----
State	- . - . - .
District
Tribe area	-----
State capital	⊙
District headquarters	○

Not Exclusive to Arunachal (⊙)
Area needs confirmation (a)
Tribe— do — (+)

Identities of Arunachal Pradesh tribes are in a state of confusion as is apparent from the haphazard and erratic change in the number of tribes. This sudden increase or decrease cannot be accepted anthropologically because a social set up does not change so suddenly, haphazardly or erratically; it may only happen as a result of political expediency, an administrative fault or due to some other unknown reason. No detailed research on identity of these tribes is available to find out the reason behind this anomaly. However, whatever information is available in bits and pieces, might be able to clear some mist around this phenomenon. All such information may be pieced together to clarify some of the issues before any detailed study is carried out into the problem of identity establishment of these several tribes.

The records of the tribe-names of Arunachal were first found in Ahom-Buranjis (written mostly in 16th-17th centuries) where only Daflas, Miris, Khamptis and Mishmis are mentioned at places. After Ahom Buranjis, the tribal names are mentioned in the studies made by British Administrators, surveyors, Defence employees, Christian Missionaries, travellers and others, like Wilcox (1832), Griffith (1836-1847), Dalton (1845-1872), Hanny (1847), Vetch (1848-1873), Hudson (1850), Fr. Krick (1853), Jenkins (1870), Peal (1872, 1896),

Cooper (1873), Badgley (1876), Woodthorpe (1878), Hunter (1879), Needham (1884-1894), Crowe (1890), Dun (1897), Ward (1901), Brown (1913-16), Kennedy (1914) and Dunbar (1915). These studies covered only a few more tribes like Abhors, Idu-Mishmis, Akas, Mijis, Digaru-Mishmis, Wanchos, Noctes, Monpas, etc.

After Independence of India, Verrier Elwin (1956-70), C. Von Furer-Haimendorf (1956, 1962, 1980, 1982), J.P. Mills (1952), Sachin Roy (1953-67), Gemini Paul (1958), B.K. Roy Burman (1966, 1970, 1975), R. Sinha (1959), Parul Dutta (1959, 1978, 1983) and a few others found more details about these tribes and added a number of names like Apatanis, Hill-Miris, Monpas, Tangsas, Membas, Khambas, Padams, Minyongs etc., but even all these studies were not able to give out the total number and names of tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. The names of these tribes were also not recorded as same in the studies by the above writers e.g., Akas were also recorded as Hrussos, Mijis as Dhammais, Abors as Adis, Daflas as Nishis/Bangnis/Nishangs, Noctes as Nagas/ Abhori-Nagas/ Namsangyas/ Bordwaris/ Panidwaris etc.

The confusion is not only in the tribe-names but also in the number of tribe names in Arunachal Pradesh as has been pointed out earlier. Only five to six tribes of this area have been found recorded in the 'Buranjis', the earlier

historical records of the Ahom Kingdom as stated earlier. The Britishers, who occupied the area after Ahoms did not show much interest in the area except what was necessary to save the plains' people of Assam from the 'savage hill-tribes' (as they thought these tribes to be), and they labelled them with all sorts of derogatory names, which these people now understand and despise. Notes and brief descriptions about a few tribes were prepared by the British writers primarily for the knowledge of their officers. Census operations during 1931 recorded some tribes, but only those who had settled down in the plains of Assam. 1931 census records did not include the details about the area which presently forms Arunachal Pradesh.

The mention of the tribe numbers along with the names in Arunachal Pradesh was first found in the Presidential Order, 'The Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) order, 1956' (Part II) where it was stated that all the tribes of the North East Frontier Agency (now called Arunachal Pradesh) were to be treated as Scheduled Tribes. At paragraph 2 of Part II of Schedule III of the Order, an illustrative list of the tribes of the North East Frontier Agency (N.E.F.A.) was provided, the extract of which is as follows :

"All tribes of North East Frontier Agency including (1) Abor (2) Aka (3) Apatani (4) Dafla (5) Gallong (6) Khampti

(7) Khowa (8) Mishmi (9) Momba (10) Any other Naga tribes (11) Sherdukpen (12) Singpho. No other tribes than the tribes of the North East Frontier Agency are to be treated as Scheduled Tribes of this area"¹. It has however, been mentioned that "the Presidential Order is illustrative and not exhaustive with respect to the tribes of North East Frontier Agency"². The inadequacy of the numbers was found in the census of 1961, where the number of these tribes enumerated was 80³ and in the census of 1971 this number rose to 110⁴ but decreased to 105 in 1981 Census⁵. The number and names of tribes as counted in 1971 were accepted as base for 1991 census, the results of which are not yet available. The 1981 census recorded 105 tribes in place of 110, but the number as proposed in 1981 has not been accepted for follow-up measures by the government.

If we compare the three census records, we find the following glaring differences :

(1) There is a change in number of tribes abnormally (1961-80, 1971-110, 1981-105).

(2) The five tribe-names which do not appear in the 1981 census list, if compared with the list of 1971 are : Lichi Tangsa, Phong-Tangsa, Simsa-Tangsa, Yanoo Bangni and Yatong. The remaining names appear to be the same as in 1971 census though with abnormal variance in population of some of the tribes which are given in a later sub-paragraph.

(3) Following 48 tribe-names appeared in all the three census : Apatani, Ashing, Bangni, Bangro, Bogum, Bokar, Bori, But-Monpa, Dafla, Dirang-Monpa, Gallong, Hill-Miri, Karka, Khamba, Khamiyang, Khampti, Khrodeng-Bangni, Komkar, Kongbo, Lish-Monpa, Momba, Miju/Kaman-Mishmi, Mikir, Millang, Minyong, Monpa, Muktim Nishang, Nishi, Nocte, Padam, Pailibo, Pangi, Pasi, Ramo, Sanke-Tangsa, Sherdukpen, Simong, Simsa-Tangsa, Singpho, Sulung, Tagin, Tagin-Bangni, Tangam, Tangsa, Taraon/Digaru-Mishmi, Wancho and Yobin.

(4) Following 20 tribes appeared under different names in 1961 and 1971 (Names in 1981 also were the same as in 1971 except Yanoo-Bangni which did not appear) :

<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
Aka/Hrusso	Aka
Havi	Havi-Tangsa
Idu-Mishmi	Idu/Chulikata Mishmi
Kemsing	Kemsing-Tangsa
Bogun or Khowa	Khowa
Longchang	Longchang-Tangsa
Longphi	Longphi-Tangsa
Longri	Longri-Tangsa
Longsang	Longsang-Tangsa
Miji or Dhammai	Miji
Miri	Miri/Mishing

contd..

<u>1961</u>	<u>1971</u>
Morang	Morang-Tangsa
Moglum	Moglum-Tangsa
Mossang	Mossang-Tangsa
Rongrang	Rongrang-Tangsa
Tawang or Brahmi-Monpa	Towang-Monpa
Tikhak	Tikhak-Tangsa
Yanoo	Yanoo-Bangni
Yongkuk	Yongkuk-Tangsa
Yougli	Yougli-Tangsa

Note : From the above, it will be found that Akas, Mijis, Bugun, Idu-Mishmi, Taraon-Mishmi and Towang-Monpa tribes have also appeared under alternate names i.e., Hrusso, Dhammai, Khowa, Chulikata-Mishmi, Digaru-Mishmi and Brahmi-Monpa, which may cause confusion for an ordinary reader.

(5) Following 12 tribes were accounted for in 1961 but not in 1971 census :- Bhutia, Gaji, Lodung, Maimong, Noknam, Southern-Monpa, Tibetan, Changwan-Tangsa, Teikam, Tonglum, Tongsing and Yankan.

(6) Following 41 tribe-names appear in 1971 census but did not exist in 1961 census records :- Abor, Adi, Adi-Gallong, Adi-Minyong, Adi-Padam, Adi-Pasi, Bagi, Bolok-Tangsa, Bomdo, Darok-Tangsa, Deori, Haisa-Tangsa, Hotang-Tangsa, Janbo,

Katin-Tangsa, Khalim-Tangsa, Korang-Tangsa, Langkai-Tangsa, Libo, Lichi-Tangsa, Liju-Nocte, Longin-Tangsa, Lowang-Tangsa, Meyor, Millang-Abor, Mishmi, Muktum, Namsang-Tangsa, Ngimong-Tangsa, Nonong, Panchen-Monpa, Phong-Tangsa, Pongkong, Ponthei-Nocte, Siram, Sulung-Bangni, Taisen-Tangsa, Thai-Khampti, Tutcha-Nocte, Yatong, Zakhring.

(7) In 1971 the population of the following 28 tribes is less than 15 (The population figures are given in brackets) : Bolok-Tangsa (3), Darok-Tangsa (5), Haisa-Tangsa(1) Hotang-Tangsa(1), Katin-Tangsa(1), Khalim-Tangsa(2) Khrodeng-Bangni(1), Korang-Tangsa(1), Langkai-Tangsa(11), Libo(14), Lichi-Tangsa(2), Liju Nocte(4), Longin-Tangsa(9), Lowang-Tangsa(1), Millang-Abor(3), Muktum(3), Namsang-Tangsa (3), Ngimong-Tangsa(4), Nonog(1), Phong-Tangsa(10), Pongkong(5), Rangai-Tangsa(1), Sanke-Tangsa(14), Simsa-Tangsa(2), Siram(8), Taisen-Tangsa(4), Tarem(3) and Thai-Khampti(8).

(8) In 1971, most of the tribes were grouped under the common group name i.e., Monpa-Group, Nissi/Bangni-Group, Adi-Group, Mishmi-Group and Tangsa-Group. In the 1981 census, it was seen that number of people who identified with individual tribe-names of the above groups decreased abnormally while the number who identified with common group-names increased manifold.

(9) The tribes which recorded an increase under one-tribe name and relative probable decrease under other tribe-names are given below :

<u>Increase</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>Probable relative decrease</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>
Adi	5,520	24,206	Abor	4733	63
			Ashing	959	66
			Bagi	2063	78
			Bogum	483	36
			Bomdo	294	2
			Gallong	38688	8988
			Janbo	210	6
			Karka	2118	2
			Kongbo	375	5
			Millang	2595	696
			Minyong	19146	3573
			Pailibo	1190	535
			Pasi	1943	647
			Shimong	3140	26
			Tangam	84	14
Adi-Gallong	334	36,366	Gallong	38688	8988
Adi-Minyong	25	25,259	Minyong	19146	3573
Adi-Padam	1,094	4,196	Padam	9864	6708
Adi-Pasi	209	841	Pasi	1943	647

Contd...

<u>Increase</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>	<u>Probable relative decrease</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1981</u>
Bori	78	1,884	Adi	5520	24206
Komkar	73	1,105	Adi	- do -	- do -
Libo	14	280	-do-	- do -	- do -
Pangi	593	1,317	-do-	- do -	- do -
Bangni	21,785	31,125	Dafla	5,926	63
Nissi	33,805	56,107	Nishang	15,462	8,693
Tagin	20,377	27,122	Tagin- Bangni	1,730	2
Mishmi	808	8,373	Kaman/Miju- Mishmi	8,233	3,662
			Digaru/Taraon Mishmi	5,384	3,992
Tangsa	6,941	9,896	Havi-Tangsa	699	383
			Kemsing- Tangsa	391	129
Lungchang- Tangsa	21	857	Longsang- Tangsa	375	30
			Morang-Tangsa	123	92
			Rongrang- Tangsa	538	261
			Tikhak-Tangsa	1,169	409
Dirang- Monpa	1,716	3,599	Monpa	23,319	21,619
Tawang- Monpa	826	6,503	But-Monpa	555	348
Liju-Nocte	4	3,048	Nocte	23,165	19,606
Tutcha- Nocte	911	3,289	Ponthei- Nocte	247	44
Meyor	100	238	Zakhring	23	14

(10) The increase is in (a) all the group-names (except Monpa and Nocte) i.e., Adi, Bangni/Nissi, Tangsa and Mishmi, (b) in the names which have the group name as prefix i.e., Adi-Gallong, Adi-Minyong, Adi-Padam, Adi-Pasi, Lungchang-Tangsa, Dirang-Monpa, Tawang-Monpa, Liju-Nocte, and Tutcha-Nocte, (c) the names of some tribes who probably assert their independent identities from a common tribe name i.e., Bori, Komkar, Libo and Pangi of Adi group and Tagin of Bangni group and (d) also the tribes who probably have adopted one name from the earlier two names i.e., Meyor.

(11) The decrease is in the tribe-names (a) which have appeared under the group names or with group-name suffixes i.e., Ashing, Bagi, Bogun, Bomdo, Gallong, Janbo, Karka, Kongbo, Millang, Minyong, Pailibo, Pasi, 'Shimong and Tangam of Adi Group ; Kaman/Miju-Mishmi and Digaru/Taraon-Mishmi of Mishmi group; Havi-Tangsa, Kemsing-Tangsa, Longsang-Tangsa, Hotang-Tangsa, Rongrang-Tangsa and Tikhak-Tangsa of Tangsa group ; But-Monpa of Monpa group and Ponthei-Nocte of Nocte group; (b) the tribe which have shown independence from their group names i.e., from Monpa and Nocte (c) and the tribes which have been recorded under another name as well i.e., Zakhring and Yobin. There are also reports that the 'Yobins' migrated back to Putaw, their original place is Burma⁶.

(12) Following 27 tribes recorded less than 15 in 1981 census (a) Bolok-Tangsa, Haisa-Tangsa, Hotang-Tangsa, Katin-Tangsa, Khalim-Tangsa, Korang-Tangsa, Langkai-Tangsa, Longin-Tangsa, Lowang-Tangsa, Namsang-Tangsa, Ngimong-Tangsa, Rangai-Tangsa, Sanke-Tangsa, Taisen-Tangsa, (14 of Tangsa-Group); (b) Bomdo, Janbo, Karka, Kongbo, Nonong, Pongkong, Siram, Taram and Tangam, (all 9 of Adi group); (c) Sulung-Bangni and Tagin-Bangni (both of Bangni group); and (d) Yobin and Zakhring. In addition to the ones given earlier, 5 tribes of 1971 are not returned in 1981 census.

(13) If compared with 1971, we find that following tribes returned less than 15 in both 1971 and 1981 : (a) all the 14 of the Tangsa group given above and the three of this group not returned in 1981 census at all i.e., Lichi-Tangsa, Phong-Tangsa and Simsa-Tangsa (total 17); (b) Siram, Taram and Yatong (Adi group). Yanoo Bangni of Bangni group did not return in 1981 census.

(14) The tribes who did not return more than 15 in 1971 census but returned in 1981 census are Dorok-Tangsa, Khrodeng-Bangni, Millang-Abor, Muktum and Thai-Khampti while the tribes which had returned more than 15 in 1971 census but returned less than 15 in 1981 census are ; (a) Bomdo, Janbo, Karka, Kongbo and Tangam of Adi group ; (b) Tagin-Bangni of Bangni group and (c) Zakhring and Lisu, two ungrouped tribes.

(15) Four tribes i.e., Mikir, Khamiyang, Deori and Miri/Missing, whose majority is in Assam, cannot be considered as the exclusive tribes of Arunachal Pradesh.

(16) If the tribe-names returned in 1971 are gone into further detail, it will be found that the tribes while identifying themselves, got themselves recorded under two or more different names e.g., Adi. Adi-Minyong or Minyong thereby causing superficial increase in the number of tribes and also confusion as regards their proper identities. The tribe names, which thus caused confusion by the use of both independent tribe-names or with the help of additional suffixes/prefixes are Abor, Adi, Tangsa, Monpa, Nocte, Khampti, Mishmi and Bangni.

In addition to the enumeration records, the compilers in course of their compilation and field check found a few variations from the facts on ground.

(a) R.K. Deori found that, "the Monpas are popularly recognised under three sections, namely, Towang Monpa, Dirang Monpa and Kalaktang Monpa"⁷, but in census grouping they were shown as 'Monpa, Lish Monpa, But-Monpa, Dirang-Monpa and Southern Monpa'⁸ in 1961 ; and as 'Monpa, But-Monpa, Dirang-Monpa, Lish-Monpa, Panchen-Monpa and Tawang-Monpa in 1971'⁹.

(b) J.K. Barthakur found that "Nissi or Nishang is a generic term that covers all the tribes that returned themselves as Dafla, Bangni, Hill-Miri, Bangro, Sulung and Tagin"¹⁰.

(c) B.B. Pandey recorded that "The Nishang group of tribes as given in 1971 census, should be called the 'Bangni Group of Tribes'¹¹. He further records, "Some tribe like 'Taju' of the Damin circle have not been reflected in the census returns. They have apparently returned themselves as Nishangs. Not very long ago, some smaller tribes lived with the Nissis or Nishangs who have now lost identities. While visiting the area, the author had collected the story of 'Pe-Ta-Phe' tribe that lived just near the snow-line of the Saril circle on the fringe of the Bangni communal lands. This tribe lived in caves. The Pe-Ta-Phes have left no survivors"¹².

(d) He further mentions, "The people of the Tali circle have returned themselves as Tagins but they fall in the Dolo group of the Daflas and are not different from them"¹³.

(e) I.M. Simon mentions that, "Amongst Akas there is a group known as 'Pichang' or Miri-Aka which has a different language from Akas"¹⁴. He states, "...

between Akas and Bangnis, there is a small group of people living in Pichang or Picha, and adjacent villages (Cheje and Kitchang) who though they are grouped with Akas, speak a dialect that bears little resemblance with Aka"¹⁵. To testify this, he carries out a comparative study of 13 basic numerals of Aka with Pichang (also with Miji, Hill-Miri and Khoa languages). As he did not find similarity of Pichang with Aka or any of the other three languages, he carried out a comparative study of Pichang with Mishmi languages i.e., Idu, Digaru and Miju, and found that the similarities to one or the other of the Mishmi dialect numerals are striking. He, however, is unable to give final verdict about the Pichang being entirely different from Akas as he admits that due to lack of intensive study of Pichang it will be unsafe to draw conclusions one way or another on the basis of vocabulary alone specially when only very limited vocabulary is used.

In addition to the remarks on affinities/identities given by enumerating officials as stated above, a few other researches also commented upon the affinities/identities of the tribes enumerated. These are given below in brief :

- (a) B.P. Misra quoted Jitendra Kr. Pangging stating that a small tribe-group of people called Panggi

(in 1971 census, the name recorded is Pangli) which is regarded as the sub-tribe of Adis, feels that it is "being deprived of its share because of its mistaken identity"¹⁶.

(b) Haimendorf mentions about a small group called 'Rau' meaning 'northerners' in north and north-east Subansiri in the valleys of Sippi and Monga rivers. According to Dr. Elwin, they spoke a dialect of Gallong¹⁷.

(c) J.N. Chowdhury mentioned about a tribe 'between Kamla and Subansiri rivers, known as 'Rishi-Mashi' having Mongoloid features of a more delicate and progressive type'¹⁸.

(d) He also mentions another tribal group, "having marital relations with the Rishi-Mashi but maintaining a separate identity-known as 'Nidu-Mara', located Upper Subansiri valley"¹⁹.

(e) He further mentions about, "a small population in the Singi valley which called 'Chikum-Dui'. Dr. Elwin considered them a branch of the Galling to the east of Subansiri, who seemed to be beyond the social orbit of the other tribal groups of the region"²⁰.

(f) Haimendorf refers to another small group of people, "known as 'Nga', immediately below the Great Himalayan Range who are said to breed sheep, wear woollen clothes

and build houses of stone"²¹. B.B. Pandey calls them as 'Nah'²² and Dr. K.S. Singh describes them as 'Na'²³.

(g) G.K. Ghosh states that "Yobins are also called Lisus"²⁴.

(h) Discussing the phenomenal increase in number of members of a tribe, C.F. Haimendorf states. "The confusion of the nomenclature stems partly from the fact that a name used by members of a tribal group for themselves may not be used by or even known to the members of another branch of the same tribe. Thus the term Nishi by which so many of the tribesmen of the Subansiri District refer to themselves is not used by their fellow-tribesmen in Kameng District, who refer to them as Tagins, whereas the Nishis themselves use the term Tagin to describe their northern neighbours in the Sippi valley and the region drained by the Upper Subansiri"²⁵.

If we compare the three census lists to find out the ethnic processes, we find that :-

(a) The increase in number of these tribes can be attributed primarily to ethnogenic divergence process i.e., some of the 42 tribe-names which are accounted for in 1971 census but did not identify independently in 1961 are such a case. Janbo, Libo, Bagi, Bomdo, Yatong, Nonong, Siram and Pongkong born out of Adi

group; Bolok-Tangsa, Darok-Tangsa, Haisa-Tangsa, Holong-Tangsa, Katin-Tangsa, Khalim-Tangsa, Korang-Tangsa, Langkai-Tangsa, Lichi-Tangsa, Longin-Tangsa, Lowang-Tangsa, Mossang-Tangsa, Ngimong-Tangsa, Phong-Tangsa and Taisen-Tangsa born out of Tangsa group; Liju-Nocte, Pönthei-Nocte and Tutcha Nocte born out of Nocte group can be cited as examples of ethnotransformational ethno-divergence process.

(b) The emergence of tribe names like Sulung-Bangni and Tagin-Bangni can be considered as the cases of ethno-genic mixing (ethno-transformational sub-type).

(c) The decrease in number of Padams and Adi Padams, Minyongs and Adi-Minyongs, Pasis and Adi-Pasis, Gallong and Adi-Gallong and other tribe-names belonging to the Adi group and an increase in the number under tribe name 'Adi' in 1981 census can be considered as the case of ethnogenic inter-ethnic consolidation. Similarly the increase in Tangsa, Monpa and Mishmi groups can be mentioned as a case of intra-ethnic consolidation to some extent.

(d) Increase of Sulungs and decrease of Sulung-Bangnis, and of Tagins along with the decrease of Tagin-Bangnis, may be deemed to be a process of intra-ethnic consolidation.

(e) The non-appearance of 5 tribe names of 1971 census in 1981 census i.e., Yatong, Phong-Tangsa, Lichi-Tangsa, Simsa-Tangsa and Yanoo-Bangni, and 9 of 1961 Census in 1971 Census i.e., Gaji, Lodung, Maimong, Noknam, Changwan-Tangsa, Teikam, Tongsing and Yanian may be due to assimilation or ethnogenic-inter-ethnic consolidation.

(f) It must also have been noticed by now that some more names have been mentioned by various researchers; but such names did not figure in any of the official census returns. One cannot vouch-safe about the accuracies of the observations made by the scholars; but , at the same time, if such observations are correct, then, the non-appearances of such tribe-names in census, may be due to the fact that such people have been very casually, as also conveniently, incorporated under the more popular tribe-name ready at hand.

(g) For further confirmation of these processes, a separate detailed study will be needed.

From the above, we find that the official list of tribes as has been accepted for the purpose of identifying tribes of Arunachal Pradesh based on the 1971 Census is not fully correct; it wrongly identifies some of the tribes and also misses the names of certain tribes thereby causing doubt about the identities of the people. This fact was accepted

by Barthakur while compiling the census of 1971. She stated, "This list of (1961) was found to be far from being accurate. The enumerators (of 1971) were cautioned not to leave out any of the genuine tribes of Arunachal Pradesh from being recorded. It was also deemed possible that some of the tribes since adopted new names and preferred to return themselves under these new names. Some tribe who preferred to remain under the fold or one of the other major tribes during 1961 census, might prefer to return a separate identity during 1971 census. Some tribes that were shown as sub-tribes in 1961 census might have a real linkage with the main tribe as the linkage of communities as tribes and sub-tribes does not always follow a stable pattern"²⁶. The tribe names having even a population as small as 1 is probably due to the result of the above instructions, which certainly have put the very process of enumeration of tribe numbers to doubt.

If we consider the tribe-names of 1971 census (which have been accepted by the Government of India as the base for 1991 census) and discard the anomalies as given above, we can re-evaluate the tribe-names and tribe-numbers on the following lines :

- (a) Grouping of sub-tribes as is done in 1971 census.
- (b) Discarding of the following pseudo-tribe-names :
 1. Tribes not exclusive to Arunachal Pradesh
 2. Tribes not enumerated in 1981 census.

3. Tribes double-counted or tribes accounted for with alternative names.
 4. Tribes having a population less than 15.
- (c) Considering the endo-ethnonyms only whenever available.

In this reevaluation of 1971 list based on above guidelines, the following 46 tribes and sub-tribes have been excluded due to the reason given against each :

1. Five tribes accounted in 1971 census but not returned in 1981 census : Yatong, Phong-Tangsa, Lichi-Tangsa, Simsa-Tangsa and Yanoo -Bangni.
2. 4 tribe names were not found to be exclusive to Arunachal Pradesh/in majority in Arunachal Pradesh : Deori, Mikir, Mishing/Miri and Khamiyang.
3. 12 tribes were double counted or appeared under different names (The names given in brackets are the alternate names) : (a) Abor (Adi), Millang-Abor (Milang); Adi-Minyong, Adi-Padam and Adi-Pasi (Minyong, Padam, and Pasi), (b) Bangni, Nishang and Defla (Nissi) Sulung-Bangni (Sulung), Tagin-Bangni (Tagin) and (c) Thai-Khampti (Khampti).
4. 19 tribes having population less than 15 in both 1971 and 1981 census as have not been

accounted for. These include 16 of Tangsa group i.e., Bolok, Darok, Haisa, Hotang, Katin, Khaling, Korang, Langkai, Longin, Lowang, Namsang, Ngimong, Pongkong, Rongai, Sanke and Taisen and 2 or Adi Group i.e., Karka and Siram.

5. Following additional eight tribes have not been accounted for being less than 15 in 1981 census :
- (a) Bomdo, Janbo, Karko, Kongbo and Tangam or Adi-group,
 - (b) Tagin-Bangni or Bangni group and
 - (c) Zakhring and Lisu who accounted as independent tribes.

After considering the exclusion of the 41 tribes above the tentative list of the tribes will then be as follows :

	<u>Tribes</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. Grouped :	Adi, Nissi, Mishmi, Monpa and Tangsa	5
2. Can be grouped	Nocte	1
3. Ungrouped	Aka/Hrusso, Apatani, Bangro, Hill-Miri, Khamba, Khampti, Khowa, Miji/Dhammai Memba, Sherdukpen, Singpho, Sulung, Tagin, Wancho, Meyor and Yobin.	16
	Total =	<hr/> <u>22</u> <hr/>

The sub-tribes which fall under the six grouped tribes are as follows :-

<u>Tribe-group</u>	<u>Sub-Tribes</u>	<u>Number</u>
1. Adi	Ashing, Bagi, Boker, Bogum Bori, Gallong, Komkar, Libo, Millang, Minyong, Padam, Pailibo, Pangi, Pasi, Ramo, Simong.	16
2. Bangni	Khrodeng - Bangni	1
3. Mishmi	Digaru/Taraon, Idu/Chulikata, Kaman/Miju	3
4. Monpa	But, Dirang, Lish, Tawang and Panchen	5
5. Tangsa	Havi, Kemsing, Lungchang, Longsang, Longri, Longphi, Langkai, Moglum, Morang, Mossang, Rongrang, Tikhak, Yongkuk and Yougli	14
6. Nocte	Liju, Ponthei and Tutcha	3
	Total	<u>42</u>

The total tribes and sub-tribes will then be as follows :-

(a) Grouped sub-tribes as given above	42
(b) Ungrouped tribes	16
Total	<u>58</u>

Notes : 6 tribe-group-names have not been included in the above total because sub-tribe-names have been included instead.

With a mere figurative assessment we have found that about half of the tribe-names bear a question mark as to their actual existence. Not only this, there are some more factors which confuse or are likely to confuse their identities further, some of these are given below :-

1. The tribe-names with a population less the 15 seems to have been enumerated as a result of confused identities as it is unlikely that such a small number (even 1 or 2 could claim a separate tribal identity. Almost all these names appeared from 1971 census onwards, possibly as a result of instructions to the enumerators. Similarly, the tribal-identities are confused where the accounting is both under a group name as well as under a separate tribe-name under the same group. Assimilation and divergences of tribal names show that the tribal identities are not yet stable and are in the transition stage.

2. Similarly, grouping of the tribes shows that they are eager to enlarge their areas of influence by increasing their affinities with other tribes while assertion of independent identities by tribes like Sulung, Pangl, Tagin etc. shows that these tribes are eager to keep their identity independent of the group. This process of grouping or breaking up groups is still not complete. The process of seeking larger identities/

affinities as well as trying to maintain their smaller identities is a point for special attention.

3. Ethnos like Rau, Rishi-Mashi, Chikum-Dui, Nga/Nah/Na, Miri-Aka, Nidu-Mora and Pe-Ta-Phes, have not been found enumerated though the various researchers state them to be having independent identities.

4. Tagins call Nishis as Tagin while they also account themselves under the head Tagin-Bangni, thereby causing a confusion as to what tribe-name should they be actually identified with.

5. Out of the above, Bori, Komkar, Libo and Pangi sub-tribes of Adi Group and Longchang shu-tribe of Tangsa group appear to be asserting their independent identities from their tribal groups.

If their names and numbers are not recorded so far correctly, what are their actual identities then? What and how many are the tribes and what are their sub-tribes? What and how is the grouping done? Is there any process of assimilation or any other ethnogenic processes in progress among these tribes? If so, what is its direction and dimension? What new identities they are like to form in this process? Which attributes suit the most for determining the tribe identities?

This way a number of questions may arise requiring answers to clear the din of confusion existing at present. To solve such a plethora of questions about such a large number of tribes is a tremendous task which requires teams of experienced researches working over a long period of time. An individual researcher can take up the study of at the most two or three tribes at a time. This limited study about two or three tribes will also be a necessity initially, as it will act like a pilot project where the guidelines for further research in the Arunachal situation can be worked out. And, it is in this spirit that the present study has been undertaken.

In the 1971 census records two tribes of Kameng region officially named as Akas and Mijis have been mentioned. It is stated that "The Akas and Mijis have come close to each other since time immemorial; partly by a geographical neighbourhood and partly by a common social outlook. The Akas intermarry with their neighbouring tribe Mijis, but they never intermarry with the Monpas, the Sherdukpens, the Khowas, the Sulungs and the Bangis". This researcher became further inquisitive about the problem. And, on further enquiry he found that Akas and Mijis had been stated to be kindred by Dalton (1867) and Capt. R.S. Kennedy (1914) who wrote "It would appear probable that Mijis are an off-shoot from the same

stock as the Akas who possibly have been altered somewhat by blending with whatever race formerly inhabited the Bichome valley. Whatever their origin may have been, it is certain that intermarriages will eventually result in their complete blending with the Akas"²⁸. Kennedy's point of view of Mijis blending with Akas got strengthened when this researcher found a legend recorded by Verrier Elwin (1959) mentioning that "Akas and Mijis originated from the same ancestor"²⁹.

Confusion regarding their relationship led one to believe that 'either Akas and Miji have been the same tribe' or 'their differences are minimal' ; and it put to doubt the official version that, "Akas and Miji are two different tribes". This confusion was further magnified by another statement in 1971 census that, "a small group of people living in Pichang or Picha and adjacent villages (Cheje and Kichang) who, though they are grouped with Akas, speak a dialect that bears little resemblance with Akas".

Who then, are these people who speak a different language but are grouped with Akas ? This group of people were called Miri-Akas or Migi-Akas by their neighbours - Akas, Mijis and Bangnis. They were also called Pichang in the above reports and Khrome³¹ by R. Sinha. Dalton in his report described them to be different than the Hill Miris and called them 'Tanae'³². R. Sinha who stated Hrusso dialect and

Miri-Akas dialect to be the dialects of Aka language, clarified the point further, stating, "The dialect of Miri Akas, which differs from the dialect of the Hrussos forming the basic point of difference between the two sections of the Aka tribe, is not the same as the commonly known dialect of Hill-Miris, nor does it show any close affinity with the Bangni dialect spoken in the neighbouring area of the Miri-Aka"³³. From his statement, we find that R. Sinha seemed to be quite confused about the relationship between Akas and Miri-Akas. Finally, he gives up and states, "As to when the difference in the dialects of the Akas and the Miri-Akas arose, it is not possible to account for unless philological research brings some more facts to light"³⁴. Hence the point emerges as to what are the actual identities of these people. Are Akas and Mijis same or different? If they are same, then why are they officially recorded as two tribes? If they are different, then, and why the legend states that they have descended from the same ancestor? How do their cultural and kinship similarities allow them to have different ethnic identities? Is the contact through culture and marriage not affecting their language boundaries?

Similarly, the questions arise about Akas and Miri-Akas, Are the Miri-Akas having different languages/dialects? Are these linguistic differences not determinants of their separate identities? If they are separate identities, then

how are they grouped together ? Have these Miri-Akas any link with Mijis as they are being called Migi-Akas also ?

Other supplementary questions which emerge are : Why do Akas and Mijis find separate identities in official records despite their culture and kinship closeness ? Why are Miri-Akas not recorded separately ? Are there any other such groups within the Akas and Mijis who have some cultural, Kinship or linguistic differences from these tribes ?

Finding the answer to above and many more linking questions was considered important for the purpose of determining the identity of these tribes. Hence, the subject selected for a detailed study was stated as follows :

THE AKA, MIJI AND THEIR KINDRED IN ARUNACHAL PRADESH :
AN ENQUIRY INTO THE DETERMINANTS OF THEIR IDENTITY.

The ingredients of the subject stated can be divided into two parts :-

(a) To examine the determinants of identity of tribes in general ; and

(b) To study the Akas, Mijis and their kindred, in particular.

The determinants of identity of a tribe have been presented in Chapter I (Introduction), where we found that

there are two sets of attributes : one set for the purpose of differentiating the tribals from non-tribals, while the other set is for demarcating the boundary of a particular tribe. We have also seen, in the beginning of this chapter, that ethnoses mentioned in census records of Arunachal Pradesh have already been designated as tribals due to their geographical isolation and general backwardness. Confusion has, however, arisen about their identities as 'a tribe'. The set of most distinguishing attribute defining them as 'a tribe', as listed in Chapter I includes common name, territory, culture, kinship and language. It is true that a simple enumeration of these attributes are sometimes not enough to distinguish the boundaries of 'a tribe'³⁵, but, at the same time, for operational purposes, they cannot be avoided altogether either, particularly for as long as a definitely better alternative is not in sight. Hence, the study of these attributes of the tribes under study i.e., the Aka, Miji and their kindred is required for establishing their identity. A further requirement is to see as to what attribute/s contribute most in establishing the identity in the particular situation, as it is most likely that the priority of applicability of these attributes and their various aspects varies from situation to situation and from time to time. Hence, the hypothesis evolved is that, "Common name, territory, culture, kinship and language are the most distinguishing attributes

for determining the identity of 'a tribe'. However their importance and priority for providing this distinction changes from situation to situation and time to time".

Survey of Related Literature

Sufficient material has not been found exclusively dedicated to this field of research on these people. Whatever is available, is on Akas and, in a few cases, on Mijis but that too mostly found mentioned along with Akas generally in the form of notes and reports or as a part of the study of other tribes. A preliminary task is of editing these notes and reports by E.T. Dalton (1872), A. Mackenzie (1884), Verrier Elwin (1959) and J.K. Barthakur (1972). Grierson (1909) and I.M. Simon (1972) have done some work on the languages. Other works of some worth are R. Sinha's 'The Akas' (1959), and Capt R.S. Kennedy's 'Ethnological Report on the Akas, Khoas and Mijis and the Mombas of Tawang' (1914). Other writers have generally abridged/adopted material on these tribes depending on their requirements from the accounts by the above scholars.

In his Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal (1874), E.T. Dalton has presented much information of Arunachal Pradesh tribes including Akas whom he called Hrusso also. It also makes passing reference to Mijis and Miri-Akas. Miri-Akas in this book are mentioned as Miri-Angkas under the sub-head

Hill-Miri. He also includes the list of about 100 words of Miri-Angka and Hrusso separately. The vocabulary of Miri-Akas when compared with other languages is the same or nearly the same as Bangni (Dafla) vocabulary while the vocabulary given under sub-head Hrusso is the same or more-or-less the same as that of Akas. Aka history and culture are given out in brief while these details are not available about Mijis and Miri-Akas. Mijis are stated as kindred of Akas.

Ethnological Report on the Akas, Khoas and Mijis and the Mombas of Tawang' by Capt. R.S. Kennedy (1914) is a brief but reliable critical account of the above named tribes. A few myths and legends about their origin, social and cultural life in brief, physical dimensions of a very small sample of these tribes and about 110 vocabulary items/small sentences of their languages presented in a comparative table are of special significance for this study. Capt. Kennedy was the doctor accompanying the 'Aka Promenade' and his experiences, though limited, are of immense value being the eye-witness accounts of the period when these people were rarely visited and no one else studied them so closely.

India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century (1959) ed. by Verrier Elwin is a compilation of articles published before his period about the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. It

contains three articles on Akas written by A. Mackenzie (1884), C.H. Hesslemeyer (1867) and C.R. Macgregor (1884) in which some brief accounts of Aka geography, economy, history and socio-cultural aspects are of value. Mention of Mijis and Miri-Akas is in a passing reference.

Census of India : A portrait of population, Arunachal Pradesh : Series 24, 1971 ed. by J.K. Barthakur contains the population records of 1971 census and counts of tribes of Arunachal Pradesh and their general description in brief. It includes both Aka and Miji tribes along with other tribes.

The Akas (1970) by R. Sinha is a monograph of Akas which provides a brief description of their land, domestic life, economic structure, organisation of society, social institutions and usages, political system, and religion and magic presented in seven chapters. He also discusses Aka's relationship with Mijis and Miri-Akas briefly, stating the Miri-Akas (Pichang) to be different from Akas. This is a very valuable primary source ; however, the details in the book are not sufficient enough to provide a base for sorting out the type of problem in hand.

The Linguistic Survey of India (1909) by G.A. Grierson contains Aka vocabulary and brief linguistic characteristics of this language. It is a good source for comparison of Aka language

with nearly 400 other languages of the region. Comparative studies of Aka vocabulary items have been done with Dafla, Abhor, Hill-Miri and Mishmi languages. This is a source book for any comparative study on Indian languages.

The Aka Language Guide (1970) by I.M. Simon contains about 500 Aka words and 50 sentences. It also touches in brief, the Aka grammar and phonetics, but it all is, however, of general nature, not meant for any conclusive research but for the administrative officials to establish some communication with these tribes. However, it certainly provides a base for the study of the language for which there is nothing else of worth available. Details contained in this pamphlet is made use of, during language study in Chapter V. The Miji Language Guide : (1979) is another pamphlet written by I.M. Simon for the same purpose and with the same type of contents as Aka language guide. More details about it will be studied in Chapter V.

'Ethnic Processes in North-East India' (1988) is a paper by S.K. Acharya, published in 'Economic and Political Weekly' (May 21, 1988). It studies ethnic processes in seven North-East Indian states. Theoretical framework draws heavily on analytical models developed in Soviet ethnography, particularly the works of Yulian Bromley, to explain the ethnic complexities in India. Certain concepts devised to suit the

conditions in North-East India are of value. 'Tribal Identity Dilemma in Arunachal Pradesh' (1990) by Bibhas Dhar, in the book 'Nationality, Ethnicity and Cultural Identity in North East India' ed. by B. Pakem has provided a very deep insight into the problem of identity establishment among the Arunachal Pradesh tribes and is of value for the present study.

Methodology :

Comparative method has been employed in the present study to find out the similarities and differences. The comparison will be both by observation and by statistical methods. For observation, the personal contact, recording, photography and interviews are employed while for calculation of the collected data and thereafter for comparison purposes the quantitative measurements are frequently used with some modifications to suit the requirements of the study. Various steps taken in this study are as follows :

1. Initial preparation
2. Selection of area and samples
3. Data collection and collation
4. Analysis and interpretation

It is necessary to point out here that the researcher had the privilege of staying in Arunachal Pradesh from 1985 to 1987. During this period, he came in-to contact with the

extended to include samples from this group as well.

Selection of the area and samples :

The area selected was where these ethnoses had the maximum contact vis-a-vis the least contact area. For language boundary marking, the directions of C.F. Hockett as given in Chapter I were kept in mind. Thirizino and Bhalukpong were the hub centres where these ethnoses frequently met ; and Jamiri, Nafra and Bana were the areas where they came in least contact with each other ; these being the periphery villages. Number of villages selected were at least two of each tribe at the inner circle and at least one at the outer circle i.e., at the periphery. Plan was to record at least 100 samples from each ethnos. Entire population being rural and poor (except a few neorich) and 93 percent being uneducated (as per 1981 census), plan was to include maximum available educated which could be either at Bomidila, Bhalukpong, Nafra or Thirizino ; the administrative hub-centres of and around the area of research. There being no apparent caste system, all were, generally, of equal status. All the three ethnoses were stated to be frequently intermarrying and have close socio-cultural contact. To take the advantage of this contact, maximum samples were planned from the couples having inter-ethnic marriages or their close relatives. The maximum contact areas being Thirizino and Bhalukpong, these two places were made the centre of study and also of stay by the researcher

where from he visited other villages. The villages visited for recording of data were (a) Thirizi, 6-Mile, Sakrin, Yayung, Sikong, Jamiri, Jamiri-Point and Paliji, all Aka villages ; (b) Upper Challang and Lower Challang both pure Miji villages ; (c) Supung and 2-Mile from Bana ; both pure Miri-Aka villages ; (d) Bana a Bangni and Miri-Aka mix ; (e) Bhalukpong and Bomdila, Aka, Miji and Miri-Aka mix with other tribal and non-tribal population ; and (f) Rupa where a Miri-Aka family is mixed with Sherdukpen and other non-tribal population.

In addition to the above, individuals from these ethnoses from other villages were also recorded outside their village background. These were from (a) Dzanachin, Nafra, Lada, Upper Dzong and Lower Dzong, all Mijis ; (b) Thessa, Buragaon, Palatari, Khuppi and Ramdagania, all Akas ; (c) Pichang, Yangse and Kichang all Miri-Akas ; (d) Kayan-Valley and Djingania both having population of Akas and Mijis, and (e) Bana having population of both Miri-Aka and Bangni.

Though plan was for having 100 samples each but considering the shyness of contact of all the ethnoses and the small population of Miri-Akas and relative remoteness and difficulty of approach of Mijis, the number finally recorded was 124 Akas, 76 Mijis and 26 Miri-Akas (out of the about

300 Akas and Mijis each and 150 Miri-Akas contacted). Out of these 39 Akas, 7 Miri-Akas and 25 Mijis were finally selected for detailed recording of their bio-data, socio-cultural background, marital details, speech sounds, vocabulary etc. The samples from maximum contact areas included 30 samples having inter-tribal marriages. These were 13 from Akas, 11 from Mijis and 5 from Miri-Akas. These included one case of Miri-Aka marrying a Bangni. The number of samples from (a) close contact villages i.e., Thirizino, Djingania, Kayan-Valley and Pichang having intertribal population was 22 ; (b) proximity village was 21 ; and (c) periphery villages was 26.

The samples selected were of both sexes, married and unmarried, all age groups monogamous/polygamous, monolinguals/bilinguals/multilinguals and of all occupations. Characteristics of these samples in brief are given in Table 2.

Table 2.1

Characteristics of the sample of informants

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji	Nissi	Total
1. <u>Total Samples</u>	39	07	25	02	73
a) Male	29	04	10	01	44
b) Female	10	03	15	01	29

Contd...

Table 2.1 (cont.)

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>	<u>Nissi</u>	<u>Total</u>
2. Geographical Distribution :					
<u>Area-wise</u>					
<u>West Kameng District</u>	39	-	14	-	53
a) Thirizino circle	39	-	04	-	43
b) Nafra Circle	-	-	10	-	10
<u>East Kameng District</u>	-	07	11	02	20
a) Seppa circle	-	06	-	02	08
b) Lada circle	-	01	11	-	12
<u>Tribal inter mix</u>	10	05	05	02	22
a) Kayan Valley	07	-	04	-	11
b) Thirizino	03	-	-	-	03
c) Djingania	-	-	01	-	01
d) Pichang	-	05	-	02	07
<u>Proximity Villages</u>	03	01	15	02	21
a) 6-Mile	01	-	-	-	01
b) Paliji	01	-	-	-	01
c) Lada	-	01	08	-	09
d) Sikong	01	-	-	-	01
e) Challang	-	-	07	-	07
f) Pichang	-	-	-	02	02
<u>Periphery Villages</u>	20	-	06	-	26
a) Jamiri	14	-	-	-	14
b) Hussigaon	04	-	-	-	04

contd...

Table 2.1 (cont.)

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>	<u>Issi</u>	<u>Total</u>
c) Buragaon	02	-	-	-	02
d) Nafra	-	-	03	-	03
e) Lower Dzong	-	-	02	-	02
f) Yangse	-	-	01	-	01
<u>Other Villages</u>	06	-	-	-	06
3. <u>Age Groups</u>	39	07	25	02	73
a) 8-20 years	10	05	09	01	25
b) 21-35 years	17	01	09	01	28
c) Over 36 years	12	01	07	-	20
4. <u>Occupations</u>					
a) Agriculture	18	01	05	-	24
b) Service	04	-	02	01	07
c) Students	08	05	08	01	22
d) House wives (do agriculture also)	09	01	10	-	20
5. <u>Education :</u>					
a) Uneducated	25	02	11	-	38
b) Educated	14	05	14	02	35
Under Matric	12	02	11	-	25
Matric	01	03	-	02	06
Above Matric	01	-	03	-	04

Contd...

Table 2.1 (cont.)

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>	<u>Nissi</u>	<u>Total</u>
6. <u>Marital Status :</u>					
a) Married	27	04	19	01	51
b) Unmarried	12	03	06	01	22
<u>Inter-marriages</u>	13	05	11	01	30
a) Aka	-	03	10	-	13
b) Miri-Aka	03	-	01	-	04
c) Miji	10	01	-	-	11
d) Bangni	-	01	-	-	01
<u>Monogamy</u>	20	04	19	01	44
<u>Polygny</u>	07	-	-	-	07
a) Two wives	05	-	-	-	05
b) More than two	02	-	-	-	02
7. <u>Languages :</u>					
a) Monolingual	05	-	-	-	05
b) Bilingual	15	-	03	-	18
c) Multilingual	19	07	22	02	50
<u>Other Languages known (other tribal languages known generally at understanding level only)</u>					
a) Aka	-	07	20	-	27
b) Miri-Aka	08	-	09	02	19
c) Miji	19	05	-	01	25
d) Bangni/Nissi	-	04	01	02	07
e) Sulung	01	-	04	-	05
f) Khowa	01	-	01	-	02
g) Monpa	-	-	03	-	03

Contd...

Table 2.1 (cont.)

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>	<u>Nissi</u>	<u>Total</u>
h) Hindi	25	05	18	02	50
i) English	10	06	06	02	24
j) Assamese	07	07	04	01	19
k) Other languages	07	-	02	-	09

Data Collection and Collation : Methods and tools adopted for data collection were as follows :

- a) Tape recording
- b) Photography
- c) Visual observations
- d) Personal discussions
- e) Interviews, both free and controlled
- f) Questionnaires

Data was mainly collected on socio-cultural and linguistic details. Tape recorder was used to record 1958 Aka, 1164 Miri-Aka and 1792 Miji words and about 150 sentences in each in each language in addition to the recording of songs, stories, legends, discussions and interviews. 32 tapes of 90 minutes each were finally recorded. Photography of topography, social, economic and cultural features and other activities, was carried out with a Yashica camera in colour. Free and frank discussions and interviews were resorted to specially with elders of all the

tribes and the women with whom the controlled interview did not work. Controlled interviews and discussions as well as questionnaires were employed with the educated to make maximum use of their understanding and explaining capabilities and minimal language barriers between them and the researcher. The services of the Political Interpreter (P.I.) as was provided by the state administration throughout during the researcher's stay and field work ; were utilised for communicating specially with the monolinguals of the remote areas. Case studies were done for those families where there was bigamy/polygyny and also where there were intertribal marriages. Details of various data collected are attached as appendices in the following order :

<u>Tool</u>	<u>Appendices</u>
a) Interviews	A to E
b) Vocabulary	G to U
c) Sentences	V to CC
d) Stories and songs	DD to FF

Sifting and classification of the data was generally done immediately after the collection of the data to avoid any mix up and confusion and later by putting in tables and making separate files. The gaps in data which were found at later stages were duly filled and adjusted by providing the missing links during subsequent visits. Data was classified keeping

the distinguishing capabilities in mind according to the requirement of the project. Separate files were prepared for language and kinship while material about tribe-name, territory and culture was kept in one another file, considering the volume and distinctive features of these attributes. The vocabulary was fed in to the computer and divided into 13 groups as given in appendix F. This division was done for comparative study of phonology, morphology, semantics and also for kinship terms etc. These 13 groups were further divided into two major groups i.e., basic vocabulary group and the cultural vocabulary group for comparison of the cultural items. The grouping of the total material was finally done under tribe name, territory, culture, kinship and language sub-heads.

Tabulation of data into tables was carried out to present it in a concise and comparable form. Even the vocabulary of all three languages was prepared in the form of comparative tables for the purpose of ease of comparison at the onset. Other tabulated data included the kinship terminology and structure, freedom and association levels etc. The computation of data was done mathmatically with calculators and computers and the analysis was done statistically. The major calculations involved, were of counting over a lakh phonemes which took considerable time of the study. For the purpose of finding out association and differences of the phonemic structure Chi Square values were worked out. Reliability and

validity checks were carried out through computer checks and with the help of calculators applying both visual observations and common sense checks.

Analysis and Interpretation :

Quantification and scaling of the data was done for comparative analysis of the characteristics of the kinship term and the languages to measure the level of freedom, similarities, associations and differentiation. A uniform methodology was adopted for scaling i.e., 5 point scale as given in table 2.2 below. Chi Square test and percentiles were worked out for measuring the association and freedom levels of the languages. Use of computer was made for calculation of the phonemes initially, medially and finally for comparative study.

Table 2.2.

Scale for measuring Association/Affinity and
Freedom / Differences

Scale	Percent	Association/Affinity	Freedom/ Difference
5	80-100	Maximum/Excellent	Maximum
4	60-99	Very Good	Very High/ Very Good
3	40-59	Good	High/good
2	20-39	Poor	Poor/Low
1	1-19	Very Poor	Very Poor/ Very low
0	Below one	Nil	Nil

Computer also helped scanning through large quantity of words and phonemes and systematised the phonetic sounds .

The interpretation was based on the primary and secondary data of the subjects/samples of study. It included statistical description on the one hand and inferences on the other. The heterogeneous statistical data of kinship terminology has been brought to a common denominator with the help of scaling.

The material and its analysis have been presented in two different volumes because of the importance of the first part from the other and the voluminous nature of the material. The first volume includes formulation of problem (first two chapters), analysis of determinants of identity (third, fourth and fifth chapters) and summary and conclusion (sixth chapter). The five determinants of identity have been included in three chapters, providing two different chapters to kinship and language because of their distinguishing capability in this situation and also because the material collected for these attributes turned out to be voluminous.

The second volume includes appendices and bibliography. The appendices include large sets of vocabulary items in comparative tables and sentences, songs and stories of all these languages in addition to extracts of selected interviews.

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List of Photographs

1. Miji country by the side of Bichome River.
2. Tenga river passing by Jamiri-point (Aka village) and Dedza.
3. Rivu-let flowing through Miji country near lower Challang.
4. Pulsating wild flower in Miji country near lower Challang.
5. Miji village Lower Challang with Miji area background.
6. An Aka joint family house at Hussigaon.
7. A descendant of Taghi Raja at Hussigaon.
8. The bard busy with his string instrument at Thirizinio.
9. Aka and Miji damsels in full ceremonial dress.
10. Two Aka youth in ceremonial dress.
11. Happy couple; husband Aka, wife Miji at Thirizinio.
12. Miji wife, Miri-Aka mother and Miji mother-in-law of an Aka (From left to right).
13. Aka and Miji females performing a local dance.
14. Both male and female Akas and Mijis performing a local dance.
15. Aka, Miri-Aka and Miji men and women together in ceremonials.
16. Dancers and children with the researcher.
17. Aka women of Hussigaon with a descendent of Aka Rani.
18. Miri-Aka and Miji women in full traditional dresses.
19. ASM (Anchal Samiti Member), P.I (Political Interpreter) Achambu and villagers at Sikang.

20. An Aka joint family.
21. Miri-Aka girl dancing at a wedding night in Yashing.
22. Gaon Burha (an Aka) Djingania (now 6 mile) dancing at the wedding.
23. The researcher with the bride-groom party during the dance night (Yashing).
24. Marriage finalisation by mithun sacrifice at Aka and Miri-Aka marriage at Yashing.
25. Aka elders who led the opening of a new school at Yayung.
26. Mijis of Challang pose during a community field work (fencing).
27. A volleyball match to celebrate school opening at Yayung.
28. Researcher watching the ceremonies from the dormitory of an Aka house.
29. New school opened at Yayung ; The Researcher as the chief guest.
30. A community lunch.
31. Educated Aka youth; Wanjaw Ramdassow, the first and the only graduate among all the three ethnoses (extreme right) now Extra Assistant Commissioner.
32. Modernised family; A peon (Miji) at Rupa with his family (Wife, Miri-Aka).
33. Elder children bringing up the young alongwith learning work of elders, at Hussigaon.
34. A woman and her daughter carrying wood from jungle in wood baskets.
35. A descendant of Aka Rani at Hussigaon in full jewellery and ceremonial dress.

36. The back-pack for shikar and the bamboo basket for the corn.
37. An Aka village priest with 2 helpers in priestly dress.
38. Display of equipment used during puja.
39. Symbol of mithun, pig and chicken sacrifices.
40. A huge holy tree at Thirizi ; The place of Aka worship.

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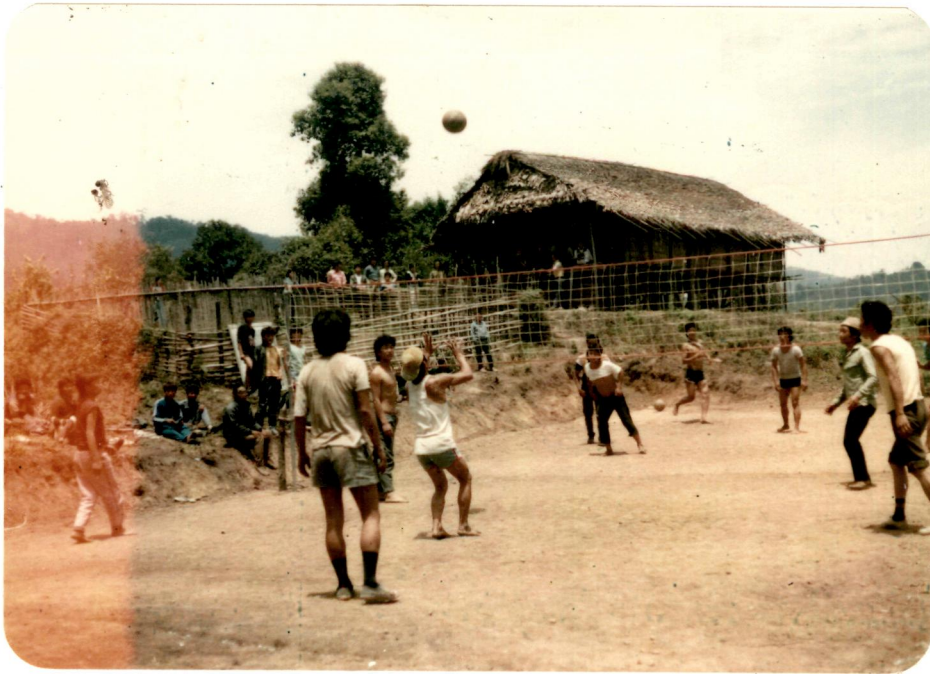
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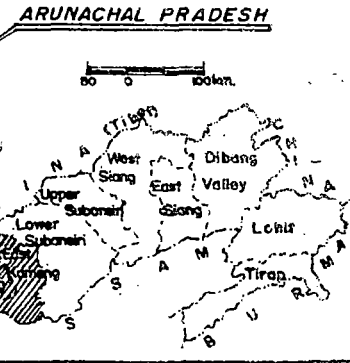
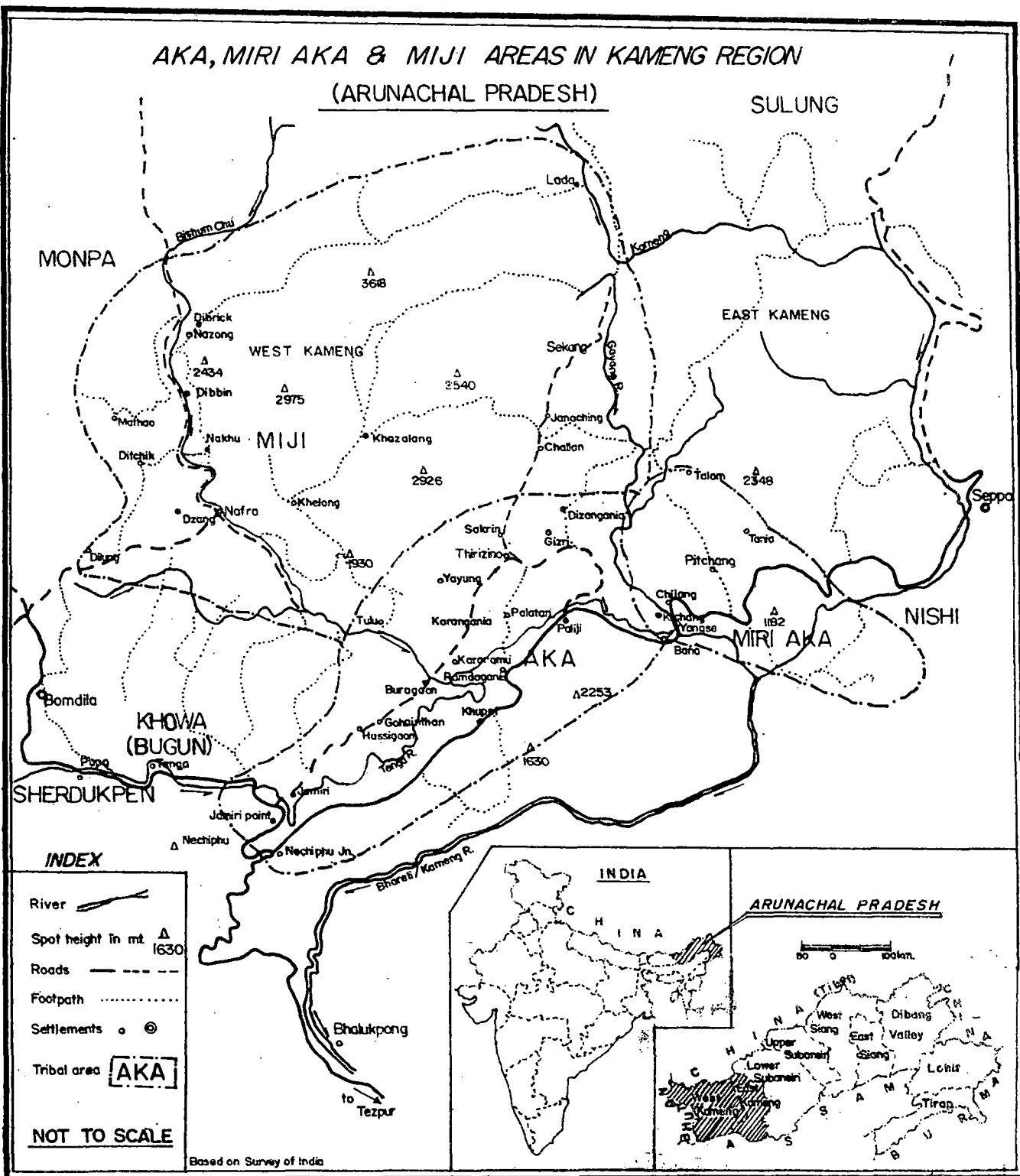
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CHAPTER 3

**DETERMINANTS
OF
IDENTITY
I**

**COMMON NAME
TERRITORY
AND CULTURE**

**AKA, MIRI AKA & MIJI AREAS IN KAMENG REGION
(ARUNACHAL PRADESH)**



In chapter I, five attributes i.e., common name, territory, culture, kinship and languages emerged as the chief attributes for determination of identity of 'a tribe'. In chapter II, Aka, Miji and their kindred were selected for the purpose of establishing their identities based on the above five attributes. In this chapter, we shall take up the first three attributes ; i.e., name, territory and culture while the other two i.e., kinship and language will be dealt with in chapter IV and V respectively because, during the study, they were found to be more distinguishing, so much so that they needed special attention.

The question as to who are the kindred of the Akas and Mijis, will become clearer as we proceed along with the study of attributes. Initially however, the ethnos mentioned as Miri-Aka, the name which appeared during the initial study, and also in the pilot study, as the kindred of Akas, will be paid special attention. We will also analyse the statement by E.T. Dalton (1872) that, 'Aka intermarry (Mijis), so they may be regarded as kindred clans'¹. While discussing the tribe-names of Aka, Miji and their kindred, details of the etymological meanings of these names, their endoethnonyms and exoethnonyms, legends and traditions associated with these names and the factors and aspects affecting self-image and identity

of these ethnoses will be discussed. While discussing the attribute of territory, geographical and administrative boundaries, legends about places of origin, migrations and their present settlements will be discussed. Under culture, both material and non-material culture; and the cultural boundaries will be studied. Similarities and distinctions among all these ethnoses will be found out by the comparative study of the attributes and with the help of these similarities and distinctions, the problematic of their identities will be unfolded.

Let us first proceed with the attribute of 'name'. The Aka and Miji names have been found recorded in the writings of British administrators and travellers even during the Ahom rule in Assam and have appeared regularly thereafter ; Akas being mentioned more frequently than the Mijis. The name Miji appeared later and that too, along with the mention of the Akas. It has been often mentioned that Mijis are kindred and close-aides of Akas, or words to that effect.

The name Miri-Aka too, appeared in a few writings at a later date ; initially along with Hill-Miris and only subsequently with Akas. But this name was not accounted for in any of the census ; and is a matter of special interest ; because the identity of tribes in Arunachal Pradesh have been legitimised on the basis of census records.

The spellings of all the three names appeared

variedly, as also, they have been called variedly by various people. In the old accounts, we find their exoethnonyms, while endoethnonyms were found recorded in later accounts.

The first record about Akas, in print, is found as 'Onka' in 1800 in Dr. J.P. Wade's 'Account of Assam'². From this record, it is apparent that the tribe-name has been in use well before this, even during the Ahom Rule. In or before the year 1837, N. Brown collected Aka Vocabulary and got it published in 1837 in Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal (J.A.S.S.B.) Vol. II³; mentioning the name of the tribe as 'Aka'. Thereafter, some details about the tribe Aka are found in a letter written by Captain Gordon on 13th February 1844 as recorded by A.J.M. Mills (1853)⁴; A few of the others who recorded the name Aka are J-Butler (1847), J.Beams (1867), C.H. Hesselmeier (1868), E.T. Dalton (1862), Campbell (1874), A. Mackenzie (1884), C.R. Macgregor (1884), J.D. Anderson (1896), Konow, Sten (1902), R.S. Kennedy (1914), Lloyd and Hutton (1923), N.L. Bor (1938), V. Elwin (1959), R. Sinha (1962), I.M. Simon (1965), J.K. Barthakur (1973), L.N. Chakraborty (1973), J.N. Chowdhury (1973) and Parul Dutta (1990).

C.H. Hesselmeier gives the background of the name and states, 'The name Aka or Angka is given to them by their neighbours; they themselves don't use it, but speak of themselves as 'Hrussos'⁵. In a foot note, V. Elwin quotes Kennedy

saying "Kennedy derives the word which means 'painted' (the Tibetan call this tribe 'Ka Nag' or blackmouthed) from their custom of smearing the face with a mixture of pinesin and charcoal"⁶. A. Mackenzie also mentions name 'Arka'⁷ for them, which is probably a mispronunciation of the word 'Aka' as is the word 'Onka', 'Anka' or 'Angka'. This researcher found that Mijis and Khowas call them 'Gunnu' and Monpas call them 'Lopa'. The name Aka, however, has been most frequently used by outsiders though 'Hrusso' too, has been used by such authors as R. Sinha and V. Elwin. 'Aka' is stated to be the exoethnonym and 'Hrusso' the endoethnonym.

It is not that the names Akas/Angka/Arka/Onka/Gunnu or Lopa are the only ones that have been used as exoethnonyms for the people under consideration. They have also been called as 'Kapaschor' and 'Hazarikhawas' by some nineteenth century officials like Gordon (1844), Vincent (1853) and Jenkins (1853); as recorded by A.J.M. Mills⁸. The meanings of 'Kapaschor' have been given as 'cotton thieves' or 'the thieves who lurk in the cotton-fields'. Similarly, the meanings of 'Hazarikhawas' have been given as 'breakfast eaters' or 'eaters at thousand hearths'. Both these names have been considered as derogatory by the Akas. Reid (1942) calls 'Hazarikhawas' as 'Kutsun' and 'Kapaschor' as 'Kovatsun'. R. Sinha later confirms this by stating, 'Kapaschor' and 'Hazarikhawa' were the names given to 'Kutsum' or 'Kovatsun' by Assamese¹⁰. V. Elwin in a note states

the names 'Kovatsun' for 'Kapaschors' and 'Kutsun' for 'Hazarikhowas'¹¹.

C.H. Hesselmeier mentions another name, "spoken of by the people of the plains of Assam, who go by the name of 'Angka-Miris'. Old maps have them located beyond the snowy range on the Tibet side. But, by all accounts, these Angka-Miris live in the east of Kapaschor Akas"¹². E.T. Dalton who visited the Arunachal Hills in 1855 mentioned under the heading 'Hill Miri' that, "To the north-west of the Hill-Miri country, we hear of a tribe called Anka-Miris by the Assamese, who never visit the plains, but who, from the accounts we have received of them, must be very superior to the tribes of this family that we are acquainted with resembling the Padam in their polity and customs. Their faces are tatoed, whence the name 'Anka' given to them by Assamese. They call, themselves 'Tenaë'¹³. R.S. Kennedy gives out the following clans of Akas : 'Kutsum (or Hazarikhowa in Assamese), Kavatsun (or Kapaschor in Assamese), Karan, Golu, Nyrbin, Tepun, Puzhing, Khasakuin, Gajeria, Dujia and Miri-Akas, all of them call themselves as 'Rrusso'. The Miri-Akas are regarded as different people but the only difference seems to be one of the language or dialect ; next to Kutsun and Kavatsun, the Miri-Akas are most numerous¹⁴.

R. Sinha also confirms them to be a clan of Akas. He states, "Apart from the above two main clans of the Akas, the

Kutsun and Kovatsun, there is another sub-division of the tribe, commonly known by the name Miri-Akas, who live on the other side of the Kayan river and nearer to the Bangnis. The Miri-Akas, who are known as Khrome, share the common customs, beliefs and practices with the Akas or Hrussos, profess the same religion ; and in physical features too, they are much alike. The difference, if any, lies in their language. The Hrussos speak own dialect, whereas, Miri-Akas speak a dialect known as Miri¹⁵.

But the name Miri-Aka having any connection with the Miris of the plains is ruled out by Hesselmeier, who stated that, "the plain-Miris have denied having 'ever heard of Angka-Miris"¹⁶.

R. Sinha writes, "The dialect of the Miri-Akas, which differs from the dialect of Hrussos, forming the basic points of difference between the two sections of the Aka tribe, is not the same as the commonly known dialect of the Hill-Miris, nor does it show any close affinity with the Bangni dialect spoken in the neighbouring areas of the Miri-Akas. As to when this difference in the dialects of the Akas and the Miri-Akas arose, it is not possible to account for"¹⁷. In the Census of India, 1971, Miri-Akas have been called 'Pichang or Piche' on the name of "the village they chiefly belong to along with other villages (Cheje and Kichang), who though they are grouped with Akas speak a dialect that bears little resemblance with Aka"¹⁸.

From the above discussion, a question emerges whether Miri-Aka is factually a clan of Akas, Mijis, Hill-Miris or Bangnis or otherwise an independent tribe which came under the influence and domination of Hrussos and allowed itself to be covered under the Aka affinity despite its own separate name i.e., 'Miri-Aka', 'Pichang', 'Piche', 'Tanae' or 'Khrome' as recorded earlier. The term 'Miri' is often taken to mean 'A mediator', However, the word 'Miri' also means 'men of the river'¹⁹, ('Mi' is a common Tibeto-Burman word for 'man and 'ri' meaning 'water or river'). From the second explanation, we can conclude the meaning that 'Miri-Akas' are 'The Aka men by the side of the river'. This description seems more plausible as the Miri-Aka villages 'Pichang, Chizong and Kichang' are on Kayan and Bichome rivers in the close proximity of Kameng river. This interpretation also seems plausible if we consider the statement of R. Sinha in which he states, "A section of Akas, having occupied this part of the country., might have been geographically isolated from their community brethren on the other side of the river, and thus might have evolved in course of time, distinct dialect of their own which they speak to this day"²⁰.

It is, hence doubtful at this stage, to say that the Miri-Akas are a clan of Akas or are different from them. The other two clan names i.e., 'Hazarikhowa' and 'Kapaschor' or 'Kutsun' and 'Kovutsun' seem to be of doubtful origin. R. Yusuf

Ali, who was the Deputy Commissioner, Kameng District in 1971, feels about names 'Kutsun' and 'Kovatsun' that, "this division of Aka society into two groups is rather a superficial over-simplification inherited from British writers whose contacts were limited to the influential villages of Jamiri and Buragaon"²¹. He further feels that Hrusso group has coalesced into their present distinct tribal identity by much earlier fusion of at least three elements. Firstly, the migrants from Bhalukpong who achieved a certain aristocratic superemacy and whose version has been accepted from the British to the present day. Secondly, some earlier local groups probably identical with Mijis, thus explaining the otherwise unusual phenomenon of traditional inter-tribal marriages, and thirdly, some other groups whose tradition of migration and origin are from the east and the south-east"²².

The point raised by Yusuf Ali against the earlier division is strengthened when one studies the meaning of 'Kutsum' and 'Kovatsum'. I.M. Simon in 'Aka Language Guide' gives the meaning of 'Khutso' as 'Jamiri' and 'Khuvatso' as 'Buragaon'²³. This may mean that 'Kutsun' and 'Kovatsun' are only those who belong to Jamiri and Buragaon villages. The number and names of clans of Aka seems to have been changing frequently, C.H. Hesselmeyer remarked, "There are about ten clans for which the term households or families would be more appropriate one to use ; yet each of these petty clans

has a chief whom they style as Raja, like their neighbours, the Bhutias ; not gam, like their other neighbours, the Daflas. These clans are so small that they find room each in a house by themselves. Some clans number only thirty souls, others sixty to one hundred ; and according to the number of inmates, is the size of each house. The most numerous clan boasts of a chief who is but, too well known among the Assamese and the neighbouring hillmen ; and no doubt the Bengal Government too, has learnt to know his name. This is Tagi Raja. This man has succeeded in obtaining the hagemony over all the 'Kepas-Chor Akas', and as he exercises great influence over the Mijis also, he is able to intimidate rest of the Aka people, and thus may be said to be the head of all the Hrusso. The Hazarikhowa Akas live in three clans on a separate hill from the Tagi's people"²⁴. R.S. Kennedy gives the number of clans as eleven(11) which include 'Khutsum or Hazarikhowa' and 'Kovatsum or Kapašchor' and 'Miri-Aka'²⁵. R. Sinha gives the number as 20 and states, "Each of the Aka villages has its specific clans which are limited to the village boundary. Only three villages Buragaon, Hushigaon and Jamiri have the common clans which freely intermarry under the normal rule of clan exogamy"²⁶. According to him the following are the principal clans of Akas²⁷:

<u>Village</u>	<u>Clans</u>
Buragaon, Hushigaon and Jamiri	Dususow, Khabijisow, Jebisow Sichisow, Paljin.
Djingania	Chidisow, Formusow, Paryusow, Galosow.
Karangania	Sagrasama, Kerulsama, Tpesa, Tirin.
Tayong	Chhidasow, Wechsow
Sakrin	Jesusow, Sasusow, Rugzusow, Fushisow
Palathari	Palathari

None of the clan names as given by R.S. Kennedy appears in this list.

Even the names of clans mentioned earlier i.e., Hazarikhowa, Kapas-Chor, Kutsum & Kovatsum 'Miri-Aka' or Tanse do not appear in the above list. From the above it becomes clear that :

(a) Kutsum and Kovutsum being village names of Jamiri and Buragaon, the clans so mentioned are likely to be the people of these two villages only and do not represent the entire Akas.

(b) There are more than two or three clans as mentioned in some records.

(c) Whether the people around Pichang village called as Miri-Akas (who call themselves as Pichang), a clan of Hrusso/Aka or are a separate tribe, needs to be researched further keeping in view their territory, culture, kinship and language, the last two being stated as more differentiating these Miri-Akas from Akas.

(d) Whether these clans are a result of fusion or diffusion as stated by Yusuf Ali and R. Sinha respectively, is also a point for further research.

(e) Connection of Miri-Akas with Mill-Miris or Bangnis has not been established.

(f) The clan names are prone to faster changes than the tribe names.

(g) The Akas (and also the Miri-Akas) are not yet sure as to with what name they are to finally identify themselves.

During the discussions, interviews and personal questions to the individuals at the time of the visit of the researcher to the area, following tribes and clans were stated to be linked exclusively with Akas.

<u>Circle</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Clan</u>
Thirizino	Jamiri	Aka (Hrusso)	Dususow, Debisow, Bolusow, Sidisow

<u>Circle</u>	<u>Village</u>	<u>Tribe</u>	<u>Clan</u>
Thirizino	Buragaon	Aka (Hrusso)	Dususow, Khabisow, Jabisow
- do -	Hughigaon	-do-	Jabisow
- do -	Kararamo	-do-	Nikisow, Sagrasow, Ramasow, Gesusow, Dususow, Jalvasow, Debisow.
Thirizino	YaYung	Aka (Hrusso)	Sidisow, Dususow, Galuso
- do -	Teesa	-do-	Sidisow
- do -	Sakring	-do-	Aglasow, Dususow, Sidisow, Gesusow, Regusow, Dajisow, Rabasow, Soriso
- do -	Gizri	-do-	Sidisow, Dajisow, Dasow
- do -	Thirizi	-do-	Sidisow
- do -	Palizi	-do-	Ramdasow
- do -	Ramdaganian	-do-	Ramdasow

(Suffix- 'sow' as well as 'Hrusso/Rrussow/g.husow means body/
people in Aka (Hrusso) language).

The total number of clans mentioned above are 19.
This number differs from all previous records. The names also
differ. The names Miri-Aka, Kutsun, Kovatsun, Hazari-khowa,
Kapaschor etc., do not appear. This proves the earlier view
that clan-names change faster than the tribe-names. These
names also deny the existence of tribe-names 'Kutsun', 'Kovatsun',

'Hazari-Khowa' or 'Kapaschor'. The name Miri-Aka has not been included because it was confirmed to this researcher by these people that they are different from Hrusso Akas. The points regarding the true identity of Akas and Miri-Akas, will be seen in succeeding paragraphs.

While in contact with the Miri-Akas, this researcher found that Miri-Akas called themselves 'Pichang' and they call other Akas 'Hrusso', thereby identifying themselves different from the other Akas. Incidentally, they have had strained relations with Akas since last twenty years over a murder of the Gaon-Burha of Djingania who was an Aka and married a Miri-Aka of Pichang village. He was murdered over the use of water of a stream by the villagers of Pichang, the Miri-Akas. Some of the murderers were the near relative of the murdered Gaon Burha. The feud resulted in swearing off all the relations between Akas and Miri-Akas till recently (1990-92), when an effort was a-foot during the visit of this researcher to mend the fences. The researcher attended the first marriage between an Aka groom and Miri-Aka bride in 1990 after the 20 years' of strained relations between them. The Miri-Akas were found to be belonging to only one clan i.e., Digio clan and were settled in Pichang, Kichang, Sichang, Tania, 2-Mile near Bana on Palizi-Seppa road, Yashing or Yangshe and in Bana alongwith Bangnis and in Bhalukpong, along with Akas and other people. The strained relations have dragged the two away from each other

specially socio-culturally and in the form of reduced inter-marriages.

During this researcher's visit to the area, it was found that though both Akas and Miri-Akas settled in Bhalukpong (well away from their main concentrations) identified themselves as Akas to the outsiders, yet in the areas Thirizino-Palizi-Pichang (the interior Aka, Miri-Aka area) they clearly divided into two ethnoses i.e., Hrussos and Miri-Aka (Pichang). The people of Pichang area differentiated themselves from Hrussos and described themselves as Pichang. They felt Aka to be a common name given by the outsiders to the two different ethnoses i.e., Hrussos and Pichang, and this common name has been accepted by them unconsciously during the British period. This could be discerned from the 'we' feelings among Hrussos which did not include the Pichang or Miri-Akas and also the 'we' feeling amongst Pichang/Miri-Aka which did not include Hrussos. Hence it can be safely assumed that the Aka name is being used as a cover term to include both Pichang and Hrussos generally outside the area or while identifying themselves to the outsiders. It is felt that their tribe identity should be based on the name 'Hrussos' and 'Pichang' and not Aka or Miri-Aka. Aka name can be considered as an outer circle of identity within which Hrussos and Pichang are two smaller circles. The acceptance of Aka name by Pichang/Miri-Aka seems to be the result of some compulsion, probably, for their protection by

'Hrussos' from their dominant neighbours, Bangnis and Mijis, in the periods of tribal Warfare and rampant slavery.

Though residentially, they are intermixed more with the Bangnis than Hrussos, yet Pichang do not identify themselves with Bangnis as they did not include Bangnis in any of their relationships or "we feelings" circle. Similarly, they do not identify with Mijis or Hill-Miris or for that matter with any other tribe. With Mijis, they are however, found to be having close socio-cultural and marital relationship, the details of which will be seen in the later paragraphs, after we know some details about Mijis also.

The name 'Midgee' as given to these people was first found recorded in a letter by Capt. J.T. Gordon to Major F. Jenkins on 13 February 1844 which was produced by A.J. Mills in his 'Report on Assam' (1853)²⁸. C.H. Hesselmeier (1868)²⁹ spelled the name as Miji while E.T. Dalton (1872)³⁰ spelled it as Migi. The name spelled by Hesselmeier (Miji) has been followed by all the later writers e.g., A. Mackenzie (1971), L.N. Chakraborty (1973), J.N. Chowdhury (1975), K. Das Gupta (1975), D.K. Dutta (1983), P.C. Dutta (1990) and others ; and the same name has been included in 1961, 1971 and 1981 Census.

According to D.K. Dutta, "They recognise themselves as 'Miji' before the foreigners and 'Dhammai' before others"³¹. He further states, "The word Dhammai has been prevailing in

the villages with a little controversy with the word Nimmai. The Dhammai and the Nimai originally arise from the same word yet the differentiation comes into being only for dialectical variation. Both the words represent the title of the ancestor of the Mijis called Sajolang Nimmai or Dhammai. They now prefer to introduce themselves as Sajolang, after the name of their ancestor so as to remove the prevailing controversy over the term Miji, Dhammai or Nimmai³². During the discussions and interviews with the people of the community, this researcher found that, for themselves, they used the name Miji as well as Dhammai frequently but did not mention any other name except Sajolang. Even name Sajolang was mentioned infrequently. They all, however, considered 'Miji' as an exoethnonym and 'Dhammai' as an endoethnonym and preferred the later, though they were never so far sure with which name they should identify themselves out of the two. It is most likely (as was found from the new generation during the discussions) that they would soon assert their name as 'Dhammai'.

Whether Miji or Dhammais are a homogeneous group or, like Akas, include some kindred, is the next important question. This question will be answered to some extent when we study the structure of Mijis. J.N. Chowdhury (1982) giving the details of Miji structure, states, "The Miji society appears to be vertically divided into two classes of castes,

namely Nyubbu and Nyullu. These are again divided into several sub-castes. Thus Nyubbu has three sub-castes, Sagcha-zu, Kimzu-zu, and Phangdangzu ; Nyullu has as many as twenty. Some of these are Changkhang-de-Pyiang, Lubyiang, Du-Chang, Sang-Zu, Cummani-ya-Zu etc. Marriage is confined to sub-castes under each major caste. From all appearances, Nyullus are treated as social inferiors. They have to carry loads for Nyubbus but never otherwise, though interdining is permitted. Separate utensils are used for cooking for food for each caste Nyubbus are prohibited from taking the head, liver and legs of the slaughtered cow or pig, Nyullus are free to eat these parts"³³.

On enquiry by this researcher, the people themselves denied existence of such caste system now. The various clans reported to the researcher along with their places of residence are as follows :

<u>Place</u>	<u>Clan</u>
Nafra	Dru, Kangoe-zu
Lower-Dzong	Dru
Upper Dzong	Zeng-Leya
Khailong	Jazang-Sanam and Thiri-zu
Khajilong	Khinling-zu
Lada	Sankcha-zu
Djingania	-do-
Kayan Valley	-do-
Dzanachin	-do-, Sigong

(d) Hrusso, Pichang and Dhammai are the endoethnonyms generally asserted by these people in place of the exoethnonyms Aka, Miri-Aka and Miji.

The above points will be further clarified from the legends and myths and any written records about these tribes. Most of the myths have been recorded by Verrier Elwin and a few by others. One of the myths about Akas found recorded by Kennedy goes as follows :

"Long long ago, all men descended from earth by means of ladders. The Assamese and the Akas of the royal blood came down by a golden ladder, the remaining Akas had a silver ladder; the Tibetans and the Monbas were given a ladder of iron ; the Daflas and Abors had to be satisfied with a bamboo ladder ; whilst the Cacharis and Khoas shared a plaintain ladder. All these people came to earth on the Longkapur Hill in the Lohit Valley, whence they scattered in search of land. The Assamese were the first to start and chose the plains. The Akas spent so much time resting and drinking beer that the others got the best land and they had to accept what was left. They first settled near Bhalukpong where on the right bank of the Bhareli river, their two chiefs Natapura and Bayu, built their respective capitals. Bayu demanded Natapura's beautiful wife as a sort of tribute and after a number of adventures, the girl with a newly-born child, arrived at Bayu's court.

The child Arima grew up to be a great warrior and finally killed his own father by mistake. Overcome with remorse, he migrated to the present country of the Akas. It is from his children that the present day Akas descended"³⁴.

From this legend following points emerge :

(1) Akas belong to two societies one of the royal blood who descended from sky along with Assamese by a golden ladder (showing their superiority and their equal status to that of Assamese) and the remaining Akas (who descended by a silver ladder).

(2) The grouping of the other tribes, who too descended along with, is : 'Tibetans and Monbas'. 'Daflas and Abors' and 'Kacharis and khoas'. If we go by the type of ladders used, these are indicators of their order of superiority.

(3) The place of their origin on earth is Longkapur Hill in Lohit valley.

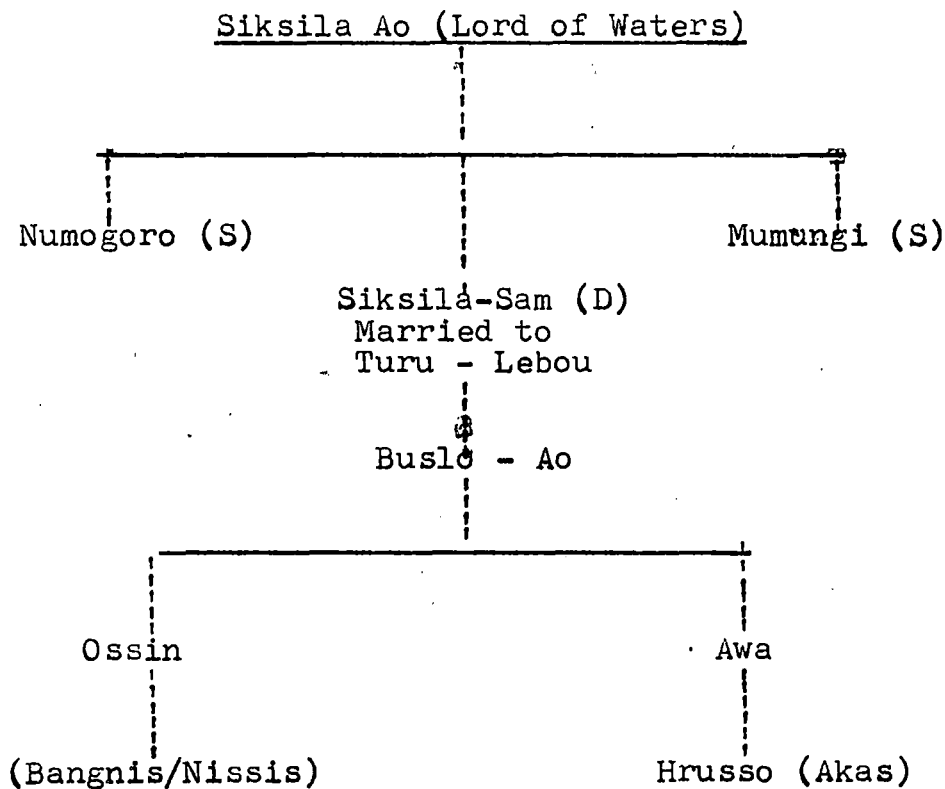
(4) Akas think themselves as heavy drinking and pleasure - seeking type and assign their lag behind Assamese due to this reason.

(5) Their first settlement was at Bhalukpong.

(6) Two Chiefs Natapura and Bayu were their elders. Natapura's son Arima is stated to be the ancestor of the Akas

who migrated to the present location (Jamiri and Burgaon locations) from Bhalukpong to overcome his remorse of killing his own father by mistake.

The above myth confirms the view point propounded by Yusuf Ali earlier that a part of Akas claims aristocracy while others do not. However, the myths recorded by Elwin tell a different tale. According to these myths the origin of Akas is as per the following geneology³⁵ :



In this myth, Akas show that Bangnis too have the same ancestor as Akas, but relationship with others including Mijis is not shown. According to Elwin, Dhammais have different myths to tell. One legend about their origin goes as follows :

"Formerly Gunnu, the Aka and Dhammai, the Miji were brothers ; Dhammai being the elder. Dhammai went towards Lhasa and Gunnu to Assam to tax the people. After a year when they had brought home their dues, they met Dhammai asked Gunnu what he had received. Gunnu, showed him piece of cloth, supari and cotton yard. Dhammai produced sheepskin, salt and cow's tails. He said to his brother, "You give me some yarn and cloth and I will give you salt and sheepskin". In this way trade began between them and since then their descendents have intermarried³⁶.

This important myth claims that the ancestors of Akas and Mijis were two brothers. Their descendants maintained close social, cultural, marital and business relations with each other to this day. This myth is silent about the Bangnis who had been included by Akas in their ancestry.

Another Miji myth which confirms Aka-Miji relationship goes as follows :

"After the earth and sky were made, Abu-Gupham-Bum who was human in form but covered with hair, lived with his

three sons, Labukhanlung, Sangso-Dungso and Kumbu-Sangtung. One day Abu-Gupham-Bumo went to a stream and caught a great fish. He put it on a platform outside his house and his three sons ran to look at it. Soon they were quarrelling as to who should have it. When their father saw them fighting, he cut the fish into three pieces and said, "Each of you take which-ever piece you like". Labukhanlung chose the head as it was the largest and he eldest. Sangso-Dungso took the middle part and Kumbu-Sangtung only got the tail being youngest"³⁷. Thereafter myth goes onto explain how these three brothers quarrelled for the better portion of the fish ; how the elder, Labukhanlung got gold, silver, precious stones, sheep and cows ; Kimbusangtung got paper, iron, yarn and a portion of silver and gold and Sangso - Dungso got nothing. Thereafter it explains, Labukhanlung running away to Lhasa and becoming the king, Kimbusangtung running to Assam and becoming a king and Sangso-Dungso had to be contented with the vast hilly-lands. Here, Labukhanlung is stated to be the elder of Monpas, Kimbusangtung of Akas and Sangso-Dungso of Mijis.

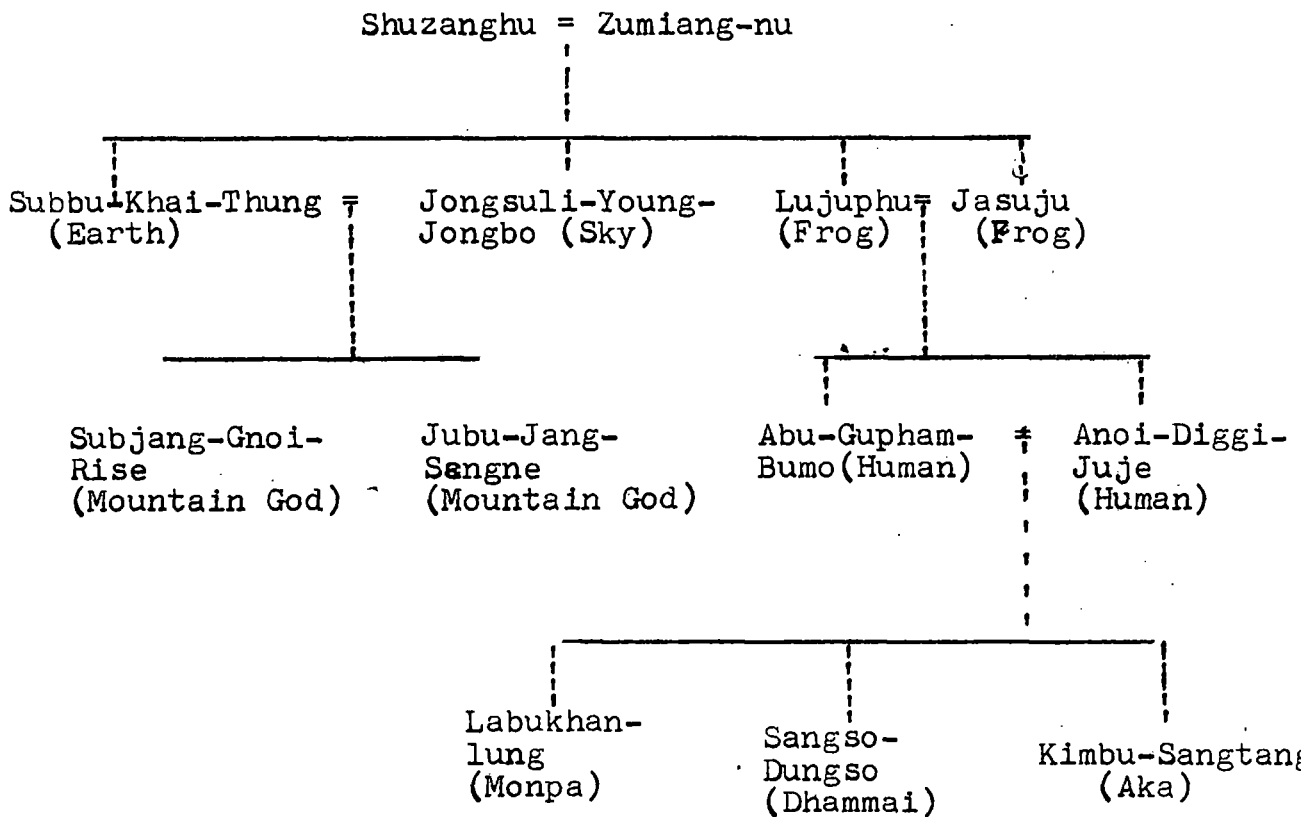
This myth, however, shows common ancestry of Akas not only with Mijis but also with Monpas which was not so in the previous myths of Mijis or Akas. This myth, however acknowledges the royal ancestry of Akas.

The story of origin of Mijis is told differently by D.K. Dutta, who states :

"Sajolang descended from the sky through a silver ladder along with the forefather of Tibetans named Ajanguri. They were men, while coming down they started a quarrel on an unknown petty matter. At Busobure, (near Nafra circle), Ajanguri was badly treated by Sajolang, who was wicked to the backbone Ajanguri left for Tibet advising Sajolang to tie his limb to control notoriety. Sajolang did not follow the advice fully. He tied the legs with bead threads (lai-Jang) and handjoints ('dree' or 'techu') and a knot at forehead. Then he moved to the present place of Mijis and became father of Abu-Gamphe-Bumo (boy) and Anai-Dijang (girl) they became husband and wife and gave birth to Sangso, Dung-so, Sangthi, Maillew, Sangthung, Khanlong, Khayoi, Khayonjew and Bewjewu.... One day their father caught a big fish called Threedung Doi and after cutting it, distributed at home. Who-so-ever ate the fish, developed a new character, i.e., Sangthung became brainy after eating head, Khanlong became learned after eating tail. Others who ate middle portion became gluttons. Sangthong and Khanlong left the others; Khanlong for the north (Tibet) and Sangtung to the south (Assam), while others settled there itself; sang-So and Dung-So in Nafra area, Sangthi and Maillew in Seppa area and the others who called themselves as Akas/Hrussos in Tenga valley

mean, the fire giving (mi-fire, ji-giving). Legend goes that "In the olden days, the Akas exchanged the land for habitation of this group of people with fire and since then they called the new settlers as Miji"³⁹. This part of the legend is contradicting the other part.

Another geneology drawn from a Miji myth recorded by Verrier Elwin⁴⁰ is as follows :



In this geneology too, Abu-Gupham-Bumo and Anoi-Diggi-Juje are shown as the ancestors of Akas, Mijis and Monpas' the variations however exist in names. We find these myths

b) In Aka myths, Bangnis have been shown to be having common ancestry with Akas.

c) In Miji myths Akas and Monpas have been shown to be having common ancestry with Mijis, but in Aka myths neither Miji nor Monpas are shown to be having common ancestry with them.

d) In Aka legends, they claim their royal descent.

e) The Aka ancestor Buslo-Ao and Miji ancestor Sajolang are not linked to a common story, though it has been stated by Miji that Sajolang is their ancestor.

f) The inclusion of Akas by Mijis in their ancestry seems to be due to Miji's eagerness to include the powerful Akas in their fold.

Having studied and analysed the myths, we have been unable to find any distinctive pattern of relationships amongst these tribes. Through study of names we however, have found Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas are identifying separately.

How clearly do these tribe-names actually provide independent identities to them as tribes? The point of further study, name 'Aka' is a proliferation of the Assamese word 'Angka' meaning 'Painted'. It literally means that these people are called so because they are painted. But are they so? Answer certainly is 'no'. 'Angka' probably then signifies that

they draw-lines on their faces with pine-resin which distinguish these people from others. Some of the Akas still do their facial make up with pine-resin but not all. Their neighbours Mijis too, do the same and a few other Naga tribes also do so. Hence this name has no specific significance to their identity as 'a tribe'. Similarly the other word is 'Hrusso' or 'Rrusso', which in their language means 'man'. But do these Akas only fall under the category of 'man' ? The answer is again 'no', because every human being who can speak and talk, falls under the category of 'man'. The word 'man' hence, is not an identifier of 'a tribe'. However, on this point Hewitt's remarks can be taken into consideration, who states, "tribes-people recognise some common bond which distinguishes from other tribes, usually a tribe-name, which may be their word for 'man'⁴². But let us see whether this point applies to the other two ethnoses. 'Miji' has been stated to be an Aka word as per D.K. Dutta (1990) meaning 'fire giving' people (mi-fire, ji-giving). This meaning is connected to a legend that in olden days, the Akas exchanged the land for habitation of Mijis with fire; since then they call the new settlers as 'Miji'. Now Mijis are not the fire-givers to Akas or for that matter to any other tribe, Miji is also not meaning 'man'. Hence to identify this tribe with this name also does not stand the test applied earlier. The Mijis call themselves 'Dhammai' which is just a part of the name of their ancestor Sajolang Dhammai as stated earlier. Hence, this

name, in no way fulfills the earlier requirements. Similarly meanings of the word 'Miri-Aka' are also stated as 'Akas living by the side of the river'. 'Which river? It is not signified by this name. Does it mean that any group of people living by the side of a river can be called Miri? Or can those Akas then living by the side of a river be called as 'Miri-Akas'? Logically, it cannot be proved correct. The other names given to them by the outsiders like 'Ka-Nag' (Black-mouthed) given to Akas by Tibetans, Lopa given to both Akas and Mijis by Monpas, 'Gunu' given to Akas by Mijis and 'Tena' given to Miri-Akas by Assamese do not become the determinants of the tribal identities by themselves, as they explain no permanent characteristics of these tribes with which they can be identified without doubt. However, these names have stuck with these people.

When someone mentions the name Aka, Miji or Miri-Aka, we now know who these people are. Hence we shall continue addressing these people as such until reliable alternative is found. As identity of none of these ethnoses has been yet clearly determined we shall now proceed with the next attribute i.e., territory.

Territory :

Hesselmeyer (1867), Mackenzie (1882) and Dalton (1872) recorded the existence of Akas and Mijis more than

a century ago. Mackenzie stated, "Akas and Mijis both live in Himalayan region between Bhutan in the West, Dafla in the East, Tibet in the North and Bharoli River in the South"⁴³. Later R. Sinha (1959) gave out this area as the 'area of the Kameng Frontier Division of the North-East Frontier Agency'⁴⁴. It has been stated earlier in this chapter that Miri-Akas live in Kayan-Bichome delta. The detailed analysis of the area stated above involves the study of physical features, administrative layout and the distribution of the three ethnoses in the area. Study and analysis of these three aspects are carried out in the sequence stated i.e., geographical features, administrative set up and the distribution of population.

Geographically Aka, Miri-Aka and Miji area, generally, lies between Sela Range to the north, Nichi-Phu range in the south, Tezpur-Bomdila-Tawang road upto Dedza, and Bichome river thereafter to the west and Kameng river to the east. The area lies between $91^{\circ}40'$ and $92^{\circ}50'$ East longitudes and $28^{\circ}54'$ to $28^{\circ}01'$ North latitudes. Major portion of the area falls between Bichome and Kameng Rivers. Miji area is to the north of Akas ; and Miri-Aka area to their South-east, Miji area boundaries are Sela to the north, Bomdila Range to the south, Bichome River to the west and Kameng river to the east. Aka area boundaries are between Bomdila Range to the North, Nichi-Phu-Tenga Road to the South-west, Bichome to the west

and Nichi-Phu Seppa road to the south, Miri-Aka area is at the confluence of Bichome and Kameng rivers, with Pichang village about 4 kilometers north of the confluence and remaining villages settled on the Bichome and Kayan river, close by within a radius of about 5 kilometers. Boundary between Akas and Mijis is marked by an offshoot of Bomdila range. Mijis being in the north and Akas in the south. The topography of the area is mountainous with general height 1500 meters. Highest peak is 15,000 feet of the Sela range which is to the north of Miji area. Next highest is the 8,000 feet high Nichi Phu which is in the south of Aka area. In between, lies the Bomdila range which is of an average height of 9,000 feet. Tenga, Bichome, Pachuk and Kayan rivers are the tributaries of Kameng river which flow through the area. Almost all the Aka villages are settled either on, or close to Bichome river and Kayan river while Miji villages are settled on Bichome and Pachuk rivers. The altitudes of various circle headquarters are ; Nafra 1790 meters, Thirizino 1224 meters, Seppa 363 meters and Lada 1200 meters. Miji area is generally higher and colder than Aka area. The area is generally steady sloping into the rivers from hill tops. There are very few 'limited valleys'. Jungle is in abundance due to the temperate and humid nature of the climate. Humidity is generally high throughout the year due to heavy rains and dense jungles. However, winter months are generally less humid.

As per temperature and rainfall records obtained in 1990-91, June to September are the months of heaviest rainfall in the area, specially when the temperature ranges between 19 degrees minimum and 27 degrees maximum. For the remaining period both the temperature as well as rainfall are lower ; minimum temperature being 10 degrees in January ; there being no rainfall in the month.

The area is very rich in flora and fauna. The important forest species found in area are bluepine, chirpine, cupressus, sopa, fir, hollock, poma, jutuli, hingori, dhuna, hatipolia, oak, gomari, walnut, bonsum and mokahi. Important fauna in mamals are leopard, jungle-cat, jackal, leopard-cat, Indian-elephant, barking -deer, Indian-wild-bear, musk-deer, monkey and red-panda. Birds include babblers, warblers, chats, jungle fowl, black-breasted, kallege, hornbill-green and pigeon. Fish abound in streams as well as ponds and include, orienus, schizothorax, mahseer, chowngyo, batpal common carp, mirror carp, brown tart and mirgal.

Administratively, Mijis inhabit north and north-east area of west Kameng District and western area of East Kameng District. Akas are settled in south and south-east area of West Kameng District and Miri-Akas are in the south-west corner of East Kameng district. Sub-division and circle-wise distribution of the three ethnoses is as follows :

<u>Group</u>	<u>District</u>	<u>Sub-division</u>	<u>Circle</u>
Aka	West - Kameng	Thirizino	Thirizino
Miji	-do-	-do-	Nafra
-do-	East - Kameng	Seppa	Lada
Miri-Aka	-do-	-do-	Seppa (SW)

The population of the Akas and the Mijis as per 1971 census is 2,345 and 3,549 respectively. This rose to 2,947 and 4,085 respectively in the 1981 census. The records of 1991 census about the population of these tribes are not yet available. Miri-Akas have not been found recorded separately but are stated to have been recorded alongwith Akas. The circle-wise distribution of the population is as follows :

Akas are mainly distributed in the four circles of Thirizino (2047), Nafra (18), Dirrang (12), Seppa (271) and Bameng (13) ; and in Bomdila town (7) : main concentrations being in Thirizino and Seppa circles. The Thirizino concentration is stated to be of Hrussos and the Seppa circle concentration of Miri-Akas.

Mijis are primarily distributed in the circles of Nafra (2301), Thirizino (216), Dirrang (67), Bameng (60) and Bomdila town (6). The concentration of Mijis is primarily in Nafra and Bameng circles (now divided into Bameng and Lada circles), of West Kameng and East Kameng districts respectively.

The circle-wise tribe-based distribution of 1981 census is not yet available.

A map showing the area of their distribution is placed before the beginning of this chapter.

Some of the villages have mixed population. Buragon and Kayan Valley have both Akas and Mijis. Bana has both Miri-Akas and Bangnis. Similarly, there are two houses of Bangnis in Pichang, a Miri-Aka village. Bangnis are also settled with Mijis in Sachong, Bishoy, Vurru and Sikang villages of Lada and Bameng circles. Bhalukpong and Bomdila have a few houses of all the three ethnoses. This point gains importance in the light of the recorded legends of Akas where they show same ancestry with Bangnis. Is it that, the myths have been recorded from these Miri-Akas who due to their close proximity to Bangnis and their domination over them made up these legends? Or, are the Miri-Akas close to Bangnis and altogether different from Akas who are close to Mijis? This aspect will be further cleared in later stages.

The area which these ethnoses occupy at present has not been the same where they have resided since their origin. In future, too, it cannot be expected that they all will continue to stay where they stay now. This is because of their migratory nature and increasing pressures from within for better economic conditions and from outside for

taking over the natural wealth of their area.

No historical records are available about their migrations. Only a few legends are found and that too most of them contradicting. There are various theories about their origin as recorded by various writers : these are given out in nutshell below :

- a) They belong to the golden triangle between Eastern Tibet, Southern-China and Northern-Burma, wherefrom they migrated to their present locations either through Patkoi or through Southern Tibet.
- b) They came from Assam Valley.
- c) They came from Southern-Tibet or from Chayang-tajo circle in the north-east.
- d) They are the original settlers of the area.
- e) They all came in different waves from different sides overlapping and intermixing, and are not homogeneous ethnos.

Hesselmeyer remarked that the Hrussos "do not pretend to be the native inhabitants of the country which they now occupy and have been unable to account for their real home"⁴⁵. During discussions with the elders of Mijis and Miri-Akas also, the same impression was gained by the

researcher. They all have different stories of migrations to tell. Some of these have been earlier recorded by Verrier Elwin and others. This researcher too, recorded their version which however, turned out to be different from the version of the other researchers. All the legends as recorded and also as told to this researcher are given in brief below :

1. According to Hesselmeier, the Hrussos believe themselves to be the inhabitants of the plains, and that their 'ancestors were driven out from Partabgor on the banks of the Giladhari river, north of Bishnath by Krishna and Boloram'⁴⁶.

2. According to a legend recorded by Kennedy and stated earlier in this chapter, Akas descended to the earth by golden and silver ladders near Longkapur Hill in the Lohit Valley wherefrom they scattered in search of land. They first settled near Bhalukpong on the right of the Bharoli river and their two chiefs built their capital. After sometimes, they migrated to the present country of the Akas.

3. According to Census 1971, the Akas believe that they inhabited the plains of Assam before settling down in their present location. They trace their first place of settlement at Jigago which is possibly situated somewhere in Upper Assam. From Jigago they shifted their settlements to Sichugo, Mauhugo, Simugo, Thunogo, Thumrogo, Thimsa-Numgugo, Simichi,

Hugyachi, Sibsagar, Tezpur, Bhalukpong and finally to their present location at Buragaon (Huluchi-Hubrachi)⁴⁷.

4. The Mijis trace their origin to places situated somewhere north of the present Chayangtajo circle of Kameng District. From there, they spread out (alongwith Bangnis and Khowas) and settled in the present location of the tribes.⁴⁸

5. The above point of view was expressed by most of the Mijis, Miri-Akas and Akas of Kayan Valley and Thirizino area. Gaon Burha of Lower Challang gave a detailed account of these migrations as he heard from his ancestors. He stated that, "Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas came in five groups from North of Chayangtajo circle of East Kameng District ; the area bordering India and Tibet in North Arunachal. They came in the form of waves one after the other, settling at one place and then shifting to another to find the new place for food and security ; maintaining their identity as far as possible, but mixing when the need arose ; even intermarrying among each other. The present village names and clan names are not very old. These have been changing over from time to time according to their settlements and by joining and separating of the groups. Due to this mix up ; Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas cannot be called homogeneous and they have different stories of migration. The various groups and their migration

patterns are given below :

<u>Group</u>	<u>Migration route</u>	<u>Final settlements</u>
1. Aka	Lada and Challang	Sikong, Lakoju, Mizong, Nizhong, Durang, Buragaon, Jamiri, Ramdaganian, Segong etc.
2. Miji	- do -	Challang, Deru, Sikong, Lakoju, Nizhong, Nothingong, Dzong, Durang, Khachoju, Jamiri, Kosagin, Ramdaganian, Lungthan etc.
3. Pichang	Thumbong, Naransu Thumzu	Pichang, Kitching, Supung etc.
4. Aka	North-East	Dzingania, Gizri, Sakring, Yayung.
5. Miji	Via Lada	Thorubu, Naramthu, Digansu, Harazung, Drishi, Chilleta, Nachibou, Dibbin, Mathow, Challang, Ditchick.
6. Miji	Upper Dzong	Lower Dzong, Palatari, Upper Dzong.

From the above, the migration of Mijis and Miri-Akas to their present locations turns out to be from North of Chayangtajo circle of Kameng District through Lada or Challang, a Miji area. Even most of the Akas also came along with Mijis and Miri-Akas according to this version. The

movements of Akas from Assam or from Lohit Valley are also covered by various legends. It is likely that, the now most influential people of the Akas came from the Assam Valley and settled in Jamiri and Buragaon, while others came from north-east of Chayangtaje. It is also likely that all Akas, Mijis and/or Miri-Akas came from the golden triangle through the Patkoi ranges wherefrom they came in successive stages, some people coming through plains of Assam while others crossing one valley after the other of the present Arunachal. It may also be that one group of Akas who came from Assam dominated and assimilated some people which may not be Akas. It is also likely that Mijis came from Tibet but due to regular contact and domination of Akas they modified their own legends of ancestral relationship with Akas. However, it is no doubt that Akas have now a definite area though with an intermix with Mijis in some villages. Similarly Mijis have a definite area, and the Miri-Akas too have their own territorial domain though some mix up has taken place with Bangnis.

This trend of migrations is still continuing, Certain new villages of Akas e.g., 6-Mile, Kayan-Valley, Jamiri-Point, Thessa, Khuppi A and B ; of Mijis e.g., Upper Challang, Upper Dzong and ; of Miri-Akas e.g., 2-Mile near Bana have come up between the period of the first visit of the researcher to the area and the latest visit in a span

From the above material the following facts emerge :

1. Akas, Miri-Akas and Mijis live in three distinct areas generally known as Buragaon-Dzingania of Akas, Nafra-Lada area of Mijis and Pichang area of Miri-Akas.
2. The three ethnoses have some mixed villages amongst each other and also with other neighbouring tribes like Bangnis.
3. All three ethnoses are not the original settlers of the places mentioned above and have migratory history/legends.
4. They are likely to continue with their migratory trend in future (but at a much lower speed) as well, for better life standards and security.
5. They cannot be exclusively identified with any particular area due to their intermixing and migratory nature, hence, to link them exclusively with any territory/territories will not be correct, but in general they can be identified differently with particular concentrations.
6. Despite of their migratory character, they still maintain that they belong to particular areas i.e.,

Akas to Buragaon-Thirizino-Dzingania area, Mijis to Nafra-Lada area and Miri-Akas to Pichang area.

7. Though due to outside pressures on their area and inside pressures for fanning out of the area are increasing, yet it is not likely that they will loose the hold on present specific areas for another two or three decades at least, the period by which they are expected to be joining the mainstream of India in totality in case the Inner Line Permit System restrictions are taken off. If not, the isolatory character will be for much longer duration.

The questions about the identity of these people were uppermost at the researcher's mind when he was about to enter the areas of the above ethnoses. Bhalukpong is a newly developed settlement at the boundary of Assam and Arunachal Pradesh where inner-line starts. Some of the Akas, Miri-Akas and even Mijis can be contacted at this place. For the purpose of this study, this researcher contacted a few people from Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas. The researcher enquired from them about their areas so that a plan for the visit to their areas could be prepared. Replies of these people about their area were that, "Akas belong to Buragaon-Thirizino-Dzingania area while Miji belong to Nafra-Lada area". No mention of Miri-

Aka's area was made separately, because at Bhalukpong the Akas and Miri-Akas did not differentiate their areas. However, when at the hub-centre of contact of all the three ethnoses i.e., Palizi-Thirizino, the Akas and Miri-Akas claimed to be belonging to two different areas i.e., Akas (Hrussos) to Jamiri-Buragaon-Dzingania were stated to be both Akas (Hrussos) and Mijis but still Dzingania was stated to be an Aka village. Jamiri-Buragaon, Thirizino and Dzingania are the main Aka villages, Nafra and Lada are the main Miji villages while Pichang is the main Miri-Aka village and these are the hub-centres of the people mentioned. They have their political say in that area as they jointly select their representatives for the State Assembly and various Anchal Samities. A Miji has always got elected from the Miji area and an Aka from the Aka area. Miri-Akas however, are having separate area from Akas ; and have to contend with electing a Bāngni because of their minority character (around 500 only), among the most numerous Bāngnis. This answers the first question i.e., these ethnoses identify with the particular territory. For answering the second question, we will have to see as to how these territories provide the identity to a tribe. Describing the domain of a tribe, Morgan stated, "The territory consisted of the area of their actual settlements, and so much of the surrounding region as the tribe ranged over in hunting and fishing, and were able to defend against the encroachment of other tribes.

Around this area was a wide margin of neutral grounds separating them from their nearest frontages if they spoke a different language, and claimed by neither, but less wide and less clearly marked when they spoke dialects of the same language. The country thus imperfectly defined, whether large or small, was the dominant of the tribe recognised as such by other tribes, and defined as such by themselves"⁴⁹.

If we follow Morgan's statement given above, we do not find the criteria laid down by Morgan being fully met by the territorial details of these tribes which we have found. The intermix of the tribes and very thin gaps between three ethnoses despite of linguistic differences do not provide the clear identities to these ethnoses, though if we see the concentrations of these tribes we are able to provide them different identities to some extent based on territory. In this respect then, we have to apply Barth's view point that, "boundaries persist despite a flow of personnel across them"⁵⁰. If the overflow of the people is considered, it can be said that despite of the overflow, the areas of the three ethnoses is distinguishable hence the ethnoses can be identified with the particular areas. But for further confirmation of the Morgan's point of view, the detailed study of the linguistic features of these ethnoses will however be required, which will be done in chapter V.

Culture :

Culturally, all the three ethnoses are, generally, very similar barring a few distinctions which too do not stand out to provide clear identities for them. Generally, their cultural traits have overlapped during continued and prolonged contact and migrations in waves ; hence it became impossible to find out clear and distinct cultural boundaries. We shall study their cultural traits, their similarities and differences and then critically analyse these to establish their identities.

All these three ethnoses can be divided into two main types of physical description ; one with Mongoloid features and the other with Mongol and Aryan features mix. All three groups have both these types, though their numbers vary. Persons with Mongoloid features are generally stocky-built, medium in stature, having usually a flat face and flat nose with eyes like sprockets fitted into the face. They do not have beard. No hair are seen on brows. The eyes usually are brownish to pale blue, and the hair are black even on the oldest. The Mongoloid-Aryan types have sharper nose protruding cheek-bones, well defined eyes and the brows are roundish as compared to Mongoloids who have rather flat eyelids. Nose has been found to be quite long in a few cases. Some of the individuals have so clearly marked Aryan features that they can be well considered as having the features as in the Simla region of Himachal Pradesh (India).

The older generation grow their hair over head while the new generation has started shaving off in modern style. Those who keep hair, tñe their hair at the crown of head as do the Sikhs, like a bun.

Aka personality generally, appears more assuring and dominating in comparison to the other tribes of the region. They have been imposing their superiority over others, specially Khowas, Sherdukpens, Mijis and Miri-Akas, in the past. Sulungs were then treated as their slaves.

Aka history too proves their superiority. They have been dominating the entire tribal belt of Kameng region during the 19th century and upto the first half of the twentieth century. Taghi Raja, a fierce and forceful chief of Akas, was a known name during the early British period in Assam. He raided Charduar undauntingly to extract gratification from the people of the plains who were then the subjects of the British. He also taxed the Sherdukpens and kept Khoas and Sulungs under subjugation, who till date accept the supremacy of Akas. Even the Bangnis were also afraid of Akas.

Taghi Raja carried along Mijis into these raids as partners but under command. This shows that Mijis too, accepted the supremacy of Akas. This trend continued even during the chieftainship of his son Medhi Raja. Incidentally, Taghi

Raja and his descendants were called Rajas even by Mijis and the other neighbours too, accepted them so. Britishers too, accepted the supremacy of Taghi and Medhi Rajas by resorting to 'posa' a kind of tax to save their subjects from Aka raids. Kutsum (Hazari-Khowas) whose chief was Taghi Raja and Kuvatsun (Kapaschor) who was led by his brother, had some internal fights which led to the arrest of Taghi by the British who was jailed in Gowahati jail but later saved by Nikamul Satra, a Vaishnavite Hindu spiritual guide who made Taghi Raja his disciple. In 1842, a settlement was reached between Taghi Raja, the Kovatsun chief and others with the British where Akas accepted to cause no further interference by them in 'Duars' area. In turn, Rupees 175/- were fixed as 'posa' (tax payment) to Taghi Raja's people. After Taghi Raja's death, his son Medhi Râjâ took over the control of his people. Due to some dispute over the lands, Medhi got alienated from the British and showed his annoyance by reviving raids on 'Duars'. The relations came to a pass when the British asked for one Aka man and a woman for a tribe-model in Calcutta. Due to a communication gap, the message went across was that, 'the British want the Aka Raja and Rani as museum pieces'. This infuriated the Akas further, who seized the 'Mauzdar' and his servants and confined them. Medhi's brother Chandi raided the forest outpost near Balipara and carried off a ranger and a clerk. In the meantime 'Lakhidar' died in the captivity of the Akas.

The British fully exasperated of the events, sent a raiding party under General Hill to the Aka Hills in the winter of 1883. After a complete blockade of the Aka country, they were able to bring Medhi and other Aka chiefs to submission and the 'posa' was stopped till 1886. The relations thereafter improved. An expedition known as Aka Promenade was despatched in 1913-14 which returned with good impression about Akas.

This was an ebb period of the Aka domination. The Mijis tried to take the advantage of the Akas fall as is apparent from the information brought by the later visitors. Akas had some trouble with the Mijis during 1921-23, when Lombi, the Miji Chief was killed in a feud with Akas. Ultimately the trouble was brought to an amicable end under the patronage to Dibru Jushosho the then Aka chief.

Dibru Jushosho was the Aka Raja after Medhi Raja and one of the most influential men in the hills. He had established friendly relationship with the British after Medhi died. Somewhere in 1933-34 Dibru Jushosho also died bringing the domination of Akas down to boots. His death led to disputes among the various clans of Akas. The Mijis exploited the opportunity and threatened the Akas. The situation could only be controlled with a great difficulty. After the death of Dibru Jushosho, his son Shadeo was elected as Raja, who carried out

his duties satisfactorily but not with the charm of earlier chiefs. British rulers made advantage of the situation and to reduce the influence of Akas they forbade them to extract tribute from Sherdukpens. This caused ripples between their relationship. The violation of the order drew heavy punishment on some of the Aka chiefs. It was the period when the reign of Akas was in the hands of Rani Kelime, widow of the late Taghi Raja. When he died in 1936-37, she was succeeded by her son-in-law Labi who too, died in 1940-41. After the death of Labi, Sankandu Delusha a Kutsun, but lower in rank than the chief's clan, carried on as a chief till the chieftainship was abolished and the democratically elected panchayat took over the reins.

The Mijis have been regular partners in the raids by Akas. They were in turn assisted by Akas to have domination over Monpas and Sulungs. But their internal fights were more frequent and in these fights they even involved Bangnis of Sachong, Bishoyi, Lada, Vurru and Sekang villages. Their supremacy over the Monpas was reduced by the Assam Rifles' outpost at Rupa and by a 'mel' (Meeting) in 1940 under the British Political Officer.

Amongst these tumultous days of history, Miri-Akas appear no where. Probably, they too like Mijis, had been a part and parcel of Aka raiding parties. It is also likely

that, Miri-Akas, who were a different people earlier, having come under the subjugation of Akas, lost their own identity and preferred to get assimilated with Akas, themselves being in poor minority possibly from the time of their separation from their original tribe, which seemed to be different from that of Akas and Mijis.

Another important point which needs consideration here, is that it is most likely that the name 'Kutsun' and 'Kovatsun' were given by the Assamese to two raiding bands one led by Taghi Raja and the other by his brother, who might have established the two settlements i.e., Buragaon and Jamiri. Hence to designate these raiding bands as clans does not stand to logic.

Domination of the scene for a considerable time, helped the Akas in their becoming good traders as they were frequently in contact with the plains people. They purchased the items from Balipara and other local markets around Bhalukpong and sold to Mijis and other tribes at exorbitant rates. Mijis in turn, traded with their northern neighbours, the Tibetans and exchanged their goods with the Akas.

The above said events left deep impact on the culture of the Akas and Mijis. This close contact between Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas has probably initiated intermarriages and close socio-cultural relations between them. It is

also likely that as a result of this prolonged contact, Mijis included Akas in their myths in the same ancestry ; while Akas, who considered themselves as superior, modified myths from time to time declaring themselves having royal ancestry. In their myths this ancestry is not found linked with Mijis but the link exists with Bangnis instead. This probably, is due to the fact the Bangnis were the other most dominating tribe in the region. This also further firms in the assumption that the myths were frequently modified to meet the situational requirements and the stronger were included as their kins in ancestories. Hence these myths certainly do not have much historical worth. The cultural wealth contained in these myths, however cannot be ignored, hence studied here.

Verrier Elwin in his book 'Myths of North-East Frontier of India' (1958-62) alongwith myths of other Arunachal tribes, has recorded 16 Aka and 16 Miji myths in 4 sections under the name of Hrusso and Dhammai respectively, as follows :

<u>Section</u>	<u>Hrusso</u>	<u>Dhammai</u>
a) Heaven and Earth	5	6
b) Man and his history	3	2
c) The daily life of man	5	3
d) The world of animals	3	5
Total	<u>16</u>	<u>16</u>

Out of these, some myths have been reproduced earlier while describing the origin of these two ethnoses. This researcher also recorded 2 myths which have been given out in Interviews in Volume II. Out of these, the myth about mithun has been found to be the same as recorded by Elwin in the world of animals. A brief of most of these myths is produced for the purpose of analysis of their culture.

1. Heaven (sky) and earth : According to the Dhammai myth, the earth and sky are born of parents whose nature is not revealed. A worm swallows them, but is caught by the father and split open. They form earth and sky. As per Hrusso-myth, the origin of earth and sky is through an egg.

The status of relationship of sky and earth is stated in another Aka myth. The sky quarrels with his wife (earth) and the men and animals are put to great hardship as a result. It is only when the wind is born and blows the sky far upto heaven that the earth is left at peace. Regarding sun and moon, the Hrusso and Dhammai myths are different from all other Adi myths as they do not consider sun and moon to be supreme. They consider that there are two suns and two moons ; Akas believe that the two suns and the two moons are two couples. According to the Hrusso's myth, the sun's wife and moon's husband fell in love with each other but had to come to earth to meet each other. However, according to Miji.

myth the difference is that the sun and moon were two sisters. Sun's daughter and moon's daughter were the first two human beings. Sun's daughter being rich and beautiful, became the master and moon's daughter became her servant, as she was not so good looking and rich. The custom among Dhammai's that, "a rich man's son should marry a rich man's daughter and the poor man's son must marry a poor man's daughter" is derived from this myth. According to this myth the children of sun's and moon's daughter are considered to be the first human beings.

Regarding thunder and lightning, both Hrussos and Dhammais have different myths. Dhammai myth goes as follows. "Above the sky there is a tree called Chingnui which bears a great quantity of fruit. When the fruit is ripe and ready for eating, the god Subbo-Grang chops the tree with his dao so that he can get the fruit more easily, but it is so broad that he cannot cut through. The chips of wood fly into the air as the lightning ; while the sound of his blow is the thunder. Although he cannot bring the tree down, he shakes it and the fruits fall as the hail"⁵¹.

The Hrusso myth is as follows :

"Chou-Siphu and Khrao-Lijji were born of the great creature Phum-Badra who lives under the earth. After they were born, they came from below to the surface. They killed the Sun and the Moon who were doing evil on the earth and the

arrows they fired still fall to the ground and the earth shakes"⁵².

The above Hrusso myth is similar to the Hindu myth, that the earth rests on the horns of a bull and it shakes as the bull shakes his head.

The myths regarding water, are different in both the tribes. Miji's myths are two while there is only one myth of Akas. Hrussoes say that all the water in the world was, at the beginning confined within the coils of a great snake who lived in the country of the sunrise. Men and animals driven to despair by thirst, send a bird to bring them water. The bird pecks out the snake's eyes and in its agony, it uncoils and lets the water flow out as a great river for the benefit of mankind. This is the background of Brahmaputra river. The Dhammai myth regarding Brahmaputra is different. It states that god Abbu-Bullu-Muchu killed and ate one of the two sisters, another old god made her alive but instructed the other girl Nulo not to take out lice from her hair as she has been fitted with nails and that the nails would certainly itch. As the newly revived girl insisted for removal of lice, Nulo was inclined to accept her request. However, while taking out the lice, she found a protruding thing in her head, removal of which disunited the girl and formed a river which flowed down the plains. This is called Sutturulu (Brahmaputra, according to this Dhammai tale). Regarding fall of snow Miji

myth states that two brothers and their families feeling hungry went to the top of a mountain for search of food ; but got nothing to eat. Children cried. God Lujuphu and Jasuju took pity and sent cooked rice which fell on the earth in the shape of snow.

2. Men and his history : Dhammais describe that the men have descended from the union of earth and sky who are regarded as wife and husband. A male and female frog are born first. When they met they have human children, though these are covered with hair. Brother and sister marry and have sons from whom the whole human race has originated. Similarly, a Hrusso story describes how every kind of tree and grass and living creatures came into being as a result of the love between the Earth and Sky. A Dhammai myth which shows the relationship of Hrusso and Dhammais and their intermarrying has been given out earlier.

A Hrusso myth explains how Awa married Sun's daughter Ossni and how they became parents of mankind.

There are interesting myths about tricksters in both Hrusso and Dhammai myths. Interestingly, a Bugun myth also explains how Hrusso tricksters started taxing the Buguns. They also state that Turu-Labou is the common ancestor of Hrusso and Buguns. In myths of Hrusso, some facts of Bugun (Khowa) myths are confirmed, specially about killing of their

elder Awa by his elder brother Ossin, the elder of Nishis. As per the Bugun myth, the close links between Dhammais and Hrusso are also depicted. The origin of human being is linked by Nishi and Hrusso myths, to God Siksil-Ao. This Khowa myth is very close to the Aka myth showing Nishis and Akas to be close. Similarly Bangni myth also confirms, Akas having a common ancestry with Akas.

The Bugun and Bangni myths establishing ancestor-links with Akas further confirms the dimension that the weaker modified their own myths to link themselves with the stronger; also that some portions of the myths of the stronger were adopted by the weaker.

Domestic Life : According to a Dhammai myth, they obtained salt from Lhasa. A Hrusso myth tells how goitre came through trees, and another one stating how it came through the meat of a black deer ; the reason they do not eat the skin or legs of deer. Is this myth anything to do with the prohibitions among one caste of Mijis i.e., Nyillus where they are prohibited to take certain parts of meat ? This will be seen at a later stage.

There are also myths about the beginning of the religion. Dhammai myth explains how they started the worship of Budha (Lord Jumu-Muchu) with the help of Monpas as the goat was not sacrificed but saved by the Lord Jumu-Muchu.

Hrusso story explains that Khabrou-Phogo-Sogo, the Lord of Earth, Huphu-Liti the Lord of Mountains and Siksilia-Ao the Lord of Mountains all sons of Matti-Dau the Lord of sky, are their greatest Gods. Hrusso myth also explains how Mumugro and Mumungi, the evil spirits caused diseases to men, animals and trees, and why do they not touch the skin and legs of deer. According to a Dhammai story, the death came to the world because of sun, who killed a deer which was eaten by the men. Since the men ate deer, the death came to them. Another Hrusso myth about the coming of death is the illicit relations between the sun's wife and the moon due to whose meeting the yellow flames arose and the creatures got frightened. They were then killed by Chou-Siphu and Kharao-Libji. Thereafter Moon's wife cursed the world that, 'As you killed my husband so may you all men, animals and birds-die too'.

4. The World of Animals : There are a few myths about leeches, deer, fishes, frogs, elephants etc., in both Hrusso and Dhammai stories, According to a Dhammai story, snakes and leeches were born of the illicit relationship between two sisters Riang-Mo and Nining-Mo. It also mentions why mother's one breast becomes short than the other. It is because the snake has bitten the other breast. A Hrusso story tells that frogs shed their flesh to offer meat to their friend tiger but as the tiger refused to accept their meat,

they leave their home in shame and hide in water for ever. Another Hrusso story is very akin to a Hindu myth where a man Rariu-Jija cleans the resting place of the buffaloes who in turn feed him. He had golden hair, which he floated in water. Seeing this, the Raja married his daughter to the man. This myth seems to have been acquired by Hrussos through plains of Assam as is the myth of Phum_Badra, the creature causing earthquake by shaking. According to a Dhammai myth about the elephant, this animal is stated to be strong and healthy because the Gods Lujuphu and Jasuju distributed meals to all, but the elephant, having been left out, was provided a share each by all the animals. This was too much for the elephant making him strong and heavy. There are interesting myths about the mithun. According to a Dhammai myth mithun was created by the god Kan-Nui-Nuchu as he was feeling alone and wanted a company. But mithun ate the clothes of the god and drank his beer as he felt hungry. Realising his fault, the mithun ran away to save himself from the anger of the god and came to Sajo-Lang (Dhammai elder) and accepted his mastery. The angry god came searching and having found him tied at Sajo-Lang's house cursed the children of Sajo-Lang to be ill. On priest's advice, the Dhammais now offer clothes and beer to the god Kan-Nui-Nuchu to please him and to save their children from sickness. This myth matches Hrusso myth where mithun is stated to be the daughter of Lord Bhuslo-Ao and is sacrificed to cure illness. The stone-mithun as shown in photograph

number ..40.. is worshipped both by Akas and Mijis due to the above mythical background. The story of origin of myth among Hrussos has been well explained in interview in Volume II.

In another myth, the Dhammais state tiger to be their friend. This story was told to the researcher by Memma Sanchozu a Miji girl and is recorded at appendix ..!DD!.. In this story the Dhammais state their original home to be Chang-Durrou and declare that Dhammais and tigers have been brothers, who after lot of quarrels became enemies.

These myths have been given out here to show that Aka and Miji myths are a clear indicator not only of their differences between them, but also their differences with other tribes of the region. The contradictions in the two myths of the same tribe, affects their reliability adversely decreasing their historical worth.

In view of these contradictions, the distinctions brought about by Aka and Miji myths need further confirmation from other aspects of culture or other attributes, which are studied hereafter.

The pattern of life is generally uniform among all the three ethnoses. Each individual has the same way of living and passes through the same stages of life and in a similar routine. They all follow the same age-old occupation for

survival i.e., agriculture assisted by hunting, rearing pet animals, fishing food gathering etc. The standard of living is the same as in any primitive society and does not differ from other tribes of Arunachal Pradesh. Disparity within themselves in economic standards is hardly noticeable though the better off and the worse off are not unknown amongst all the ethnoses.

Society is governed by village elders. Every one has a right to participate in the deliberations of village Panchayat ; though, women usually are found silent participants. The Gaon-Burha, who acts as the head of the village council is assisted by two elected members. The decision is carried out on the spot after the witnesses are heard in the presence of the elders.

The society generally gives equal status to all ; though among Mijis two castes i.e., Nyibu and Nyillu are stated to be existing. However to this researcher the Miji people when contacted by the researcher, denied the existence of such castes at present. It is probable that these mild caste differences have melted away alongwith the democratisation of society.

Control of society, maintenance of law and order and inter-tribe affairs are masculine affairs while bringing up the children, looking after the pet animals at home including piggery and poultry, cooking and preparing of beverages

collecting wood as well as major soft field work falls into the responsibility of the women. The division of labour, though not very rigid, yet, is followed regularly.

The women are respected in all three societies and when in home, she attains the equal status to the man. However she cannot inherit land property. The society is patriarchal, patrilineal and patrilocal.

Patriarchy is the form of society with primogeniture as the fundamental law of inheritance. Monogamy is the basic rule within the framework of clan exogamy (except the Miri-Akas, who marry within the clan) and tribe/tribe-group endogamy.

All the three ethnoses, generally wear the same type of dress. These ethnoses generally do not make their own cloth and it is bought from the nearby markets and worn without stitching except the coat and anklets worn by both men and women. Men invariably wear a small garment hanging below the shoulders and covering the upper half of the body. Men also wear a kind of long coat which hangs from shoulder to knees. This is usually made from a rough cotton cloth (markin). The names of various dresses and clothes are given in Volume II, appendix 'I' which differ significantly. Both men and women cover the legs with a piece of cloth sewn into a cylindrical shape (anklets) which leaves only the feet uncovered.

These are worn as a protection against the 'damdim' flies.

Women too, wear a long garment, but, it hangs upto the anklets and is longer than men's garment. None of the ethnoses have been wearing footwear. There has been a change in last two decades amongst the young who have started adopting the European style pant and shirt and a few wear shoes also, however the number of such people is still very limited as is the limited number of the educated and also the limited government jobs for these people.

Both men and women wear various types of ornaments which mainly consist of bead necklaces. Silver ornaments are also worn but no gold ornaments are yet seen amongst these people. Silver ornaments and costly beads called 'mony' are worn by the well-to-do only. The women tie their hair in a knot in the form of a bun at the back of their head. They comb their hair by bamboo comb and maintain them well.

All these tribes have been wearing tatoo marks on their faces which have been quite prominent from head on to the nose in the form of lines and spots at the chin in light blue colour made out of pine-resin. This tatoo-marking is getting extinct with the new generation who is quickly adopting Indo-Anglican life style and civilisation.

All these ethnoses are very hospitable and treat their guests as God-sent.

Social functions and obligations are well determined by convention which carry unchallenged authority. Social convention is regimented on a single standard moral and ethical code. All the ethnoses have festivals which primarily are to perform agricultural rites and to appease gods ; specially their mystical ancestor who is equated to a god. The agriculture festivals coincide with sowing, cutting or bringing into use the new crops. These festivals and other rituals are performed by a 'pujari' who generally is from the same tribe but can be of any tribe and some time even from amongst the neighbouring Bangnis. He earns respect of all, however, he has to know his job well which he learns from elder 'pujaris'. Anyone can become a 'pujari'. The religious ceremonies are followed by free food and dancing and singing. Adults are usually grouped according to their age for distinct social functions. Akas have Nechido as the chief festival, Mijis have the Khan while the Miri-Akas have the Sarok. All these are agricultural festivals. These are celebrated with lot of god worship followed by competitions amongst the youth in various local games and ending with the merry making and enjoying the common community feast. The religious rituals are performed by the 'pujari' with the sacrifice of a mithun, a yak, a cow, or a pig etc. The ceremonies in all the three ethnoses are generally, the same, the differences being only in the use of language in various chants. Names of various gods and religious rituals are given in Volume II, Appendix 'L' . The names of

these gods and rituals followed, differ significantly. However it is not necessary that the language of the pujari should be the same as that of the people performing the ceremony.

The dances of all these ethnoses are generally the same and are performed with the help of a drum and a stringed instrument, this instrument being more common amongst the Akas. The languages of the songs differ, though the underlying spirit is generally the same. Songs of these ethnoses are given in Volume II, Appendixes 'EE' and 'FF'. The key songs of all the three ethnoses are generally based on the common myths.

Language element of the rituals, songs and various religious names however, is a clear distinguishing marker and will be studied in detail while we study the language attribute.

The staple food of all the three ethnoses is maize, millet, rice, kodo etc. The cereals are taken in boiled form along with some vegetables locally grown. Indigenous drinks prepared from maize and millet etc., known variedly (chang / laopani etc.) forms an ingredient to the staple food of the people. Meal is considered incomplete without drinks. Drinks are taken several times a day often along with food. It is customary to offer drinks to guests.

The main occupation is agriculture and the subsidiary occupations are rearing animals, hunting and fishing for the men, while food gathering and basketry are the occupation adopted by some women in addition. All productive activity is on the consumption level, while each family meeting its own demand. Women are the main producers both in the field and at home. Various names of food items and occupational activities are listed in Volume II, appendixes 'K' and 'J'. They too differ linguistically significantly.

The houses are constructed out of the local material in the form of rectangular building covered with a conical thatch/bamboo mat roof and are generally double-storeyed or raised above the ground with the help of wooden stilts. The ground floor is used for pet animals and for storing the wood while the first floor is the main living room. The walls are either of stone, wooden planks or bamboo-matting. The floor of the first floor is generally of bamboo-matting/wooden planking.

Barter trade is still vogue though the money economy has found its place recently. However, within themselves as individuals ; they still have the barter trade system.

The utensils in household use are of two types i.e., made out of bamboo and of metal as acquired from outsiders. The second type is gradually replacing the first type of utensils.

The weapons of war and chase are harpoons, bows and arrows and a kind of sword known as dao of three sizes generally, and is common amongst all. The list of household goods is given in Volume II, Appendix 'J'. Language element of all these ethnoses differ significantly.

The land is the common heritage of the village and there are no individual holdings. However, the individuals are apportioned certain lands for their family, though property remains on the charge of the village as a whole. Compensation is required to be given to the village for the land received for cultivation or housebuilding. The pastures and the jungle/mountainous land is not apportioned and lies on the common charge of the village. The natural features act as the boundary-markers between the villages. Similarly rivers and ponds which fall within the village boundary are also the common village property.

All the social, legal and administrative powers are vested in the village elders and the decision given by them is final, and carried out by the youth immediately thereafter, with vigour.

Frequent feuds arising out of infringement of political and economic rights in which the groups act as units had been in vogue in all the three ethnoses till recently. However, the improvement in administration has brought the

change and these feuds are nearly unheard of, these days.

Religion is of a most utilitarian type, where distresses and mishaps are attributed to malevolent spirits who are propitiated or appeased for protection and redress. All three tribes worship a mythical ancestor in whose honour festivals are held among all these ethnoses. The jungle, mountain, water and fire-gods are generally common and the type of rituals are also generally the same. The death and birth as well sickness generally, call for elaborate rituals. Marriage has scant ritualistic obligation except tying of a nuptial thread ; the payment of the bride price being the most important factor.

The names of spirits worshipped are according to the area as most of them are generally the local spirits. Hence the ceremonies involved with them are also localised. The major festivals are celebrated on a community basis, while number of other festivals are local.

Among all the three ethnoses, there is a hierarchy of gods, dieties and spirits who rule the mankind. The gods and spirits worshipped and feared among Aka and Miji are as follows :

<u>God/Spirit</u>	<u>Miji</u>	<u>Aka</u>
Father of Earth and Sky	Suzangu	Malli-Dan
Mother of Earth and Sky	Zu-miang-nui	-

Contd...

<u>God/Spirit</u>	<u>Miji</u>	<u>Aka</u>
Earth	Subbu-Khai-Thung	Kharbrou-Phogo-Sogo
Sky	Jangsuli-Young- Jobhu	Ban Nibine
Mountain-Gods	Subjang-Gnoi-Rise Jubbu-Jang-Sangne Luchonmu-Bui Jusung-Nui-Muhu	Humphu-Lichi Nichi-phu
Wind	Subbu-Grang Abbu-Bullu-Nuchu	Nejlieu
River (Lord of water)	Anoi-Midge-Juje	Siksila-Ao
God of Forests	Lujuphu, Jasuju	-
God of Earthquake	-	Phum Badra
God of mankind	Jumu-Muchu	Bhuslo-Ao
Evil Gods of Disease	-	Mumogro, Mumungi
Demon of disease	-	Mithi-Chitjin
Spirit behind the disease of eyes	-	Chalo-Jijao

The highest God is the God supreme for all of them. Akas however, worship it in the name of Bhuslo-Ao while Mijis worship is in the name Sajolang the legend of which has been given out earlier. Details about Miri-Aka Gods and spirits could not be obtained though they were stated to be generally the same i.e., earth, forest, river and mountain as the chief gods and a supreme - being controlling the complete world. Names however, were different. The impact of Vaishnavism amongst Akas and Budhism amongst Mijis is which existed in

nineteenth century and early twentieth century, has now nearly died down with a wave for 'own culture' amongst these people. Now they all believe in Shamanism-Animism.

Having seen the details about culture of all those ethnoses, we have to see now . . . culture as a distinguishing attribute.

One is led to identify and distinguish ethnic groups by the morphological characteristics of the cultures of which they are the bearers. "This entails a prejudged view point both on (1) the nature of continuity in time of such units, and (2) the locus of the factors which determine the form of the units.

1. Given the emphasis on the culture bearing aspect, the classification of persons, local groups as members of an ethnic group must depend on their exhibiting the particular traits of the culture. This can be judged objectively regardless of the categories and prejudices of the actors. Differences between groups become differences in traits inventories.

2. The overt cultural forms which can be itemized as traits exhibit the effect of ecology . . . they reflect the external circumstances to which actors must accommodate themselves"⁵³.

If we evaluate what we have found amongst the three ethnoses based on the above factors described by Barth, we will find that visual observation by this researcher did not

bring out any noticeable cultural difference between the three ethnoses. They then, cannot be stated as culturally different, but if we study the traits through the ecology as found from the records, we find the following differences :

1. They have different myths, festival names, names of dieties, spirits and gods. The periods of festival celebrations are also different.
2. Though Mijis claim to be descendents of two brothers but Akas do not believe so. Both Akas and Mijis also worship two different ancestors Bhuslo-Ao and Sajolang (the ancestor of Miri-Akas is not known) who are not stated to be brothers.
3. Past history and the present behaviour of Akas show that they have been dominating the other two ethnoses in the past and show their superiority over them even now.
4. The language names of various household, economic, social and religious items, rites, rituals and traditions differ significantly.

The above differences in traits except language cannot be stated to be clear indicators to provide separate identities to the three ethnoses because we have found that the myths have often been contradictory and cannot be fully relied upon. The

behaviours of the individuals keep on changing based on the environment and cannot be the same throughout. Moreover neither all Akas show a dominant behaviour nor all Mijis and Miri-Akas show signs of inferiority. The names of the ancestors except language, which will be studied in detail in Chapter V. Therefore, culturally Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas do not stand out differently, as culture amongst these ethnoses have not been found to be a differentiating attribute. Hence we must consider the next attribute i.e., kinship.

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CHAPTER 4

DETERMINANTS

OF

IDENTITY

II

KINSHIP

AND

MARRIAGE

CHAPTER-IV

DETERMINANTS OF IDENTITY-II : MARRIAGE AND KINSHIP

In Chapter III, three attributes i.e. name, territory and culture were studied in detail for determining the identities of the Aka, Miji and their kindred. Though these determinants could not provide clear and distinct identity to these ethnoses, yet, out of this study, Miri-Aka emerged as the only kindred amongst Akas and Mijis who have the characteristics to be different than the other two. In this Chapter, the fourth attribute i.e., kinship will be studied where specific attention will be paid to the Miri-Akas as well, along with Akas and Mijis. Descent having been covered in Chapter III, the other aspects of kinship i.e., marriage, clan endogamy and tribe-exogamy; and the kinship terms will be studied in that order in this chapter. For the purpose of finding out differences and similarities, the aspects, rules and factors as described in Chapter I will be followed. From the similarities and differences so found, the identity of these three ethnoses will be determined, if this becomes possible.

Marriage is the key to all kinship. Generations develop through marriage; also affinal relationships are established and expanded. Marriage is described as the social contract for the satisfaction of physical, biological, psychological and spiritual needs of male and female, leading to the formation of family to bring up children and live together.

It serves as the foundation-stone of the family.

Marriage in these societies as in all other societies, is a turning point in the life history of an individual from where he branches off from the parental roof and establishes a new unit. A girl on her marriage abandons her parent's home and goes to live with her husband.

We have seen in Chapter II, that all the three ethnoses intermarry frequently and have close socio-cultural relations. These intermarriages and close socio-cultural contacts have smoothed out any differences in their marriage systems. It was also seen that they follow almost the same types of rules, rituals and ceremonies. In light of the above, we shall study their common rules, rituals and ceremonies of marriage; the differences, wherever found, will be pointed out separately.

Marriage amongst these three ethnoses generally involves the following considerations :

1. Improvement of social and economic status
2. Addition of a working hand in the fields
3. House-keeping partner
4. Meeting the biological needs
5. Procreation
6. Financial gain to the girl's parents
7. Increase in sphere of influence and cooperation through new relationships.

Priority is for procreation, to meet biological needs, to need a helping hand and for house keeping.

Marriage in all these societies takes place in the following ways :

1. Arranged marriages through negotiations
2. Love marriages
3. Marriages by capture/abduction/elopement

The first one is the most traditional and most popular system of marriage, while the other two, become societally approved, though, with some reservations.

All three ethnoses intermarry and the procedure of marriage system is generally the same amongst them. Among all three ethnoses, marriage by negotiation is generally initiated from the boy's side. The boy who has seen a girl or known her from sometime past and has made up his mind to marry her, may indicate his desire to his parents. Alternatively, parents of near relations of the boy may have selected a girl for the boy. The age for consideration may generally vary from 16 to 18 years for the girl and 18 to 20 years for the boy. Child marriage is not advocated, though not objected either. The status of the family of the girl is given special consideration. A Miji proverb 'A rich man must marry a rich girl and a poor man must marry a poor girl', generally applies to all the three ethnoses while selecting the family from which the girl should be. Other priorities should be that the girl should not be from prohibited rela-

tionship i.e., not from the same clan (except amongst Miri -Akas where marriages within clan are not prohibited due to their less population) and a parallel-cousin of the boy. As far as possible, the girl should be from the relations with whom marriages have been frequent earlier. Once the boy's parents decide upon the girl; then they call the village priest to examine the auspiciousness of the proposal. The village priest makes his diagnosis by killing a fowl and reading through divination; the favourable or unfavourable signs contained therein. With the obtaining of a favourable option from the village priest, the first step towards settlement of marriage is supposed to have been covered, for it is here that a proposal may even breakdown before it reaches the other party as few would dare to conclude a marriage in spite of the unfavourable premonitions of the priest. If the omen turns hopeful, a go-between is summoned to initiate the marriage proposal on behalf of the boy's family. The go-between may be a relative of the boy or some elderly person of his village community. He plays the most important role in negotiating the marriage on behalf of the boy's parents. Success and failure of the proposal depends largely on the knowledge, intelligence and tactfulness of the go-between. If the two parties reach a settlement, the credit is often attributed to the initiative and personal efforts of the go-between. The chief qualities of the go-between, essential for settling of a negotiation, are as follows :

1. He should be forceful enough to resolve any dispute among the two parties and should be the influential and reliable person so that both parties could depend upon him.
2. He should know the traditions and customs and also the history of the tribe, clan and the family in detail which he is supposed to recite at the time of negotiations.
3. He should also be able to take on any dispute arising even after the marriage.
4. He should have intelligence and convincing power, so that he is able to convince the other parties while negotiating the bride-price and the other deals connected with it.
5. He arranges all preliminaries and final settlement proceedings of the marriage for which he is adequately honoured.
6. Generally he should be a common relative of both the parties or a father figure of the whole society.

The go-between should know the fundamental things necessary to initiate the negotiations, such as the bride-price the parents are willing to pay, and the time when they want the marriage to take place. He travels to the girl's village,

meets her parents and tells them about boy's desire to marry their daughter and that of his parents approval. He assures them that the proposal has been duly examined by the priest and declared to be favourable. With this, he also gives an idea of the amount of the bride-price. During the negotiations following rules of negotiations are kept in view:

1. The boy's and girl's clan must not be of the prohibited or restricted relationship, following the rule of clan exogamy among Akas and Mijis.
2. Both clans must be of acceptable status and they must be intermarrying.
3. The boy and girl must preferably be from the same tribe or from among the three ethnoses i.e., Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas and should not be in any case out of this ethnic group. Marriage outside this ethnic group is prohibited.
4. Both the boy and the girl should preferably be not from the same village i.e., village exogamy is preferred in all ethnoses.
5. Both the families should generally be of equal social status and financial position.
6. The boy and girl must suit each other physically and mentally (with education now, the educated youth

insist on educated girls).

7. The willingness of the boy's side to the bride's price and by the girl's side to pay jewellery in case the bride-price is more than one set i.e., 5 mithuns, 5 pigs, 5 cows, iron hearth and designated number of endy cloths and utensils.

Other points for consideration are as follows :

1. The general repute of boy's and girl's parents.
2. The intermarriages between the two families.
3. The general bride-price being given by the other relations in similar cases and its general net worth.
4. The price of the items to be exchanged to be known to the mediators.
5. Other marriage traditions i.e., before marriage and after marriage, as well as, during marriage how many mithuns/pigs are to be cut, how many to be given in engagement ceremony, how much endy cloth likely to be received from the other side, etc.

The negotiations are conducted by a selected group i.e., three to five selected go-betweens from each side during the final ceremony where the main go-between leads. The parents of the girl and the boy remain as silent spectators as they

all three ethnoses. After the fixing of the marriage date, the days of marriage are counted on the basis of knots made on a cane string, which are opened one by one each day. Around the date of marriage, the marriage party comprising the groom, his parents and relatives and some of the members from the village, start in a procession for the bride's village, where the marriage is to take place. Before they go out of the village, smearing of faces (rangoli type) takes place in joyful mood and 'ho...ho' is shouted while getting out of the village. All their way on the journey, the party makes a lot of noise. On reaching every hill-top, they made a loud shout of 'ho..ho'. As they arrive at the bride's village entrance, they signal their arrival again by a shout. At this, the people of the bride's house accompanied by other villagers, come to receive them. They also give a small feast to the guests at the place of the first meeting. After the feast, the members of the groom's party march to the bride's house with their host. When they approach the bride's house, they again raise a loud shout, and their hosts pull out their swords (daos) as a sign of resistance. The groom's party also pretends a similar gesture and there ensues a mock fight between the two parties for a couple of minutes, with the brandishing of the swords in the air. Ultimately, the bride's people feign to yield and allow the groom's party to enter the house. This demonstration of a mock fight between the two parties seems to be a cultural survival

from the times when run away marriages might have been quite common.

The hosts arrange a big feast in honour of the marriage guests later in the day. The function, which includes songs and dances by the girls and boys of both the parties, goes on for two to three nights. Almost all the villagers participate in the ceremony. The singing and dancing session starts first with the food for all present along with free drinks (lao-pani), thereafter the children start dancing along with the drum and a string instrument. A party sings along with. Everyone from boy's and girl's side is supposed to participate in this dance. Normally considering the large number of participants the children are given very less time i.e., every child changes after one stanza. Thereafter, the girls from both the sides followed by the boys from both the sides participate. The elders are also given the chance but on the final day. Course singing of the legends by the bards also takes place on the last day. The sequence of dancing is summarised as follows :

1. Younger children ; One by one i.e., one from bride's party then the second from bridegroom's party.
2. Elder girls from both sides in the same sequence.
3. Elder boys from both sides in the same sequence.

it may not be as rich as the food to which you are accustomed, in all kindness please accept it'. In case, the marriage is intertribe the parties from the bride's side and groom's side sing one after the other, in their own languages. The languages seem to be no bar in enjoyment, because actions also give out the sense of the songs.

On the following day, the people of the groom's party have to play host to the bride's people in a feast arranged by them. A mithun brought with them is killed in the feast. Later in the day, while the groom's people may take rest in their camp, the people from the bride's side, discuss among themselves the remaining details of the marriage gifts to the bride. Youth go in for arrow-shooting competition. The target is prepared of a wooden cross with a bush soaked in the blood of the sacrificed animal and placed on a tree top. Later on this day, an endy cloth and woollen blanket from groom's house are given to the bride's parents, and sometimes during the day, the elder women of the bride's village dress themselves as men and join the groom's party to gossip and joke with them. The fancy dress of the women and their merry-making creates much fun and frolic among the members of both the parties and they immensely enjoy the novelty.

The third day begins with some other jovial features. The girls of the bride's village take a ceremonial liberty to play jokes with the youths in the groom's party. They

prepare a special blackish paint from wild pine and paint the faces of the boys at first opportunity. The boys also return the compliment with equal enthusiasm and black-paint the girls' faces. This joking goes on for almost the whole day. Lest the boys may take these jokes ill, the elderly people from among the hosts brief them with the custom on the very day of their arrival in the village.

At the conclusion of the three-day ceremony, the marriage party returns to its home. The girls of the bride's village usually come with the party upto the village-gate to see them off. Before final parting, they dance and joke once again with the boys of the marriage party and paint their faces black. They then bid farewell to the marriage guests and the party marches towards its village.

The bride does not accompany the groom to his home soon after the marriage ceremony. She generally stays back with her parents for about a year or more after the marriage. The husband may, however, visit her during this period at her parents' house. At the end of the year, the husband accompanied by the go-between goes to bring her home. The parents and some brothers or relatives of the bride may also come to escort her to her husband's place. There is, however, no need for any special ceremony this time. The bride's people, when they arrive at the groom's house, are treated with honour and given a good reception by the groom's family. The ceremony

in their honour, which mainly consists of feasting and dancing, continues for about four days. They may then return to their home, leaving their daughter in her husband's charge. From now the bride assumes full membership of her husband's family.

Though the traditional custom is for the bride to stay for about a year with her parents after her marriage and before she goes to live with her husband. The usage is now being relaxed and a bride may begin to live with her husband even earlier than the specified time.

At the time of departure, parents of the bride give marriage gifts which usually consist of a silver head-gear, a pair of ear-rings, a pendant, a chest ornament, a pair of bangles, beads of various shapes and sizes, ten medium-size bowls, five silver coated daos and pots. These marriage gifts become personal property of the girl.

Marriage by capture/elopement/abduction

This is a complementary system of marriage among all these ethnoses which goes by the name of marriage by 'elopement' or marriage by 'capture' or 'abduction' in common phraseology. It is taken resort to generally by the young people when they are not sure about their parents' consent to a marriage proposal of their choice or want to avoid the

complex preliminaries to marriage that are necessary under the traditional system. A boy who may be in love with some girl of his own or some other village, or may have somehow selected a girl for marriage, elopes with her to his parental village without giving any notice of the event or of his intentions to her parents. He may or may not have given any indication of his plan to his parents before he actually elopes with the girl to his home. After reaching the house, he sacrifices a pig and invites the village community to a feast. He tells then what has happened. The local priest ties a thread of sheep-hair, around the girl's right hand along with the ancestral ornament of beads. This tying of the thread by the priest gives a stamp of marriage and a kind of social recognition to the marital relationship. With the discharge of this elementary social rite, the bride is supposed to have been united in wedlock, and enters her husband's family as a virtual member.

On knowing of the incident and her whereabouts, the parents of the girl come to the groom's house. They meet his parents and, as they find no other way than to agree quietly to the arrangement already arrived at by their daughter and concluded with the performance of the ceremonial wedding rite, they give their consent to the marriage. The only thing within their power now is to put forward their demand of the bride-price to which they are fully entitled even where the marriage might have been consummated without

their prior concurrence or without any pre-settlement. A meeting is thus arranged between the parents of the bride and those of the groom. Other people of the village may also join them in the meeting. The primary purpose of such a conference is to decide upon the amount of bride price which may be settled after some deliberations. The people of the girl's house then return to their village and she is allowed to stay back with her husband. Obviously under this system it is not necessary for the bride to go to live with her husband at the completion of a year since she already starts living with him after the elopement. The bride-price may be paid by the groom's parents either immediately or they make some mutual arrangement to pay it later. Usually, no dispute arises over this; it is only the failure to abide by the promised payment of bride-price which may create some trouble. Both parties, however, try their best to avoid such a situation.

The principles of clan-exogamy and preferable village-exogamy are respected in this kind of marriage too, and it is only to the elopements within the social sanctions that the community may give its approval.

The marriage by elopement is considered to be a convenient system and is favoured for this reason by the younger generation. It does not necessitate too many precedents or antecedents to marriage, such as the elaborate

negotiations through the mediator, approval by the priest, the fixing and re-fixing of the marriage-date and the conditions for the bride to stay with her parents for another year after her marriage before she may start living with her husband. Nor does it involve any complex ritual ceremonies of the marriage. It is largely due to these practical advantages that elopements, though not considered strictly correct, are often worked at and accepted.

Love marriages : A new phenomenon which has gained recent currency specially between the younger educated generation is that of love marriages. The young boys and girls when studying in boarding schools and living very close to each other for most of the time, develop intimate relations and intermarry sometimes even without the permission of their parents. Generally, these types of marriages are also accepted if they are not against the rules of the society, but the bride-price will have to be settled, which has largely been accepted in society. However relations get strained where, the marriage is within the prohibitory/restrictive relationship or where the due bride price is not settled. In case, the go-between is not used, the part of go-between is played by the Gram-Panchayat to settle the dowry and the decision given by the gram-panchayat is considered binding. Recently, there have been two cases of love-marriages where two Miri-Aka girls were married to Nishi Youth in government service. These two cases initially drew a lot of hue and cry

amongst the Miri-Akas but now these have been finally accepted.

In all types of marriages among all those ethnoses, preference goes to cross-cousin marriage and monogamy. Polygyny is allowed, where preference goes to levirate and sororate. Incest-taboo exists too; and bride-price plays the major role in all marriages. These are the important aspects of these societies and need a detailed study, hence are taken one by one in succeeding paragraphs.

Cross-cousin Marriage : Marriages with one's own cross-cousins are quite popular among these societies. A cross-cousin is, in fact, regarded as a preferential mate. A boy usually prefers to marry a girl whom he might have known from his early age and a cross-cousin, as such, stands nearer to him, being next to his own blood kindred, than any other girl of his community and outside his own clan group. A person can marry his mother's brother's daughter; similarly, a girl can marry her mother's brother's son. Besides, a boy or a girl can also marry his or her mother's sister's daughter or son.

Direct parallel-cousin marriages with one's father's brother's son or daughter are strictly avoided. Since society is organized on patriarchal lines, such marriages would only amount to marrying one's own blood kins and, therefore,

incestuous and hence forbidden.

Besides the cross-cousin marriage, there are a few other social usages related with marriage, such as polygyny, levirate and sororate.

Polygyny

Polygyny is quite common in these societies. A man can marry more than one woman at a time. It depends more upon one's economic and social status than on anything else. Along with this, the consent of the first wife is always necessary which, in fact, is not difficult to obtain. The two wives can share the economic burden better than an individual woman. Thus, when a husband opens before his wife the subject of his second marriage, she often welcomes the proposal with good spirit. The wives often live in good harmony and work together in the laborious pursuits of subsistence. This may be even more ensured, if they happen to be sisters among themselves. In such a case, the usages of polygyny and sororate are combined together. There is no distinction made between the children of the two women. Polygyny enhances a man's status in society since it is indicative of his economic stability to provide for more than one wife. Out of the 73 samples recorded by the researcher 7 cases were of polygyny i.e., 5 had two wives, 2 had more than two wives, one had 6 and the other five.

They all were found to be living happily and were usually well off.

Levirate is popular in these societies. A man usually inherits the widow of his elder brother. He, however, cannot inherit the wife of his younger brother. This practice of inheriting the wife of elder brother may be called the senior levirate. It is customary for a widow to start living with her husband's younger brother as his virtual wife. Where both of them do not favour a union, she may be allowed to live with the man of her choice of course from among the community members, provided the man agrees to pay the bride-price spent on her marriage to her husband's brother. If the woman wants a separation but her brother-in-law (husband's brother), who holds a legal claim upon her, resists, he may, or she may, refer the dispute to the local village council for settlement. The decision of the council would then become legally binding on both of them. There was another tradition earlier in practice, i.e., the widows of father may be inherited either by the elder son (leaving his own mother). They may also be divided among other brothers. Only mother or mother's sisters are not considered as inherited wives. This is because the women are considered as property belonging to father, which after his death must pass on to his son. In some cases, the widow is passed on to the brother of the deceased i.e., in case the sons are not

grown up or the widow has no means of subsistence and has very young children who need support and care. This tradition is now dying down.

Sororate

Another form, i.e., marrying one's sister-in-law, known as sororate, is also prevalent among the people. A man may marry his wife's sisters, either in the former's life-time or after that. The usage of sororate has, like the levirate, a limitation in the sense that one can marry only the younger sisters of his wife, and not the elder; this may be better called the junior sororate.

Both these usages, the sororate and the levirate, may operate simultaneously, and may sometimes also combine polygyny with them. Under both the usages, a man marries his affinal kins - the sisters-in-law, the basic difference between the two being that, while under one it is a matter of acquisition, under the other it is a case of virtual inheritance.

Incest taboo

Marriage or any kind of extra-marital relation within the restricted group of one's own kindred is regarded as incest in these societies. The very idea of incest is repugnant to these societies. The incest taboo, the viola-

tion of which involves heavy penalties, wards off such possibilities. The violations are strictly punishable by the village community. Unlike other social crimes, incest is almost unforgivable. The persons indulging in it may even be killed. Even a reference to sex in the conversation between the prohibited degrees of kinship is considered equally repulsive and both the persons found indulging in such a filthy talk are made a subject of public ridicule. This is supposed to serve as a deterrent for them.

The most important taboo is that which forbids incestuous relations between brother and sister. The incest taboos prevent the breach of the rules of clan exogamy (not so in Miri-Akas) besides making such marital relations with one's kin almost impossible as they are considered highly against the social norm. The incest taboos, thus, in a way, act as a balance for the social norms and values. However, legends of the tribes accept that their origin is linked with sister-brother marriage and their generation is the result of such marriage.

Bride-Price

Marriage in these three societies involves an obligation on the part of the bridegroom and his people towards the bride's parents. This obligation he tries to fulfil by making some payment to the parents of the bride. The payment

is usually made in kind, in the form of cattle, cloth and utensils. In these societies the bride-price consists of mithun (*bos frontalis*), iron-made hearth-stands, and cloth (endy cloth). The amount of bride-price to be paid depends upon the social status of the bride's parents. The higher the position enjoyed by her father in society, the greater will be the number of candidates to claim his daughter's hand, and thus larger the amount he can expect as bride-price.

The cloth, given in bride-price, is of two types, a small piece of cloth and a large piece of cloth. Besides these, the groom has also to give a piece of cloth to each of the brothers of the bride and this cloth then becomes known as sador derived from Assamese word 'chador'. All cloth, given in bride-price, is known by the general name of basa endy, in all three languages.

Mithuns are an essential part of the bride-price, with which an iron hearth and endy cloth are also almost invariably associated. Commonly, one or two mithuns, one iron hearth and four or five pieces of endy cloth are given. A rich man can, however, afford to pay even ten mithuns with two or more hearth-stands and several pieces of cloth in the form of sets as stated earlier. The bride-price is usually required to be paid at the time of marriage but its amount has to be in any case decided well in advance, and on its settlement only, the marriage is supposed to have been

finalised. Marriage negotiations are likely to break off, if the two parties cannot reach any agreement with regard to the bride-price. In case, a man is not able to pay the whole amount of bride-price in one instance, he may be permitted to pay a part of it at the marriage ceremony and the rest afterwards in instalments if the bride's parents agree to the arrangement.

When a man is too poor to raise even the minimum bride-price and yet wants to marry, he may take some sort of service in the house of the bride's parents. He may serve them for about three or four years, and thus earn some amount to raise the necessary bride-price. In return for his service, a part of the bride-price as originally required, may be condoned by his prospective father-in-law and, with the payment of a small amount only, he may be allowed to marry the girl. He can, however, have anticipatory marital relations with the girl even before marriage and during his period of service. It may also happen that, by the time, he is in a position to raise the bride-price, two or more children are born to him, at which the necessity for a separate household for his family becomes still more urgent. He may thus pay off the bride-price, whatever he can, and separate with his wife and children to form his individual family.

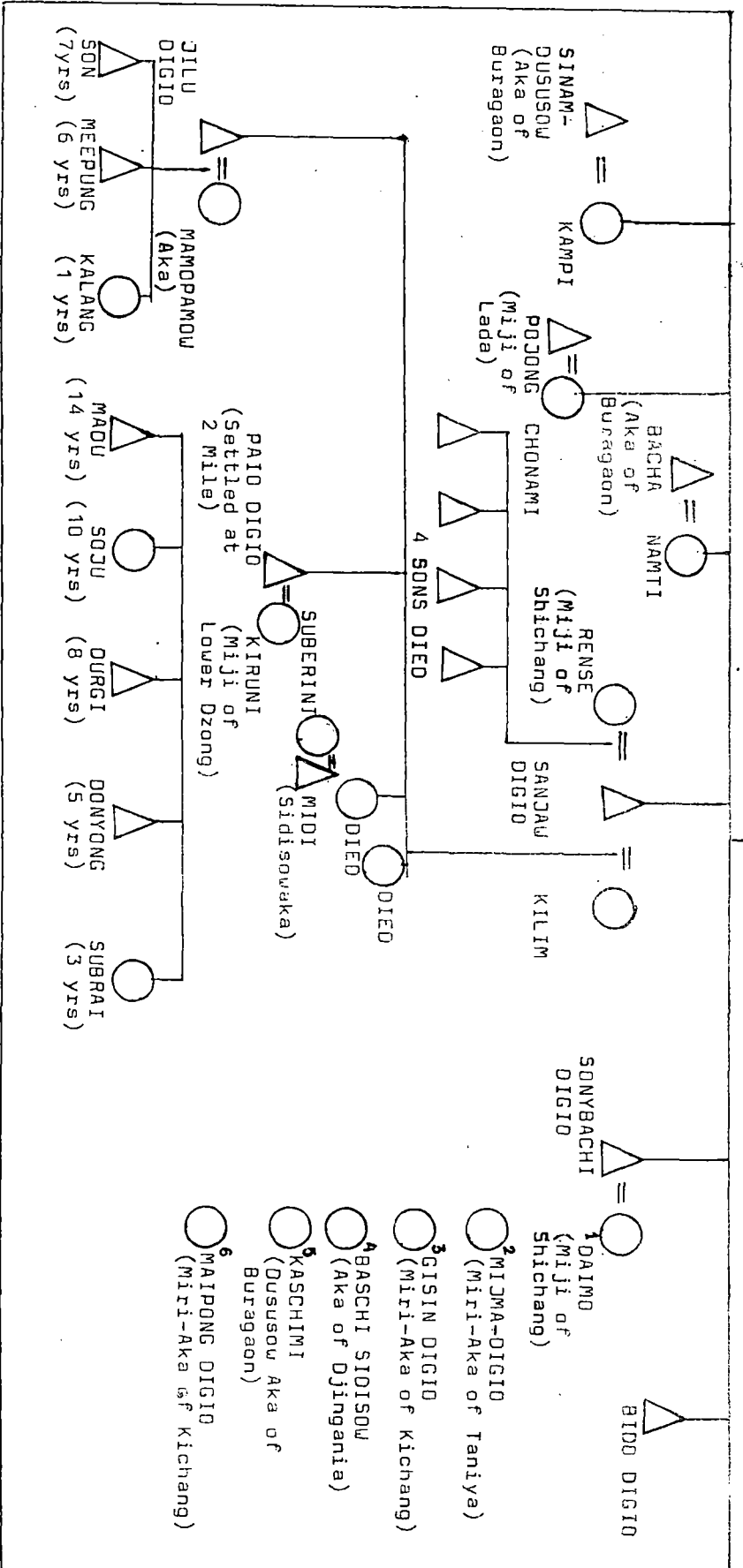
The temporary residence of the husband in his wife's

home, necessitated as it is mainly by economic considerations, does not give rise to any matriarchal institutions or usages related with it, nor does it suggest matrilocal residence.

Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas, despite of language differences, intermarry amongst each other. This researcher came into many such cases where Aka husband had a Miji wife, and vice versa. Similarly, he met couples having Aka husband and Miri-Aka wife and vice versa as well as Miji husband and Miri-Aka wife and vice versa. Also there are cases where an Aka or Miri-Aka husband had number of wives which also included wives from the other two clans. Case of Dumbing family is given in diagramme 4.1. This is one such case where his son Sony Bachi, a Digio-Pichang (Miri-Aka) had six wives out of which Daimo is Miji of Sechong village, Baschimi and Kaschimi, are Akas; Baschimi being from Djingania and Kaschimi from Buragaon; the other three Mijma, from Taniya and Gibin and Maipong from Kichang are Miri-Akas. Similarly, Dumbing's other son Sanjow has been married to two Miji girls Renre and Kilim of Sachung and Sikang respectively, and daughters Kampi and Nanti have been married to two Akas of Buragaon, Sinam Dususow and Bacho and daughter Chonam is married to Miji of Lada named Pojong. Further, the intermarriages have percolated upto great grand sons of Dumbing as is shown in the diagrammatic layout.

GENEALOGY OF DUMBING - DIGIO-MIRI AKA OF PICCHANG

DUMBING DIGIO



Similar cases are available among Akas also. Two such cases which this researcher came across were of Goverdhan of Paliji who has six wives (seventh divorced) out of which two each were Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas respectively and of Fetcha who has five wives out of which two were Mijis, one Miri-Aka and two Akas. His two daughters and one son were married to Miri-Akas and others to Mijis and Akas. This researcher attended the marriage of one of his son who was married to Miri-Aka girl of Yangse.

If the characteristics of Samples given in Table 2.1 are seen, we find that out of the total 73 recorded samples, thirty samples pertained to intermarriages (13 Akas, 5 Miri-Akas and 11 Mijis while one of a Nissi with a Miri-Aka girl). Out of these, 3 Miri-Akas are married to Akas, 10 Mijis to Akas, 1 Miri-Aka to Miji and one Miri-Aka to a Nissi. Akas of Dzingania and Kayan Valley frequently intermarry within the village with the Mijis and with the Akas, Miri-Akas and Mijis of other adjoining villages. The marriage between Akas, Miri-Akas and Mijis is freely allowed but outside these three, the marriage is not easily acceptable and in the past it was a punishable offence. There were cases where the people who married among other tribes (other than the three) were outcasted and even treated as slaves by the community. However, now two cases of educated Miri-Aka girls getting married to Nissis and one Miji girl marrying with a Bihari were observed by the

researcher and all three families are happily living. These are, however, very recent cases which show that due to the impact of the modern civilisation their old restrictions and taboos are crumbling and they are opening up. However, the Akas have been seen to be more rigid in holding on to the old system and have not allowed to relax any restrictions so far.

As this researcher observed, maximum intermarriages between Akas and Miri-Akas are between the clans of Dzingania, Kayan Valley, 6-Mile, Paliji, Shichong, and Buragaon (All Aka) with Digio clan of Pichang, Kichang and Yangse. Amongst Akas, Sidisows had maximum marriages with these Digios. (Also see the genealogical table given earlier).

Amongst Akas and Mijis, maximum intermarriages are again within the villages of Dzingania, Kayan Valley and 6-Mile as well with Akas of Thirizino. Sachong, Yayung, Buragaon, Kararamo and Karangania, while maximum Mijis who intermarried amongst Akas are from Lower Challang, Upper Challang, Lada, Lower Dzong, Upper Dzong, Nafra and Janaching. The researcher was told that there were around 30 Miji girls married to Aka boys in Kayan Valley and about 20 Aka girls to Miji boys from the same village; which is quite a number, vis-a-vis the total population of these villages.

There is no class system known to Akas or Miri-Akas

while Mijis are stated to have two classes Nyubbu and Nyullu, who do not intermarry. However, this fact could not be confirmed on ground and no one from Mijis accepted that any class system existed amongst them now. Marriages between all the clans were allowed. Among Miri-Akas, marriages within the same clan have also been allowed as they were of one clan only and the relationship with Akas have been strained since last twenty years due to a feud between the villages of Dzingania and Pichang as stated earlier. The first marriage; which took place among the two ethnoses was, after a gap of 20 years; between the nephew of the deceased and the daughter of a near relative of the murderer; at the instance of Panku Sidisow, the elder son of the deceased; this researcher being witness to this. Though, the formal relations have not been established between the Akas and Miri-Akas yet, with this beginning, and with the enthusiasm being shown by Panku Sidisow, they plan a big meeting of the two tribes and to establish full fledged relations after a community function. The period gap of 20 years had however stopped all the intermarriages between Akas and Miri-Akas, and has also drawn them away from each other. The researcher felt that, withdrawing of the Miri-Akas from Akas and their assertion of identities as Pichangs is a result of this strained relation which has been further affected due to bifurcation of Kameng into three districts. With this bifurcation, Akas have remained in West Kameng while Miri-Akas have become

a part of East Kameng; the district mainly dominated by Nissis. The recent marriages of Miri-Akas and Nissis, may be an indication of the desire of Miri-Akas to establish a relationship with the Nissis, which ultimately may result in reducing the domination of Akas over them. During the above stated marriage between the Akas and Miri-Akas, not only the Mugau (Pujari) was a Nissi, but quite a few Nissis were seen to be present at the consultation stage. This is an indication of a new alignment which may, with time, take a new shape. Probably visualising this, Panku Sidisow an Aka and his maternal uncle a Pichang who is now the Gaon Bura of Yangse, a prominent Miri-Aka, negotiations have started to remove all the differences between these two ethnoses.

Having gone through the marriage system of the three ethnoses, the following points emerge :

- (a) All three ethnoses frequently intermarry. No restrictions are laid on inter-group-marriages.
- (b) The marriage system and the marriage rites, rituals and ceremonies are generally the same amongst all the three ethnoses.
- (c) Akas and Mijis follow clan exogamy, while Miri-Akas have allowed marriages within the clan because, they have only one clan i.e., Digio and had strained relations with Akas since last twenty years.

- (d) All three ethnoses prefer tribe endogamy but as they allow intermarriages between each other, this rule of endogamy is extended to the group of the three ethnoses and can be stated as tribe-group endogamy. Marriage outside this tribe group draws heavy punishment. Lately, however, Miri-Akas did not punish the breach of the rule as the girls who married Bangnis were finally let off without punishment and the marriages were ultimately accepted.
- (e) Intermarriages amongst these tribes are more common, where they have close residence and less frequent where distances are more.
- (f) All three ethnoses allow polygyny, though the rule of monogamy is generally followed.
- (g) All three ethnoses allow and prefer levirate and sororate marriages.
- (h) Arranged marriages are the most preferred; while love marriage and marriage by capture and elopement are also permitted.
- (i) Bride-price is the key deciding factor in all types of marriages.
- (j) The intermarriage system is a unifying factor

rather than distinguishing one, as it helps in reducing cultural as well as social differences.

We have seen during the foregoing discussions that marriage forms families; and families form kinship system. Kinship systems depend on the social recognition and cultural implementation of relationships derived from descent and marriage. They normally involve a set of kinship terms and an associated set of behavioural patterns and attitudes which together make a kinship, a systematic whole. All societies distinguish various categories of relationships by descent or consanguinity and most societies distinguish relationships by marriage or affinity as well.

Kinship terminology consists of terms which designate, in the first instance, social relationships or persons occupying such social relationships, established by marriage and parenthood, and which are subsequently extended to relationships formed in other ways.

1. Parenthood establishes the relationship which comprises the nuclear family, namely father, mother, son, daughter, brother and sister.
2. Extension of the same kind of relationships outward from the nuclear family will give such terms as grand parent, uncle, aunt, nephew, niece and grand child.

3. Marriage establishes, primarily a relationship between two persons husband and wife, and secondarily with an indefinite number of affinal relatives or 'in-laws'.
4. Kinship terms are mutually co-relative or reciprocal; the use of one term always implies the use of another or of the same term. Thus father implies son or daughter, and vice-versa; brother requires the correlative sister or the reciprocal brother. The rules for these mutual correlations as laid down by Fred Eggan are given out in Chapter I and their application to Akas, Mijis and Miri-Akas will be discussed later.

Distinction of the terminology may be based on classification i.e., classificatory or descriptive terms or may be based on generation system, bifurcate-merging, bifurcate-collateral or lined pattern of society.

We must first know what all kinship terminology is used by these three ethnoses before we analyse as to what similarities and differences do they have in terminology; and what differentiating and identity determining patterns are formed.

The kinship terms as collected from amongst these ethnoses in the field are put in a comparative form in Volume II and appendix 'N'. The classificatory terms of

these three tribes are given in table 4.1 to 4.3. The common kinship terms are given in table 4.4 while kinship terms having similarities are given at table 4.5.

Based on these terms, structural diagrammes were prepared to show the relationships of the various terms. These structures based on ego-being; a husband or wife are given as per the following sequence :

<u>Diagramme</u>	<u>Structure</u>	<u>Ego</u>
1.	Aka kinship terms	Husband
2.	-do-	Wife
3.	Miri-Aka Kinship terms	Husband
4.	-do-	Wife
5.	Miji Kinship terms	Husband
6.	-do-	Wife

Table 4.1

Aka Kinship Classificatory Terms

a:i:e:/aye/	Brother (Common), Elder-brother,
ya/a:/a:i:a:/	Eldest-brother, Father's-elder-sister's-
a:i:e	husband, Father's-younger-sister's-
	husband, Father's-elder-brother,
	Husband's-eldest-brother
a:si:/a:si:	Father's-brother (common), Father's-
	elder-brother.
a:the:/a:thu:	Father's-sister (common), Father's-
	elder-sister, Father's-younger-sister.
noyu:/nesam/sam	Daughter, Brother's-daughter
kama	Eldest-sister's-husband
amma:	Eldest-sister, Elder-sister,
	Father's-younger-sister, Husband's-
	elder-sister, husband's-eldest-
	brother's-wife, Husband's-eldest-sister.
a:phi:/a:pei	Father's-younger-brother's-wife.
a:khi:	Father's-elder-sister's-husband,
	Father's-younger-sister's-husband.
	Father's-father's-father
nollu:	Husband's-brother (common)
nollum	Husband's-sister (common)
sa:ffu:	Husband's-brother's-wife (common),
	Husband's-youngest-brother's-wife.

contd ...

Table 4.1 contd ...

a:lou	Father's-younger-brother, Father's youngest-sister
au:illie/a:i	Husband's-elder-brother, Husband's-sister's-husband
bufu:	Husband's-father's-father, Husband's-father, Father's-father's-father, Husband's-father, Mother's-father's-father
nishi/nyisi	Husband's-sister (common)
bufa:/bupha	Husband's-father's-father, Husband's-father, Mother's-father's-father, Mother's-mother's-father, Wife's-elder-brother, Wife's-father
nishi/nyisi	Husband's-father's-mother, Husband's-sister (common), wife's-elder-brother's-wife, Wife's-father's-mother, Wife's-mother
uss/a:se	Mother's-elder-brother, Mother's-elder-sister, Mother's-younger-brother, Mother's-younger-sister, Brother's-elder-brother's wife

contd ...

Table 4.1 contd ...

a:ffi/a:ffe:	X	Mother's-elder-brother's-wife, Wife's-
	X	
	X	mother.
a:nei/	X	Mother's-elder-sister, Mother's-
	X	
	X	younger-brother's-wife
a:ni:se:/	X	Mother's-younger-sister's wife, Elder-
	X	
	X	brother's-wife
anye/a:nyi	X	Brother's wife, Husband's-elder
		brother's-wife, mother's
a:khe		Son (Common)
a:khu:		Younger-brother (common)
num		Wife's-eldest-sister, Younger-sister.

Table 4.2

Miri-Aka Kinship Classificatory terms

Kama		Father's-elder-sister's-husband, Father's-younger-sister's Husband, Daughter's-husband's-father, Husband's- eldest-sister's-husband, Husband's- younger-sister's-husband, Husband's- younger-sister's-husband, Husband's- sister's-husband, Younger-sister's- husband.
a:ba/abou	X	Father's-father's-father, Mother's- father's-father Elder-brother, Eldest-brother, Younger-sister's-husband
a:	X	
amma:/	X	
ama		Father's-brother (common), Father's- elder-brother, Father's-eldest-brother, Father's mother, father's-elder- sister's-husband, Brother
ba:e:		Father's-eldest-brother, Father's- father's-mother
bia		Wife's-elder-brother's-wife, Wife's- elder-brother
dia		Wife's-brother, Wife's-elder-sister, Wife's-eldest-sister
uffo:		Father's-younger-sister, Father's- eldest-sister, Elder-sister, Father's-

contd ...

Table 4.2 contd ...

	youngest-sister, Husband's-elder-sister, Husband's-eldest-sister
Sachin	Daughter's-daughter, Daughter's-son
a:cho	Father's-elder-brother's-wife
Pa:n	Elder-brother's-wife, Father's-elder- brother's-wife.
na:	Sister (Common), son
ne:	Son
a:i:e	Father's-elder-sister
a:ma:/anyi:	Father's-father's-father, Father's- mother, mother, wife.
a:ko:	Husband's-brother's-wife (common), Husband's-elder brother's wife; Husband's-younger-brother's-wife, Husband's-youngest brother's-wife
ra:i:n	Husband's-eldest-brother's-wife, Husband's-mother, Son's-wife's-mother.
yu:/u:	Husband's-brother (common). Husband's- elder-brother, Husband's-younger- brother, Wife's-elder-brother.
blei	Husband's-father, Son's-wife's-father.
cha:mi	Husband's-younger-sister, Husband's- youngest-sister, Husband's-sister's husband- Husband's-sister (common), Wife's-younger-brother

contd ...

Table 4.2 contd ...

uise/usi/o:se	Mother's-elder-brother, Mother's- younger-brother's-wife. Mother's- younger-brother's-wife.
alou	Mother's-father
a:ne:/awi	Mother's-younger-sister.

Table 4.3

Miji Kinship Classificatory terms

Miji

amma:	Elder-sister, Eldest-sister, Father's- younger-sister, Father's-elder-sister.
a:mi	Father's-younger-sister, Elder- sister
amo/angoh	Husband's-elder-brother's-wife
neh	Husband's-elder-sister, sister (Common), Younger-brother's-son
nu:h	Brother, brother's-son, Husband's- elder-brother, Husband's-younger- brother.
amu/amo	Elder-son.
dia	Wife's-eldest-brother, Wife's-elder- brother
aba:/abu	Father
a:kuo/a:khiw/	Mother's-sister's-husband,
a:ku	Mother's-younger-brother
a:chi:/acho:	Father's-elder-brother's-wife, Father's-elder-sister. Mother's- elder-brother's-wife, Mother's-elder- sister, Mother's-younger-brother's- wife, Mother's-younger-sister
a:kug:	Father's-elder-sister's husband, Father's-younger-sister's-husband,

contd ...

Table 4.3 contd ...

	Father's-elder-sister's husband, Husband's-elder-sister's husband's, Husband's-sister's husband
awa:ng	Father's-elder-sister's-husband, Father's-brother, Father's-elder- brother, Father's-younger-brother, Father's-youngest-brother
a:lu:/a:lou:/ aluw/a-lugh aluo	Father's-father, Husband's-father, Husband's-father's-father, Wife's- father, wife's-father's-father
a:fu:	Father's-younger-brother, Father's- youngest-brother
a-lugh-mi-khanh	Mother's-mother's-father, Mother's- father's-father.
agro/akro	Husband's-eldest-brother, Husband's- elder-brother, Father's-youngest- brother.
plu:/polu.	Husband's-eldest-brother, Husband's- elder-brother, Wife's-brother, Husband's-younger-brother, Wife's- younger-brother, Husband's-youngest- brother, Wife's-elder-brother, Wife's- eldest-brother.
se-ae:	Husband's-eldest-sister, Husband's- elder-sister, Husband's-sister (common), Husband's-youngest-sister, Wife's-

contd ...

Table 4.3 contd ...

	eldest-sister, Wife's-younger-sister, Wife's-youngest-sister.
a:i;a:-mukho	Husband's-eldest-brother's-wife, Elder-brother's-wife.
hleh	Wife's-elder-sister, Wife's-eldest- brother's-wife
amo/amoh	Husband's-elder-sister
zuzhi	Younger-brother's-wife
bluh/blue/bleh	Wife's-elder-brother, Wife's-elder- brother's-wife
azhui:	Husband's-mother, Mother's-mother, Mother's-elder-sister, Mother's- elder-brother's-wife.
azhi	Husband's-father's-mother, man-calling- wife, Wife's-father's-mother, Wife's- mother.
ani:am	Husband's-youngest-brother's-wife, Husband's-younger-brother's-wife.
vomagh	Husband's-younger-sister's-husband, Wife's-elder-sister's-husband, Younger- sister's-husband.

Table 4.4

Kinship terms common amongst all three ethnoses

Aka & Miri Aka & Miji : Nil

Aka & Miri-Aka

kama	Eldest-sister's-husband, Younger-sister's-husband
ani	mother
a:ffe:affe:	Mother's elder-brother's-wife
uss, usse, X	Mother's-elder-brother, Mother's-
X	
a:so, a:so X	younger-brother
annei	Mother's younger sister

Aka & Miji

amma:	Elder-sister, Eldest-sister, Father's-younger-sister
a:mu/a:me	Sister (common)

Miji & Miri-Aka

awa:ng	Father's-younger-brother
dia	Wife's-brother, Wife's-eldest-sister.
ra:	Younger-brother

Table 4.5

Kinship terms having similarities

Aka, Miri-Aka & Miji :

ainu (A) , anyum (MA) ,	
aiam (M)	Elder-brother's-wife
au: , awo: , ao: (A)	Father
a:bo, aba, b (MA) aba,	
abu bu: , abho,	
a:bo: (M)	
a:phi (A) a:cho (MA)	Father's-elder brother's-wife
a:chi: (M)	
anyi (A) ani (A) ani (MA)	Mother
anye (MA) , a:nuih (M) ,	
any (M) a:ny-a:i: n (M)	

Aka & Miri-Aka

a:i:n-mukhram (A)	Father's-mother
aii:e: mitung (MA)	Mother's-mother
anye: (A) anye (MA) ,	Mother
a:me, ; a:ne:=(A)	

Aka & Miji

a:i:e (A) a:bo: (M)	Brother
aiieu-ngo: (A) a-ngeh (M)	Elder-brother's-wife
amma: (A) ammi: (M)	Elder-sister

contd ...

Table 4.5 contd ...

a:phe: (A) a:chi (M)	Father's-younger-brother's-wife
anyi: (A) any (M),	Mother
a:i:n () A	
a:nuih (M)	
angin (A) aniam/	Younger-brother's-wife
anyim/aiam (M)	

Miji & Miri-Aka

a:cho (MA) a:chi: (M)	Father's-elder-brother's-wife
a:su (MA) a:ss (M)	Mother's-elder-brother's-wife

A = Aka MA = Miri-Aka M = Miji

AKA KINSHIP STRUCTURE - I

LEGEND

△	MALE	F	FATHER
○	FEMALE	M	MOTHER
△	MARRIED TO	Z	SISTER
○	HUSBAND	B	BROTHER
△	SON	+	ELDEST
○	WIFE	-	YOUNGEST
△	DAUGHTER	-	YOUNGER

(EGO HUSBAND)

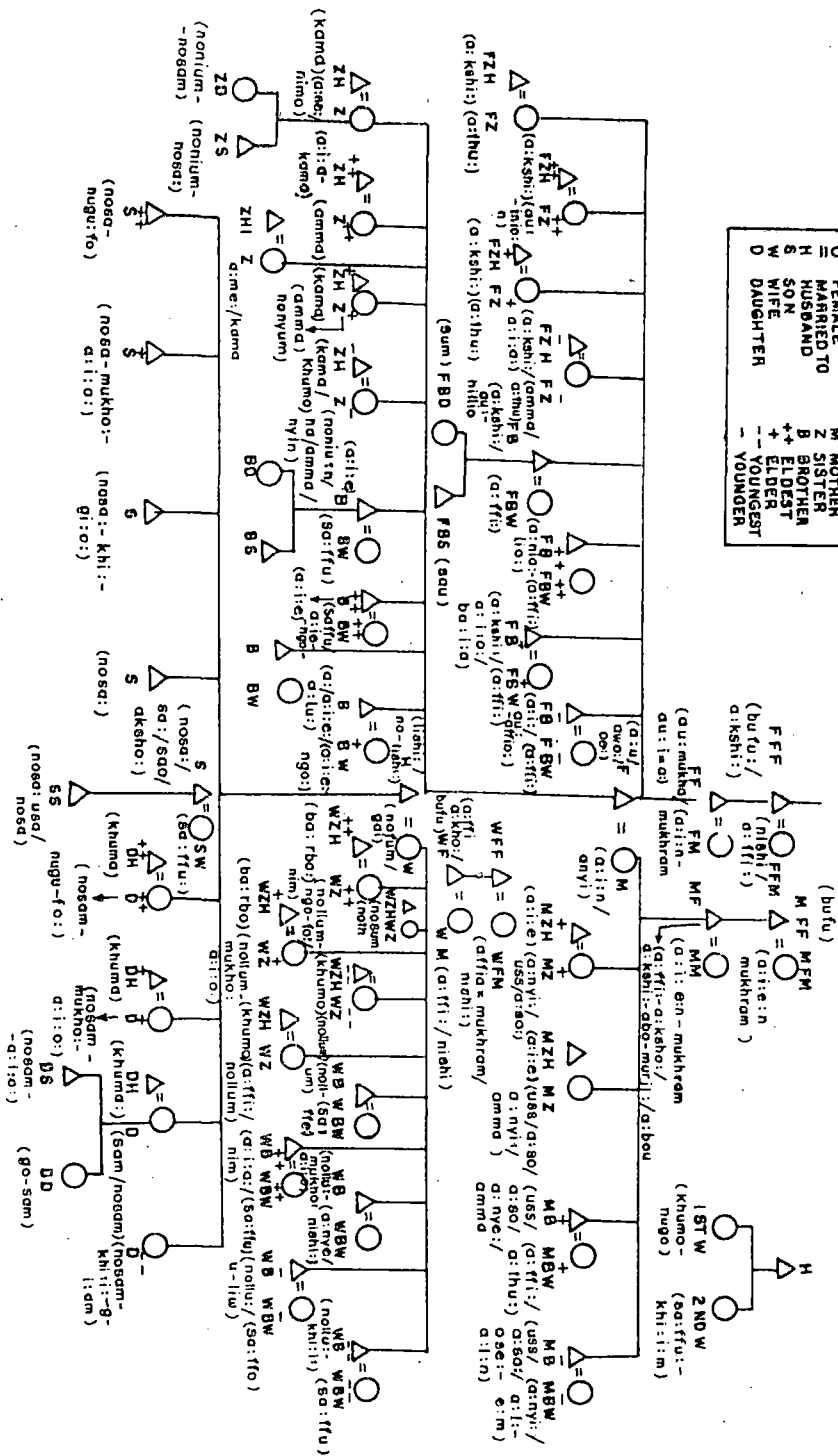
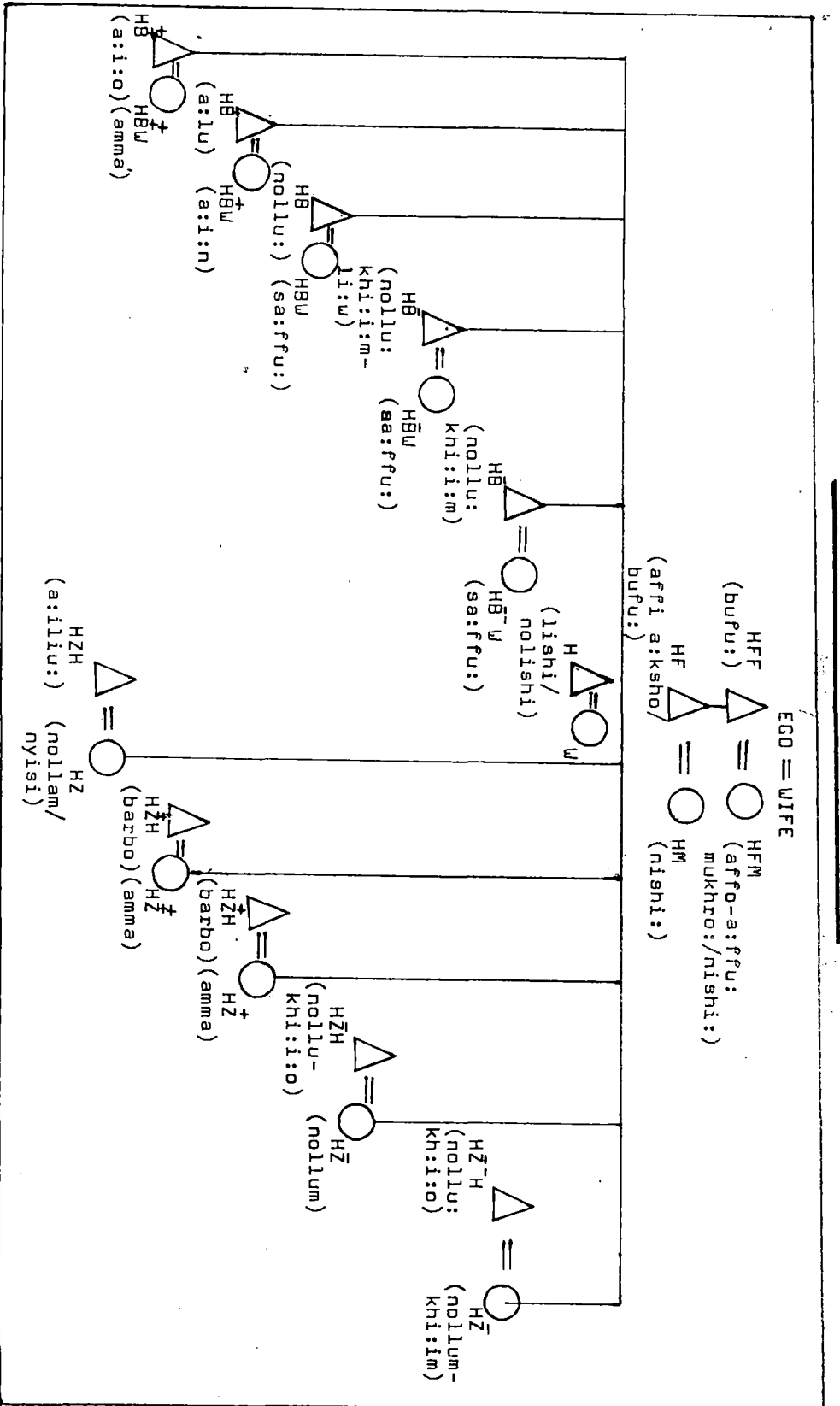


FIG-1

AKA KINSHIP STRUCTURE - 2

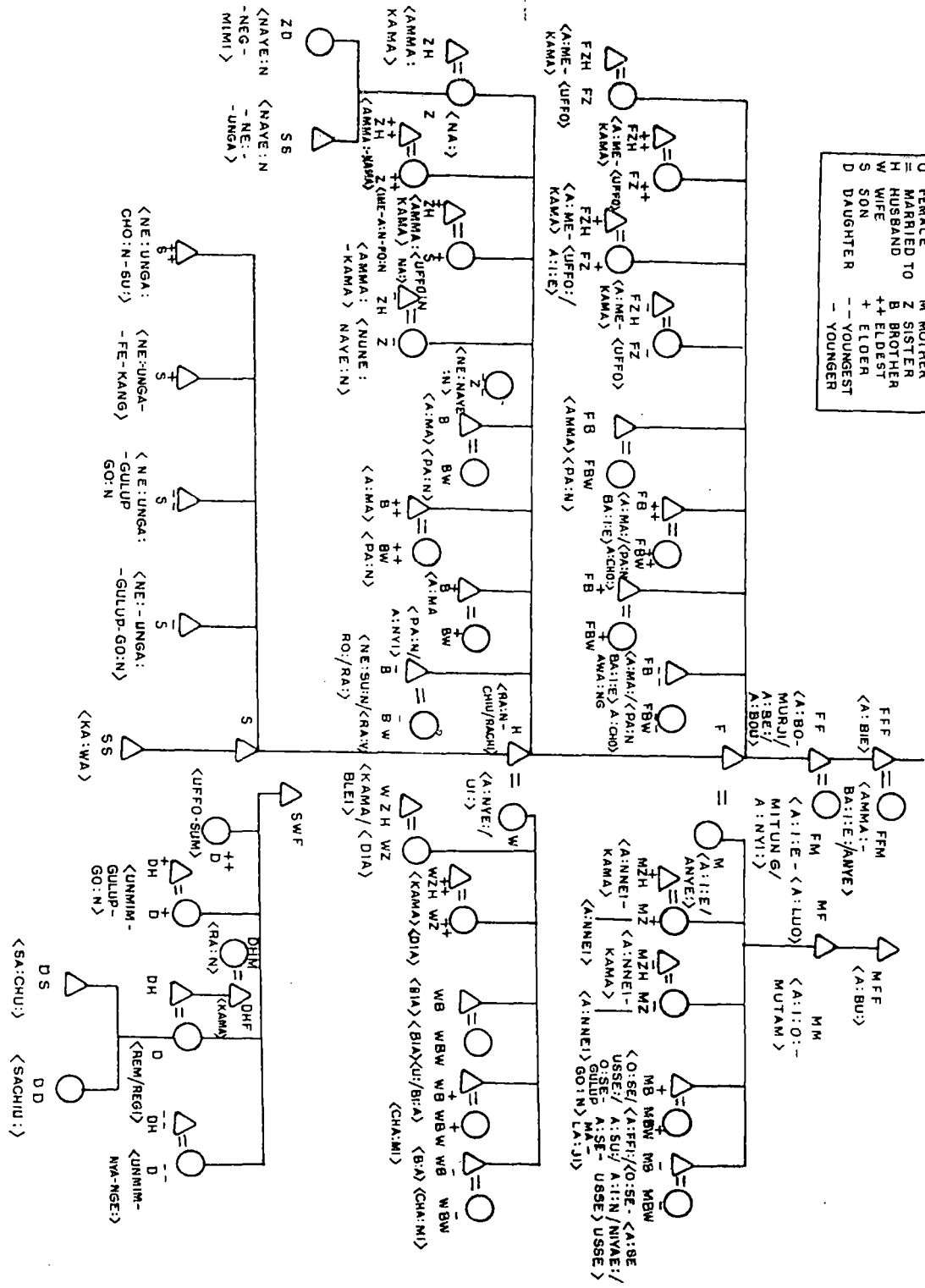


LEGEND

K	MALE	F	FATHER
O	FEMALE	M	MOTHER
Q	MARRIED TO	Z	SISTER
H	HUSBAND	B	BROTHER
W	WIFE	++	ELDEST
S	SON	+	ELDER
D	DAUGHTER	--	YOUNGEST
		-	YOUNGER

MIRI-AKA KINSHIP STRUCTURE-1
(EGO-HUSBAND)

Fig. 3



MIRI AKA KINSHIP STRUCTURE - 2

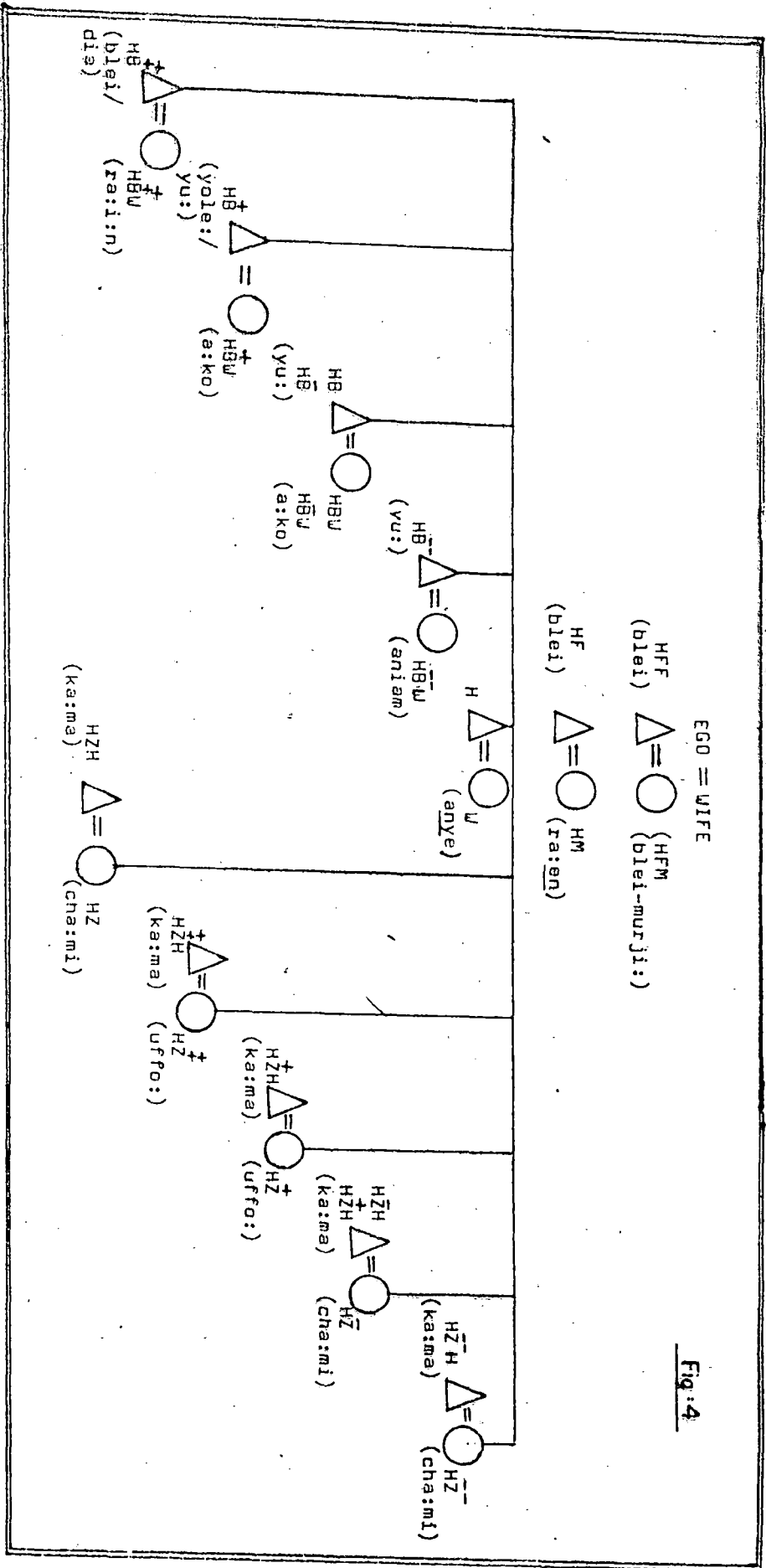
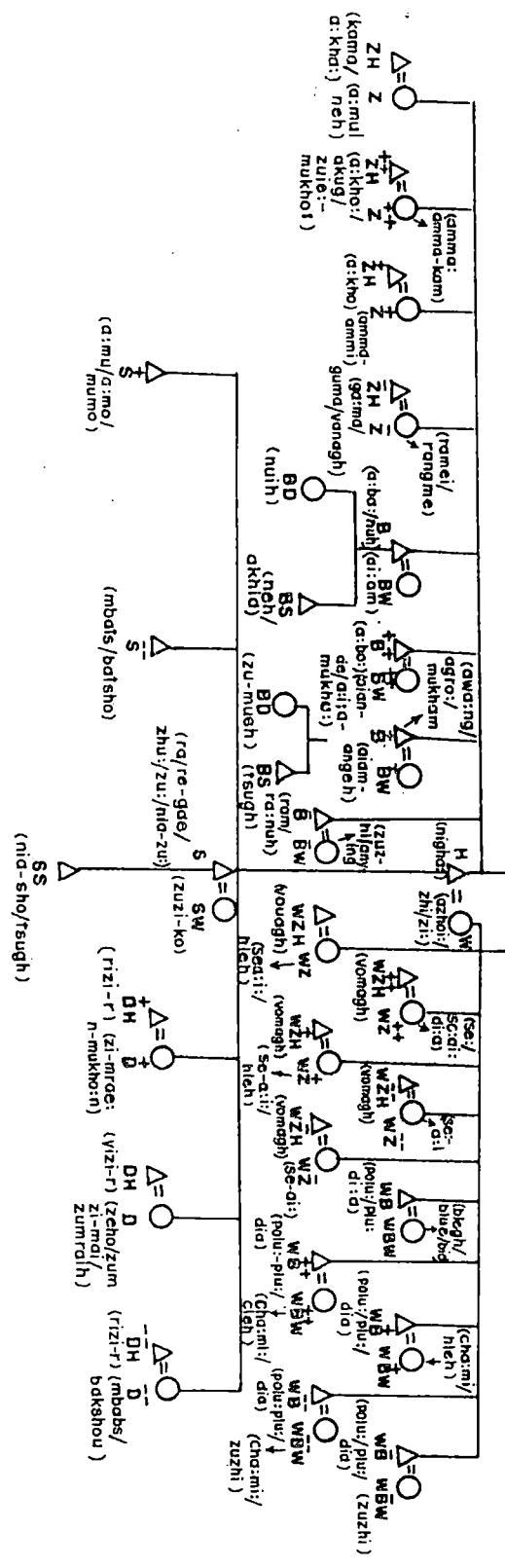
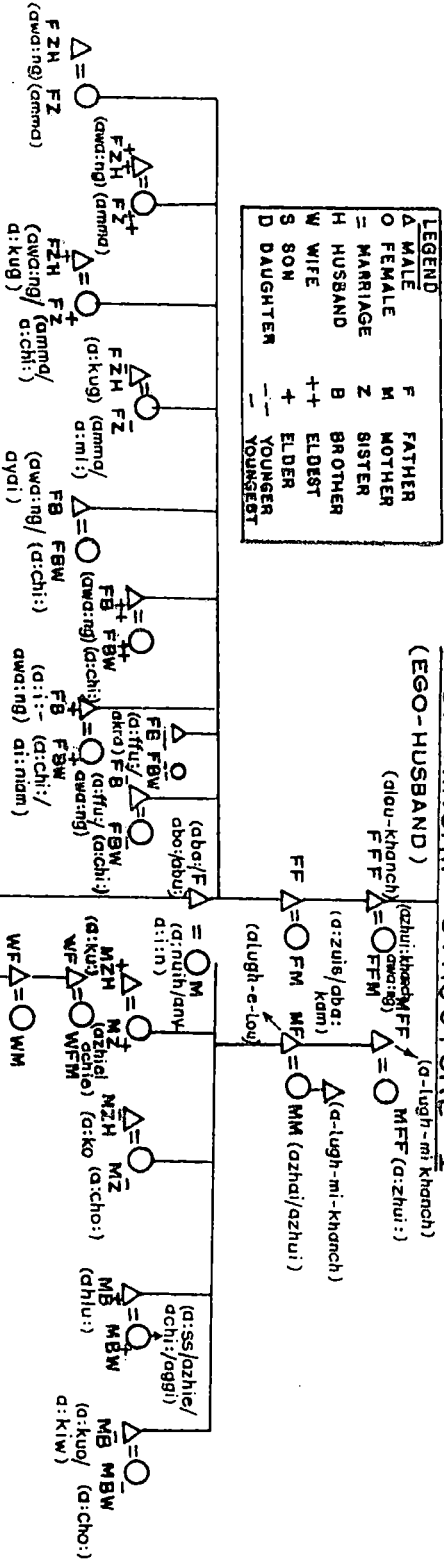


Fig. 4

MILI KINSHIP STRUCTURE - 1

LEGEND

Δ	MALE	F	FATHER
○	FEMALE	M	MOTHER
—	MARRIAGE	Z	SISTER
H	HUSBAND	B	BROTHER
W	WIFE	++	ELDEST
S	SON	+	ELDER
D	DAUGHTER	--	YOUNGEST



If we analyse the 5 tables and 6 structural diagrammes given out just before, we can infer the following from the various terms :-

A. Aka Kinship Terms :

1. Prefix a: is used to depict higher in age i.e.
a:u:/a:o:/awo: = father
a: kshi: All elder FZH, FFF, FeB
a:ffi: elder FBW, MBW
a:thu/amma: All elder FZ, Z
a:i:e: All elder brothers and MZH
a:ksho/a:so: All elder relations from mother's/wife's
-mother's-sister.
2. Suffix 'm' is frequently used for females i.e.,
nosam, gosam, bosam, nim, mukhram, nollum. Also
compare male words: nosa, nosam, gosa, gosam, bosa,
bosam, mukhro, mukhram, noyu:n, nonium, nollu, mollum.
3. Prefix no/na: is used for equals or younger in
age: e.g., no-lishi, no-fum, no-niu:n, nonium, no-llu,
nollu, no-sa, no-sam no-yu, no-yum .
4. Prefix bu: is generally used for second higher
generation i.e. bu-fu: (FFF, MFF).
5. Suffix fu: fo: or fi: is used for female affines:
i.e., sa:fu: (all BW, all WBW and all SW) .
6. Suffix-sa is used for equal and lower age male
-sanguines i.e., no-sa, bo-sa, go-sa .

10. Classificatory terms indicate that there are numerous common terms for relations and also for both the sexes. Sometimes even the age and generation level is also mixed in these classificatory terminology.

C. Miji Kinship terms :

1. Prefix a: as in Aka and Miri-Aka is generally used for elders i.e., a:lou, a:zai, a:ba/a:bu, a:mma, a:wang, a:chi, a:ss, a:ku: etc.
2. Husband calls all Wife's Brothers as polu/plu while wife calls Husband's brothers by the same term.
3. Husband calls 'se:ae' for wife's all elder sisters and wife's mother while wife calls husband's all sisters by the same term.
4. 'a:cho' is used for MBW. and 'a:chi' is used for FZ, as well as FBW.
5. 'a:ko' is used for MB as well as MZH and awa:ng or akug is used for FZH.
6. 'azui' is used for WM, FM, WFM, FFM, MM.
7. 'alou/alugh' is used for FF and FFF.
8. 'abo:' is used for elder brother as well as father.
9. 'amma' is used for all sisters.
10. 'vomage' is used for wife's sister's husbands.

D. Common Points :

1. All the tribes have a few common kinship terms as 'amma', 'a:chi', 'alou' etc.
2. All the three tribes have classificatory as well as descriptive systems of kinship terminology though classificatory terms are maximum.
3. The terminology is more distinct for relationships of first order but are getting merged and indistinct for second and higher terms.

If we analyse these terms based on Kroeber's 8 point differentiation, we find the following results :

Difference in generation level : All the three tribes maintain difference in generation level. For the purpose of understanding, the 'five steps of ladder' system is adopted here as follows :

1. Step middle : Ego and their generation - 3
2. Step higher 1 : Ego's father and their generation-2
3. Step higher 2 : Ego's father's father's generation-1
4. Step Lower 1 : Ego's son and his generation-4
5. Step Lower 2 : Ego's son's son and his generation-5

<u>Middle step</u>	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
1. Ego (husband)	no-lishi lishi: eh- lishi	re:n-chiu; rachi	ni-hae/nigai ni-gae ni-gha:i;

2. Wife	nofum/fum na-fun/gai ufum/ufom	a:ny:e/ue:	azhoi:/zhi: zhi
3. Brother (common)	a:i:e/ meu/nio:	a:ma:	a:bo:/nuh
4. Sister (common)	a:me:/nimo	na:	a:mu/meh
5. Brother's wife	nonium/na	ne:suin	ram/ra
6. Sister's husband	khumo/kama	amma:	goma:/vomagh
7. Wife's brother	nollu:	dia	polu:/plu:/dia
8. Wife's brother's wife	sa:ff/anye	bia	bleyh/bio/ cha:mi
9. Wife's sister	nollum		se:a:i:
10. Wife's sister's husband	ba:rho:/ khuma	kama	vomagh

Higher 1 :

1. Father	au:/awo:/ao: a:i:n/anyi: a-ni/a:ne:	a:bo:/b/aba a:i:e:/ame: ani/anye	aba:/abu/bu abho, a:nuih/ any/a:ny-a:i:n
2. Father's brother	a:khi:/a:si:	amma:	awa:ng/a:i:a:
3. Father's sister	a:tho:/athu:	uffo:	a:chi:
4. Father's brother's wife	a:ffi:	pa:n	a:chi:
5. Father's sister's husband	a:khi:	a:me:/kama	a:kug/awa:ng

6. Wife's father	affia;kho: bufu:		a-lugh/alou alou-ken
7. Wife's mother	a:ffi:/nyisi		a:zhi:
8. Mother's brother	uss	uss/ose:	alou
9. Mother's sister	uss/anne:i	annei	a:cho
10. Mother's brother's wife	a:ffi:	a:ffi:	a:chi:/azhi:
11. Mother's sister's husband	a:i:e:		a:ku

Higher 2

1. Father's father	au;mukhro au:i:-a:	a:bo:-murji: abei/aba	a:lou/ahlu: azai/alow
2. Father's Mother	a:i:n- mukhram	a:i:e:-mitung a:nyi:	a:zzi:/azoi: aba:-kam
3. Mother's Father	a:ffi:-a: kho;akhia- bo-murji:abou	a:bo:-murji:	alou

Middle step

4. Mother's mother	a:i:e:n- mukhram	a:i:o: mutam	azai:/azhui
5. Wife's father's father	affia;mukhro		alou/alugh
6. Wife's father's mother	affia-mukhram nishi:		azhi:/azhi: kam

Higher 3:

1. Father's father's father	bufu:	a:ni	alung-mi-khaneh
2. Father's father's mother	nishi:/a:ffi:	amma;/ba:ie:	azhi:khaneh awa:ng
3. Mother's father's father	bufu:	abou	alugh-mi-khaneh
4. Mother's mother's father	bufu:	abou	alugh-mi- khaneh

Lower 1:

1. Son	nosa:/sau: sa:/akho	na:/ne: ne:unga	ra/re-gae/zivu: nia-zu:/zu:
2. Daughter	sam/a:ko nosam/khi;i:m a:i:a:/neg.- mimi-unga	rem/regi	zimai:/zeh/ zumraih
3. Son's wife	sa: ffu:		zuzu-ko
4. Daughter's husband	khumo:	rizi-r	
5. Brother's son	noyum/bosa noni-usa/bosow		nu:h/akhia
6. Sister's son	nonium-nosa	naye:n- ne-unga	
7. Sister's son	nonium-asam	naye:n-neg. -mimi	-
8. Brother's daughter	noyu/bosam cha:sm		neh

Lower 2

1. Daughter's son	khumau/nos'am	sachu	nia:sho:/tsugh
2. Daughter's daughter	giosum/gosam nosa-asam	sachiu	

3. Son's son	noso:usa nosam	ka:wa	nia:sho/tsugh
4. Son's daughter	sa:ffu/gosam	sachong	-

The analysis of the above brings out the following aspects to light :

- a) The distinction between the relationships increase with an increase of generation gap.
- b) Classificatory terms are applied to the higher as well as lower generations, while descriptive terms are more applicable to the ego's generation only among all the three ethnoses.
- c) Step higher than and lower than 2 have very few terms.
- d) All the three ethnoses use different terms, for most of the relationships showing that the similarities are very poor and differences are significant.

Difference in age levels : Another important distinction made by Kroeber is that of the age. The examples of the same among the three ethnoses are given below on three levels of ages i.e., 1. Same, 2. Higher and 3. Lower.

Aka

Miri-Aka

Miji

Same level

1. Same as middle step

Higher age level

2. Eldest brother a:i:e: ama: a:bo:

3. Eldert brother	ra/a:lu:/a: i:aa:/i	ama:golup- go:n	awa:ng/agro/ mukhro:
4. Eldest sister	ama:	ime:a:n-fo: n	amma:/amma: kam
5. Elder sister	amma:/nonyum	uffo:n/na:	amma:/ammi:
6. Elder brother's wife	Angin/aiue- ngo:ainu	pa:n/aniam anyum	aiam/a-ngeh
7. Eldest brother's wife	sa:ffu/nyibi	-	aiam-de/ai:a- mukhu
8. Wife's eldest brother	a:i:a/nim	-	polu:/plu:/di:a
9. Wife's elder brother	nollu-mukho- a:i:o/bufu:	u:/bia:	polu:/plu:/dia
10. Wife's elder sister	nollum-mukho- a:i:o:	-	se:a:i:/hleh
11. Wife's eldest sister	nollum-ngo- fo-nim..	di:a	se:/di:a
12. Wife's elder brother's wife	aniny/nishi	bia	bleygh/bio/blu
13. Father	au:/awo:/ao:	a:ba:/b/aba	aba:/abu/bu:/ abho
14. Father's father	au:mukho/ au:i:an:	a:bo-murji:/ abo	a:lou/alugh
15. Father's father's father	bu fu:/a: khi:	a:ni:	alugh-khenh
16. Mother	a:i:n/anyi a-ni/a:ne:	a:i:e:/ame: ani/anye	a:nuih/any/a: a:ny-a:i:n

17. Mother's father	a:ffi:/a:kho abo:	akhia:bo murji:	alou
18. Mother's father's father	bufu:	abou	a-lugh
19. Mother's mother	a:i:e:n- mukhram	a:i:o: mutam	a-lugh-mi- khaneh azai/azhui
20. Mother's mother's father	bufu:		a-lugh-mi- khaneh
21. Wife's father	affia:kho bufu:	-	a-lugh/alou alou-ken
22. Wife's father's father	affia:mukhriu	-	a-lugh/alou
23. Wife's mother	affi:/nyisi	-	azhi/a-zhei
24. Wife's mother's mother	affia:mukhram nishi:	-	azhi:/azhui- kam
25. Father's brother	a:si:/a:khi:	ama	awa:ng/a:i:a:
26. Father's elder brother	a:khi:/a:i:o	ama	a:i:a:/awa:ng
27. Father's elder sister	a:tho:/a:thu:	affo:/a:i:e:	a:chi:/amma:
28. Father's eldest brother	a:niya-liyo	ama:/ba:i:e:	awa:ng
29. Father's eldest sister	a:kshi:/au:	uffo:	a:chi:
30. Mother's elder brother	uss/a:so/nio affia-kho	o:se/usse/ usi ose-gulup- go:n	ahlu:

31. Mother's elder sister	annei/uss/a:so a:ffle:/a:se/ anei	-	azhie/a:ss/ achi:aggi:
32. Mother's elder brother's wife	a:ffi:/a: tho:a:ffe	a:se-ma-laji affe:/asu	a:ss/azhie/ achi:aggi:
33. Mother's sister's husband	a:i:e:	-	a:ku:

34. Lower Age Level :

34. Son	nosa:/sau:/... sao:akho:/sa:	na:ne:/ne- unge	ra/re-gae/ zizu/zu: nia-zu:
35. Younger brother	noniu:n/na memu:a:khu:	ne:su:n/ro: ra:	ram/ra:/miniw/ nuh
36. Younger sister	noniu:n/na/ amma/nimo/ nyim	nu:ne:naye:n	ramaei:
37. Youngest sister	noniu:n	ne:naye:n	rang-mai:
38. Younger brother's wife	sa:ffu:/angin a:i:ngo	ra:iny	anniam/anyim/ aiam/zuzhi
39. Younger sister's husband	khumo:	amma:/kama	go:ma/guma:/ vomagh
40. Daughter	sam/a:ko/ nosam khi:i:m/ a:i:a/ neg.-mimi-unga	rem/regi	zimai/zeh/ zumraih
41. Youngest daughter	nosa:m-khi:i: gi:am	unmim-nya- nge:	mbets/batshou
42. Youngest daughter	nosa:khi:i:g. io	ne:unga- gulup-go:n	mbats/batsho:
43. Husband's younger brother	nollu:khi: i:m-liw	yu:	plu:/nuh

Analysis :

1. Overall there are very poor similarities amongst the terms of all the three ethnoses at each age group.
2. Relationships with the same age level have different terms for each relationship amongst all the ethnoses.
3. Akas and Mijis use similar suffixes to depict 'elder' and 'eldest'; Akas use, 'mukho' for elder and 'ngo' for eldest; while amongst Mijis it is 'mukhro' for elder and 'ngeh' for eldest. Akas use these distinctive suffixes more than Mijis. Amongst Miri-Akas suffix 'gulup-go:n' is used for the 'elder' and 'a:n-fo:n' for the eldest. When the higher age is to be depicted in Miri-Akas suffix 'murji' is commonly used. Amongst Akas, the prefix 'au;' and amongst Mijis prefix 'a:', is generally used to indicate a person of higher age.
4. To depict lower age amongst Akas, the general suffix 'unga' is used, the prefix which has proliferated into Miri-Aka language also, but in Miri-Akas, it is not in frequent use. Amongst Mijis, the suffix 'zu' ; is generally used to indicate the person of lower age. The degrees of lower age i.e., younger as well as youngest amongst the Akas are shown by suffix 'khi;i;o/ khi;i:am' while in Miri-Akas it is 'naye:n' suffix. No such suffix is found among Mijis. Miri-Aka's use

of 'gulup-go:n' both for higher and lower has also been found but only in one case, which may be due to an error.

Difference between lineals and collaterals : This differentiation can be based on the differences between lineals and collaterals separately as follows :

<u>Lineals</u>	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
1. Father	au:/awo:ao:	a:bo/b/aba	aba:/abu/abho/ bu
2. Father's father	au:mukho/ au:i:a:i:	a:bo-murji: abo:	a:lou/alugh
3. Father's father's father	bufu:/a:khi:	a:ni:	alugh-khenh
4. Son	nosa:/sau:/sa: sao/akho	na:/ne:ne:unga	ra/regae/zivu: niazu/zu:
5. Son's son	no:so:usa nosa:	ka:wa	nia-sho:/tsugh

Collaterals

1. Father's brother	a:si:/a:khi:	ama	awa:ng/a:i:a:
2. Brother's son	noyom/bosa boso/noni:usa		nuh/akhia

Analysis :

1. The linear terms among all the three ethnoses are closer than to the collateral terms. Father is addressed nearly in the same way among all the ethnoses. Similarly

son is also called in generally the same way. The difference in other terms increases with the distance in relationships, which suggests that originally these ethnoses might have been the same.

Difference in sex of the person through whom the relationship is established : The distinctness and similarities exist in this field also as is shown in the examples below :

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
1. Father's brother	a:si:/a:khi:/ au-hilliohago	ama	awa:ng/a:ia:
2. Mother's brother	uss/a:so/nio	usse/o:se/us	ahlu:/aku:o
3. Husband's brother	nollu:	yu:	plu:
4. Wife's brother	nollu:	di:a	polu:/plu/di:a
5. Father's father	a:u:mukho; a:u:i:/a:i:	a:bo;murji abo:	alou:/azai:
6. Mother's father	a:i:mukhram	a:i:mutam	a:zzi:
7. Husband's father	a:ffia-kho bufu:	blei	a:lou/a-lugh
8. Wife's father	affia-kho:	blei	a:lou/alugh
9. Father's sister	a:tho:/a: thu:	uffo:/a:i:e:	a:chi:/amma:
10. Mother's sister	annei:/uss/ a:so	a:ne:	azzi:/a:cho:/ a:se

11. Husband's sister	amma:	uffu:	se:ae:/neh
12. Wife's sister	nollum	bia	se:ai:/hleh
13. Son	nosa:/sau:/ sa:akho	na:/ne:/ne: unga	ra/ra-gae/zizu:/ nia-zu
14. Brother's son	noyum/bosa/ bosow noni-usa		nu:h/akhia
15. Sister's son	nonium-nosa:	naye:n-ne- unga	nu:h
16. Daughter	sam/a:ko/nosam a:i:a/khi:i:m	rem/regi	zimai:/zeh/ zumrah
17. Brother's daughter	noyu/bosam cha:sm		neh
18. Sister's daughter	nonium-asam	naye;n-neg. mimi	neh

Analysis :

In Akas and Miri-Akas, the terms used are different for the relationships which change with the change in sex, while amongst Mijis, this is not so; where the difference in sex of the person through whom the relationship is established generally does not make changes in the terminology.

Difference in sex of speaker : Man calls differently than the woman as given out below :

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
<u>Husband calling</u> :			
Wife's brother	nollu:	di:a	polu/plu:/di:

Wife's sister	nollum	bia	se:a:i:/hleh
Wife's father	affia-kho' bufu:		a-lou/a-lugh a-lou-ken
Wife's mother	a:ffi:/nyisi	-	a-zhi:/a:-zhu
Wife's sister's husband	khump	-	vomagh
Wife's brother's wife	sa:fo:/sa:ffu:	-	zuzhi:

Wife-calling

Husband's brother	nollu:	yu:	plu:
Husband's sister	amma:	uffu:	se:ae:/neh
Husband's father	a:ffia-kho: bufu:	blei	a:lou/a-lugh
Husband's mother	a:ffi:	ra:e:n	azhui:
Husband's brother's wife	sa:ffu:	a:ko:	aniya-maca/ bia
Husband's sister's husband	barbo/ka:ma	ka:ma	akug

Analysis :

Sex of the speaker makes difference amongst all, though in the terms of Akas and Mijis the difference is less distinctive as is in Miri-Akas where the sex of the speaker generally makes clear distinctions i.e., Husband calls wife's

brother as di:a while wife calls husband's brother as yu: .
 However, the terms comparable, being lesser in Miri-Akas,
 this distinction cannot be stated with definiteness.

Difference in sex of relatives : Distinctions between
 male and female relationship is shown as below :

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
Husband	no-lishi/ lishi eh- lishi	re:n-chiu rachi	nihae/ni-gae ni-ghai:
Wife	nofum/fum/gai na-fun/ufum	a:nye:/ui:	azhoi:/zhi:
Father	au:/awo:/ao:	abo:/b/aba	aba:/abu/bu/ abh
Mother	a:i:n/anyi a-ni/a:ne:	a:i:e:/ ame:ani/any	anuih/any/a: any-a:i:n
Brother	a:i:e/meu/ neu	a:ma:	a:bo:/nuh
Sister	a:me:/nimo	na:	a:mu/neh
Brother's wife	nonium/na	ne:su:n	ram/re
Sister's husband	khumo/kama	amma:	goma:/vomagh
Father's father	au:mukhro: au:i:a:	a:bo:murji: abei/aba	a:lou/alow azai/alou
Father's mother	a:i:n-mukhram	a:i:e:mutam a:nyi:	a:zzi:/azoi: aba:kam
Mother's father	a:ffi:akho:	a:bo:murji akhia bomurji	alou
Mother's mother	a:i:e:n- mukhram	a:i:o: mutam	azai:/azhu
Son	nosa:/sau:/sa: a:kho:	na:/ne: ne:unga	ra/regae/zivu nia-zu:/zu:

Daughter	sam/a:ko/ nosam khi':i:n/ a:i:a:	rempregi nea-mimi- unga	zimai/zeh zumraih
Son's wife	sa:fu:	zuzu-ko	

Analysis :

The sex amongst Akas-terminology is depicted by the use of 'm' for the female i.e., nosa, nosam, mukhro, mukhram etc., in number of cases while amongst Miri-Akas and Mijis, different terms are used for male and female relationships.

Difference between consanguinal and affinal relatives

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
1. Mother	a:i:n/ anyi/a-ni	a:i:e/ame:/ ane/anye	a:nuih/any/a: any-a:i:n
2. Husband's mother		ra:e:m	a:zhui
3. Wife's mother	a:ffi:/ nyisi		a:zzi/azhui:
4. Brother	a:i:e;/meu nio	a:ma:	a:bo:/nuh
5. Husband's brother	nollu:	yu:	plu:/polu:
6. Wife's brother	nollu:	di:a	plu:/plu:

Also see the terms given while studying the differences in sex through the person whom the relationship is established, as well as differences in sex of relatives.

Analysis :

Akas and Miri-Akas have different terms for consanguinal and affinal relationships. However, among the Mijis no difference is generally maintained between these two types of relationships.

From the analysis of kinship terms and the analysis of differentiation based on Kroeber's 8 point differentiation scheme, the following pattern of these three ethnoses emerges :

1. Similarities

- (a) Distinctions in terms of each tribe are maximum at the ego level but these distinctions get reduced with each step high or low in the ladder.
- (b) Distinctions at same age level are more and decrease when higher or lower level age groups are to be compared.
- (c) Classificatory terms are applied to the higher as well as lower generations; while descriptive terms are more applicable to the ego's generation only among all the three ethnoses.
- (d) Steps higher and lower than 2 have very few terms.
- (e) All the three ethnoses use different terms for most of the relationships and similarities are very poor.

- (f) The rule of uniform sibling applies to all the three societies.
- (g) The lineal terms in all the three ethnoses are closer than the collateral terms.
- (h) The difference in the terms amongst the three ethnoses increases with the distances in relationships, which shows that originally or for the basic terms these ethnoses might have been the same initially.
- (i) All the three ethnoses have classificatory as well as descriptive systems of kinship; though classificatory terms are maximum in all three.
- (j) Prefix a: is generally used to depict elders in age among all the three ethnoses.
- (k) All the tribes have a few common kinship terms such as amma, a:chi, alou.
- (l) Different terms are used for depicting age levels amongst all the three ethnoses.
- (m) Different suffixes are used to show lower age and generation of males and females.
- (n) All the three ethnoses have similar terms which are used for affines through mother, wife or sister.

- (o) All the ethnoses have unilineal and patrilineal kinship relationships.

2. Differences

- (a) The terms among all the three ethnoses differ significantly with only a few terms being the same or similar in all the three or any of the two ethnoses.
- (b) Among Akas and Miri-Akas the terms used are different for the relationships which change with the change in sex while among Mijis the difference in sex of the person through whom the relationship is established does not make changes in the terminology.
- (c) Miri-Akas have more common terms for relatives of the same rank than the other two ethnoses.
- (d) Sex of the speaker does not make difference in the Aka or Miji kinship terms while in Miri-Akas the sex of the speaker makes clear distinctions.
- (e) The sex among Aka-terminology is generally depicted by use of 'm' for female while in Miri-Aka and Miji terminologies different terms are used for male and female relationships.

(f) Akas and Miri-Akas have different terms for those having consanguinal relationships and affinal relationships. However among the Mijis no difference is generally maintained between these two.

(g) Suffix no/na; is used amongst Akas for equals or younger and na/ne; in Miri-Akas for younger in age.

We have seen in chapter III that the geneologies as given in legends have the following trends.

(a) The Akas of Jamiri and Buragaon-complex state themselves to be of royal blood and that their ancestors came from plains and state Bhuslo-Ao as their ancestor. Other Akas are stated to be different from them.

(b) The Miji legends have two trends, one towards their having common ancestral relationship with Akas and Miri-Akas and other towards their being different. The second set of legends claims their ancestors to be Sajolang; the name altogether different from that of Akas.

From this, one can only infer that a group of present Akas living in Jamiri and Buragaon has some differences from

the Akas around Dzingania. This is apparent from the number of intermarriages and close social cultural relationships of the second group with Mijis and Miri-Akas; which is not so with the first group. The first group hence seems right when it claims to be different from the Mijis and Miri-Akas. The second group which has been found to be in line with the thinking process of Mijis and which has close social and marital relationships with them, most likely is a separated group of Akas, which might have got separated during their migrations and moved along with Mijis. Similarly, Miri-Akas who again are likely to be a splinter group of some other tribe, joined this group during migrations. The intermarriages and social relations then, might be the result of prolonged contact.

Alternatively, it may be that all the three ethnoses were originally from the same tribe. During migrations, one group got separated and moved through plains of Assam while the other went to the Hills. During this movement, the group which moved through plains got the better chances of development and gained superiority over the other group when they met again. The main differences which is in linguistic elements of culture and kinship seems to have been developed during long separation and isolation of the second group. We shall analyse this aspect in detail while studying the language attribute.

CHAPTER 5

**DETERMINANTS
OF
IDENTITY
III**

LANGUAGE

CHAPTER V

DETERMINANTS OF IDENTITY-III : LANGUAGE

In chapters III and IV, we studied and analysed common name, territory, culture and kinship as the determinants of identity of the Aka, Miji and their kindred. We found that the Miri-Akas or Pichangs were the only kindred who appear to be identifying differently from Akas and none from Mijis. No other ethnic element showed any sign of their independent identity. We also found that though, even Mijis were stated to be kindred of Akas by Dalton but actually, they both emerge out as different tribes. We also found that the language has played a very important part in all the other four attributes where tribe and territory names were linguistic elements and all names of household items, festivals, rites and rituals, gods and dieties etc., were differentiating because they again were linguistic elements. Similarly in kinship, the most distinguishing part are the kinship terms, which again are a linguistic element. Hence, language emerges as a very important determinant of identities of these ethnoses, even before we have actually taken it up as a detailed study.

In this chapter, we shall deal with language as a determinant of identity of Aka, Miji and their kindred, Miri-Aka in detail.

In chapter I, we have accepted phonology, morphology, semantics and syntax as the four aspects of language for setting language boundaries. The procedure laid down by C.F.Hockett for setting of language-boundary was accepted as a guideline and the field work was planned and conducted accordingly. The correspondences/similarities/affinities as well as the differences/distinctions on the basis of the four aspects stated above will now be found out from the available source-material and the collected field data. The identities of these three ethnoses shall be determined by the boundaries set with the help of their correspondences and differences. For this purpose, the available related literature is scanned here first.

We have no information about these languages for the period preceding the appearance of the British in Assam. The records during the British period too are scanty where we have only a few details about Aka language. Some information is available from C.H.Hesslemeyor (1868), E.T.Dalton (1872), Macgregor, C.R. (1884), Grierson (1910), R.S.Kennedy (1914) and Konow (1928). After India's independence some valuable work has been done by Shafer (1952, 1966), Egrod (1974), Benedict (1972), Voegelin & Voegelin (1969), Austin Hale (1982), R.Sinha (1959), K.Das Gupta (1969) and I.M.Simon (1970). A brief summary of the available material is given below.

The first available record about these languages is that of C.H.Hesselmeyer which states, "Their (Aka) language contains more words which can be traced to the valleys south of Patkoi range, joining the Shan and Manipuri countries, indicating close affinity with the Dafla and Abor tribes"¹. Similar observations are made by C.R.Macgregor who stated that "... their language assimilates more with that of the tribes bordering Manipur than with that of their immediate neighbours, the Daflas and Bhutias ..."² E.T.Dalton collected a vocabulary list which included words of Hrusso (Aka) and a language which he has called as Miri-Angkas. The Vocabulary of Miri-Angkas is almost the same as that of Daflas, thereby raising the doubt about its veracity. Vocabulary against Hrusso (Akas) is completely different and varies from all the other languages in the group³.

Grierson has grouped Akas with North Assam group⁴, the grouping which has been accepted till-date by almost all the researchers. He however, differentiates Akas from the other languages of the group, stating,

"The difference between Aka and the other dialects of the group (Adi/Abhor, Miri, Dafla and Mishmi) is still greater. Under the influence of strange and radical phonetical laws, Aka has assumed a peculiar appearance and it is often difficult to compare its

vocabulary with that of the other Tibeto-Burman forms of speech ... Aka also differs from the other dialects of the group in many details of grammar. On the whole it can be said that the North Assam Group is not merely a philological, but also rather a geographical group. The North Assam dialects can roughly be described as Tibeto-Burman forms of speech intermediary between Tibetan and the dialects spoken in Assam and further India"⁵.

He further states,

"... there is considerable difference between various North Assam dialects. The position which they all and individually each of them occupy with reference to other Tibeto-Burman languages is also complex and cannot be brought under the simple formula. There are numerous points of agreement now with one, now with another group of dialects. The home of the North Assam tribes may be considered as a kind of backwater. The eddies of various waves of Tibeto-Burman immigration have swept over it and left their stamp on the dialects. On the whole, however, the North Assam forms of speech can be described as links which connect the Tibetan and Himalayan dialects with the languages

of the Bodo, Naga, Kuki-clan and Kachin groups"⁶.

The above remarks have been given in detail as these are very important for classification and establishment of affinities, of Aka with the other languages of Arunachal Pradesh and also because these have been the guiding points for all later researches on Akas.

After Grierson, the notable studies on these languages are of I.M. Simon, who prepared Aka Language Guide (1970) and Miji Language Guide (1970) though some information on languages given by Capt. R.S. Kennedy (1914), R. Sinha (1959) and Das Gupta (1969) too have some value. Kennedy was the first to write about Miji language, who along with Aka and Miji, noted 105 words of Khoa, Sherdukpen, Monke (Tawang), Mon-Ke (Dirang), Tibetan and East Bhutanese. He remarked, "It will be noticed that there is a distinct resemblance between Aka and Miji"⁷. R. Sinha however declares otherwise when he states, "The language of the Akas is quite different from their neighbouring tribes, the Daflas, the Mijis, the Monpas and Sherdukpens"⁸.

R. Sinha gives some details of Miri-Akas along with Akas and states, "The dialect of the Hrussos even differs basically from the dialect of Miri-Akas"⁹. He further explains, "It may be said at this stage that both the dialects of Akas; the Hrusso dialect and the Miri-Aka dialect, though, they differ mostly among themselves, probably belong

to the same common stock of languages - the Tibeto-Burman Group"¹⁰. Explaining more about Miri-Akas, he states, "The dialect of the Hrussos, forming the basic point of difference between the two sections of the Aka tribe, is not the commonly known dialect of the Hill-Miris, nor does it show any close affinity with the Bangni dialect spoken in the neighbouring areas of the Miri-Akas. As to when this difference in the dialect of the Akas and the Miri-Akas arose, it is not possible to account for, unless adequate philological research brings some more facts to light"¹¹. He points to the difference between Hrusso and Miri-Aka and states, "At the present stage, it only seems probable that a section of the Akas, having occupied this part of the country, might have been geographically isolated from their community-brethren on the other side of the river, and thus might have evolved, in course of time, a distinct dialect of their own which they speak to this day"¹². This explanation is analogous to the point discussed in chapter III that the name Miri-Aka appears to be as a result of these people living by the side of the river. Probably intrigued by the remarks of R. Sinha, I.M. Simon collected 30 words of Miri-Aka language calling it Pichang and compared the 13 numerals with Aka, Miji, Hill-Miri and Khoa languages and 19 basic words with Idu, Digaru and Miju-Mishmi languages. He found Miri-Aka having striking similarity with Mishmi dialects¹³. He also stated, "Miri-Aka to be speaking a dialect that bears little resemblance

with Akas"¹⁴, even though they are grouped with Akas. Giving the characteristics of Aka language, he mentions, "Aka, as spoken, has variable cadences, almost of sing-song character, and a wealth of fricatives and gutturals, reminiscent of Sema Naga. This seems to be so much a characteristic of the language that in certain dialect areas, 'r' sometimes gives way to gh. The information in Miji does not have the same striking variations as the Aka has. ... Miji in some respects seems to provide a link albeit a tenuous one, between Aka and the neighbouring group to the East i.e., Central Group"¹⁵. The Miji language as a link between Aka and the group to the East i.e., Central group, which he mentions as Bangni/Nissi, Apatani, Hill-Miri and Adi group; needs further verification¹⁶. Das Gupta compares a few words of Aka with Gallong and Singpho languages and tries to establish affinity between these languages but a comparative study with only a few selected words for the sake of establishing affinities is too far fetched, hence cannot be fully relied upon.

Simon mentions Khutso (Jamiri) and the Hulbro (Buragaon) as the main Aka dialects, "areas being separated by the Bichome river, although the variations are more of sounds than of substance"¹⁷. He also gives out a few speech differences between the two. It is quite interesting that he has now named Buragaon as Hulbro, though in Aka Language Guide it is stated by him as Khuvatso¹⁸. We will also

analyse these aspects at an appropriate stage. Simon also differentiates Aka from the Central Group giving out a few similarities and differences with Mijis as well. These details will be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

Grierson's observations about Akas; Simon's observations about Aka, Miji and Aka dialects; and Sinha's observations about the Aka and Miri-Aka are important and will be taken into account later at appropriate places.

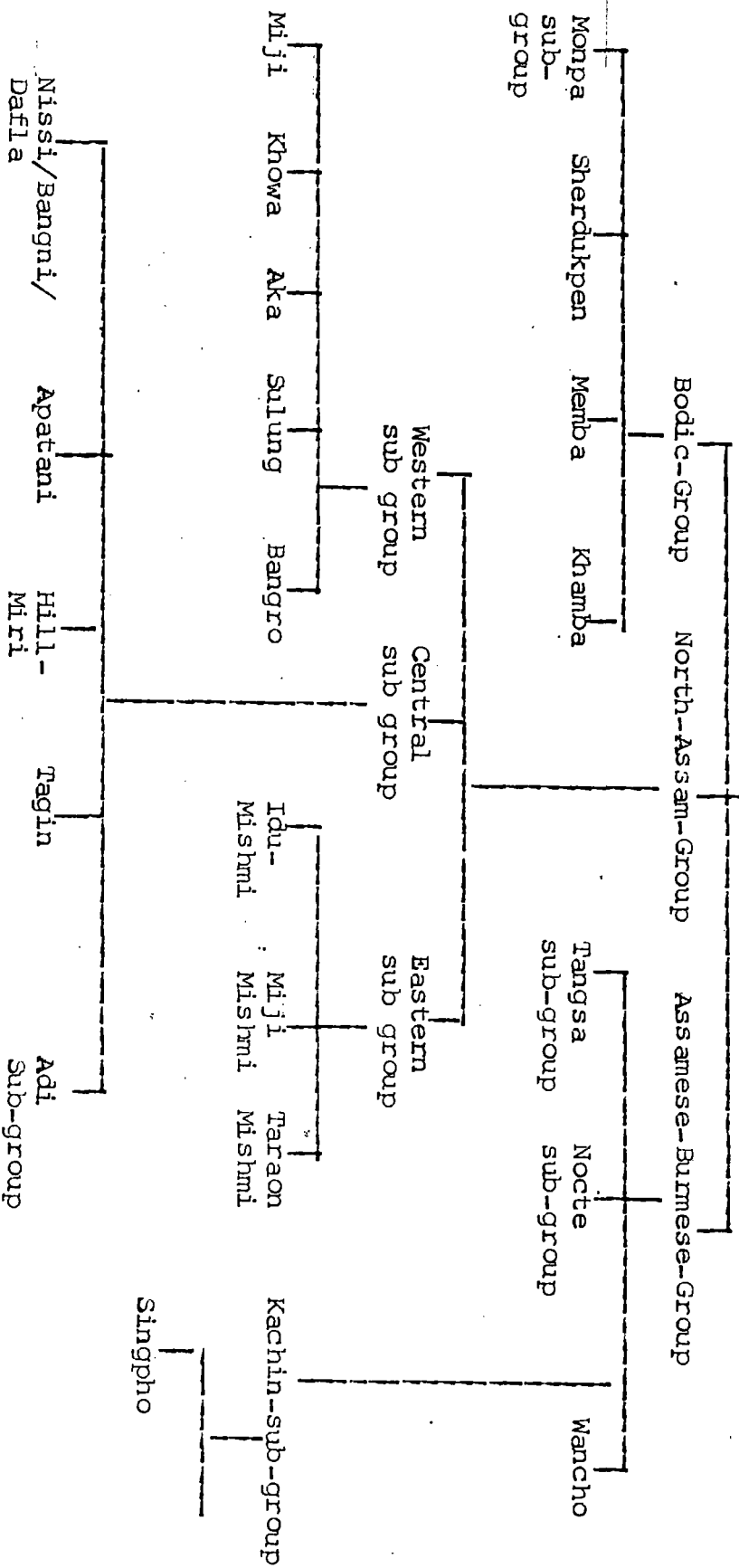
Austin Hale gives up diagrammatically the classification of the Indo-Burman languages as recorded by various previous researchers. This is of some help too, hence summed up here.

"Shafer (1952, 1966) and Egerod (1979) have grouped the Akas-Hrushish as unclassified Bodic/Burmic group while Benedict (1972) has grouped Aka with Abor-Miri-Dafla (nucleus) where Aka is close to the nucleus. I.M.Simon has grouped Aka and Miji under western group. Voegelin and Voegelin (1977) has grouped Aka under Gyarung-Mishmi non-prominentalised group"¹⁹.

A diagrammatic layout of grouping of these languages based on the above material is given in diagramme 5.1 on the following page.

Diagramme 5.1

Tibeto-Burman Branch



Note In addition to above, only one other language of Arunachal tribe Khampti mentioned in Chapter II falls under Thai Branch, and hence, does not appear under the Tibeto-Burman branch.

Based on the above mentioned secondary material on the languages, a tentative phonemic inventory, word list and a sentence list were prepared for the field work. During the pilot study, this list was modified to match the ground conditions and the material was recorded as is produced in various appendices shown against each.

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>	<u>Appendix</u>
Words listed	1958	1792	1164	'G' to 'U'
Sentences listed	95	73	76	'V' to 'CC'
Stories	-	-	1	'DD'
Songs	-	1	1	'EE' and 'FF'

The vocabulary list was divided into 13 groups (appendix F) for the purpose of differentiating basic vocabulary from cultural vocabulary and also for finding out the comparative frequency of phonemes in various fields of vocabulary items. The recorded sounds were transcribed and then fed into computer for counting. The various counts of these vocabulary items was done on the basis of their distribution initially, medially and finally, alongwith the 'end total' and 'grand total' for the purpose of comparative study of the phonemes. The counts are given at annexures of appendices 'G' to 'U' for each vocabulary group. The comparison was done through percentiles and by 'Chi Square test'. The details of the inferences drawn are given in the part on phonemic and morphemic analysis.

The vocabulary provided the semantic comparison of all the three languages, and the correspondences and differences were measured on a common scale. From these correspondences and differences the affinity was established amongst all the three and any two of the three languages. For the purpose of finding out the affinities of these languages with other Tibeto-Burman or other languages of the region, various vocabularies compiled by Grierson, Simon, Das Gupta, Dalton, Hesselmeier and a score of other researchers were compared with the vocabularies of these three languages. The structural analysis was carried-out, of the morphology. The recorded sentences were transcribed and were also compared through structural analysis. Correspondences and differences between these three languages and any two of the three were examined and the distinctions among the three ethnoses determined.

There have been dialectal variations in Aka and Miji, specially between Akas of the West (Jamiri-Buragaon area) and Akas of the East (Djingania-Kayanvalley-Palizi area) and similarly Mijis in the West Kamang district (Nafra circle) and Mijis of East Kameng district (Lada-Bameng circles) but the mutual intelligibility was not found to be affected by speech variations, hence the speech sounds of Jamiri-Baragaon of Aka region and Nafra-Lower Dzong of Miji region were accepted as the base for the study. Pichang remained the

base for Miri-Aka languages as all the Miri-Aka population is centered around Pichang and no dialectical variations were noticed.

The Phonetics ; The International Phonetic Association (I.P.A) system (given in table 'GG') was accepted as the primary source for development of the phonemic system. A pilot study was conducted to find out a common phonemic orthography, primarily based on the I.P.A. orthography.

The Phonemics ; From the phonetic analysis of all the three languages i.e., Aka, Miri-Aka and Miji, a phonemic inventory as shown at appendix 'HH' was prepared by inductive procedure. For preparing this inventory the phonetic orthography as available from I.P.A did not meet the requirements of sounds of the three languages hence, the orthography used by I.M. Simon in Aka and Miji Language Guides was duly modified keeping in mind the symbols of the I.P.A and other researches on Arunachal languages. It was found that these symbols could not be fed into the computer for computation, hence, a further modification had to be carried out. For further detailed analysis, it was found that it was worthwhile to include the use of diphthongs and nasalised diphthongs for a comparative study as they also seemed to the researcher to be distinguishing features. The comparative analysis of the phonemes was carried out on the guidelines given out by M. Swadesh²⁰ who listed the distinctive phonemic features as follows :-

- (a) Phonemic norms : i.e., use of phonemes initially, medially, and finally.
- (b) Phonemic distribution : i.e., frequent/ infrequent use of phonemes.
- (c) Prosodic features : i.e., common phonetic features, variational features and distributional features.

The phonemes which were finally adopted for computer feeding, were as follows :-

1. Based on I.P.A. symbols :- p,b,m,t,d,n,k,g,f,v,s, z,r,c,j,l,h,i,e,a,o, and u (22 symbols).
2. Based on Simon's symbols :- (in addition to the 22 above) ph, th, ch, kh, dh, gh, zh, hh, sh, ny, ng, y, w, ts, ks, tch, tsh, gz, dz, hl and ll (21 symbols).
3. Additional symbols:- used for facilitating computer feeding.
 - (a) Prolonged vowels :- Vowels depicted by use of colon (:): a:, e:, i:, o:, u: (five symbols).
 - (b) New consonants :- Consonants depicted by the use of colon (:): t:, th:, d:, g:, gh:, as in Hindi (ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ढ, ञ) (five symbols).
 - (c) Diphthongs:- By use of a combination of two or more sounds/phonemes e.g., ae, ae:, a:i:e: etc., given in the appendix ... from ae to i:i: (64 symbols).

(d) Nasalised diphthongs:-By a combination of one or more sound symbols with the nasal (n).

To show this, we have Hindi equivalents to these sounds also given alongwith. These are a:n,

e:n, o:n, i:n, u:n, io:n, ia:n, a:i:n, a:i:a:n,

a:i:o:n, a:i:e:n (आं, ऐं, औं, ईं, ऊं, इऔं
इआं, आइं, आइआं, आइऔं, आइंऐं)

(11 symbols)

Final inventory accepted for all the three languages and given for computing is in appendix '५.५'.

The recorded vocabulary items against which the sounds of all the three languages were recorded, were fed into the computer and the number of phonemes based on inventory given was computed and the use of phonemes was counted initially, medially and finally (to give distribution in a word) and also their 'end total' and 'grand total'.

The phonemes which were used by all these languages are as is given in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1

Phonemes Distribution

Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
<u>Consonants</u>		
(40)	(32)	(40)
k, kh, g, gh, ng,	k, kh, g, --, ng,	k, kh, g, gh, ng,

contd...

Table 5.1 contd ...

c, ch, j, --- ny,	c, ch, j, ---, ny,	c, ch, j, ---, ny,
-, th:, - -- --	- -- d: -- --	-, th:, d:, ---, -
t, th, d, dh, n,	t, th, d, -- n,	t, th, d, dh, n,
p, ph, b, bh, m,	p, ph, b, --m,	p, ph, b, bh, m,
f, v,	f, v,	f, v,
y, r, l, w, s, sh, z,	y, r, l, w, s, sh, z,	y, r, l, w, s, sh, z,
h, g:, gh:,	h, g:, gh:,	h, g:, gh:,
hh, ll, ts, tc, tsh,	ll, ts, tc,	hl, ll, ts, tc, tsh,
dz, gz, zh.		dz, zh.

Short Vowels

(5)	(5)	(5)
a, e, i, o, u.	a, e, i, o, u.	a, e, i, o, u.

Long Vowels

(5)	(5)	(5)
a:, e:, i:, o:, u:,	a:, e:, i:, o:, u:,	a:, e:, i:, o:, u:.

Short Diphthongs

(20)	(13)	(17)
ae, ai, ao, au, ea,	ae, ai, au, ei, eu, ia,	ae, ai, so, au, ea,
ei, eo, eu, ia, ie,	ie, iu, oe, oi, ou, ua,	ai, eo, eu, ia, ie, io,
io, iu, oe, oa, oi,	ui.	iu, oe, oi, ou, ui, uo.
ou, ua, ue, ui, uo.		

contd ...

Table 5.1 contd ...

Long Diphthongs

(30)	(21)	(26)
ae:, ai:, ao:, au:,	ae:, ai:, ei:, ia:,	ae:, ai:, ao:, au:,
ei:, eo:, eu:, ia:,	ie:, io:, iu:, oi:,	ea:, ei:, eo:, eu:, ia:,
ie:, iu:, oe:, ou:,	ua:, ou:, ui:, i:a,	ie:, io:, iu:, oe:, oi:,
ua:, ue:, ui:, uo:,	a:i:, i:a:, i:o:,	ou:, ua:, ue:, ui:,
a:o, i:a, i:o, a:i,	i:e:, o:e:, o:u:,	i:a, a:e:, a:i:, e:a:,
a:e, a:u, e:u, i:a:,	i:i:, a:i:o:,	i:a:, i:o:, o:i:, o:u:.
i:e:, i:o:, o:e:,	a:i:e:.	
i:i:, a:i:o:, a:i:e:		

Nasalised Diphthongs

(9)	(8)	(8)
a:n, e:n, o:n, i:n,	a:n, e:n, i:n, o:n,	a:n, e:n, i:n, o:n,
u:n, ia:n, io:n,	u:n, ia:n, a:i:n,	u:n, ia:n, io:n,
a:i:n, a:i:e:n.	a:i:a:n.	a:i:n.

Total phoneme sounds

40 + 5 + 5 + 20 +	32 + 5 + 5 + 14	40 + 5 + 5 + 17
30 + 9 = 109	+ 21 + 8 = 85	+ 26 + 8 = 101

Table 5.2

Average Phoneme distribution in words

<u>Elements</u> <u>Descrip.</u>	<u>Aka</u>		<u>Miri-Aka</u>		<u>Miji</u>	
	Pho- nemes	aver- age pho- nemes	Pho- nemes	Ave- rage pho- nemes	Pho- nemes	average phonemes
Words used	1958		1164		1794	
Phonemes in words	9344	4.772	5986	5.142	8773	4.892
1. Consonants	4806	2.452	3150	2.705	4985	2.781
2. Vowels	4538	2.320	2836	2.437	3788	2.111
a) Pure Vowels	2825	1.446	1559	1.158	2173	1.213
b) Long Vowels	1193	0.609	825	0.709	825	0.459
c) Diphthongs	447	0.228	367	0.325	533	0.297
d) Nasalised Diphthongs	73	0.037	285	0.245	257	0.144

The distribution of these phonemes initially, medially, and finally and in all positions is given in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 : Phoneme distribution initially, medially, finally and in all positions in all three languages

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
<u>1. Consonants</u>			
a) <u>All Positions:</u>	k, kh, g, --ng, c, ch, j, --ny,	k, --, g, --ng, c, --, j, --ny,	k, --, g, --, ng, c, ch, j, --ny,

contd ...

Table 5.3 contd ...

t,--,d--n,	t,th,d,--n,	t,th,d,dh,n,
p,--,b,--m,	p,--,b,--m,	p,--,b,--m,
y,r,l,v,w,s,	r,l,v,	y,r,l,v,w,s,
sh,z,h	h,sh,z.	h,sh,z,
gh:,ts,gz,dz	-----	-----
(27)	(19)	(24)

b) Initially

As in 1(a) above and gh, th:,th,dh,f, ph,bh,g:,gh:, hh,ts,tc,	As in (a) above and kh, ch,f,ph,bh, y,w,sh,z,g:, ts	As in 1(a) above and kh,th:, f, ph,bh,hl,ts,to, tsh,dh,zh
(39)	(30)	(35)

c) Medially

As in 1(a) and gh,g:,hh, ll,tc,dz,	As in 1(a) and kh,ch,d:,dh, f,ph,y,w,sh g:,ll,tc.	As in 1(a) and kh,gh,d:,f,ph, bh,gh:,hl,ll,ts, tc,tsh,dz,zh.
(33)	(31)	(38)

d) Finally

As in 1(a)	As in 1(a) and gh:	As in 1(a) and gh,gh:
(27)	(20)	(26)

2. Vowels

a) Short (5) a,e,i,o,u, a,e,i,o,u a,e,i,o,u

used in all positions in all the languages.

contd ...

Table 5.3 contd ...

b) Long (5) a:,e:, i:,o:, a:,e:,i:,o:, a:,e:,i:,o:,
 u: u: u:
 used in all positions in all the languages

c) Diphthongs

Short

All positions:

	ai, au (2)	oi (1)	ai, ou (2)
Initially:	ae, ai, au, oa, (4)	oi (1)	ai, ou, ui (3)
Medially	ae, ai, ao, ea, ei, eu, ia, ie, io, iu, oe, oi, ou, ua, ue, ui. (16)	ae, ai, au, ei, eu, ia, ie, oi, ou, ua. (10)	ae, ai, ao, au, ea, ei, eo, eu, ia, ie, io, iu, oe, oi, ou, ui. (16)
Finally	ai, ao, au, ea, ei, eo, eu, ia, io, iu, oe, oi, ou, ue, ui, uo. (16)	ae, ai, ei, ia, ie, iu, ou, ua, ui. (9)	ae, ai, ao, au, ea, ei, eo, eu, ia, ie, io, iu, oe, oi, ou, ue, ui, uo. (18)

Long

All Positions	au:, ou: (2)	-	ai:, a:i: (2)
Initially	au:, ei:, ou:, i: o, a: i,	oi:, ui:, a: i:, i: i:, a: i: o:,	ai:, a: i:, i: o:,

contd ...

Table 5.3 contd ...

	a:i:o:, a:i:e:	a:i:e:.	
	(7)	(7)	(3)
Medially	ae:, ai:, au:, eo:, eu:, ia:, ie:, io:, iu:, ou:, ua:, uo:, a:o, i:a, a:i:, i:a:, i:e: i:i:.	ai:, ei:, ia:, io:, iu:, ou:, oi:, ui:, ua:, ui:, i:a, i:a, i:o, o:e:, i:i: (15)	ae:, ai:, ao:, au:, ea:, ei:, ia:, ie:, io:, iu: oi:, ua:, ui:i:a, a:i:, i:a:, o:i:.
	(18)	(15)	(17)
Finally	ae:, ai:, au:, ei:, eu:, ia:, ie:, io:, iu:, oe:, ou:, ua:, ue:, ui:, uo:, a:o, i:a, a:o:, a:u:, e:u, i:a:, i:e:, i:o:, o:e:, i:i:, a:i:o.	ae:, ai:, ei:, ia:, ie:, io:, iu:, ou:, ui:, i:a, a:i:, i:e:, o:e:, o:u:, a:i:o: a:i:e:. (16)	ae:, ao:, au:, ei:, ei:, eu:, ia:, io:, iu:, oe:, oi:, ou:, ue:, i:a, a:e:, a:i:, e:a:, i:a:, a:u:.
	(26)	(16)	(19)

Nasalised Diphthongs:

All Positions: a:n, i:n,

a:n, o:n, u:n,

a:n

(2)

(3)

(1)

Initial

a:n, i:n, a:i:n,

a:n, o:n, u:n,

a:n

a:i:e:n

a:i:a:n

(4)

(4)

(1)

contd ...

Table 5.3 contd ...

Medially	a:n,e:n,o:n, i:n,u:n,ia:n.	a:n,e:n,i:n, o:n,u:n.	a:n,e:n,i:n, o:n,u:n,io:n. ia:n
	(6)	(5)	(7)
Final	a:n,i:n,e:n, o:n,u:n,io:n ia:n,a:i:n.	a:n,e:n,i:n, o:n,u:n,ia:n a:i:n.	a:n,e:n,i:n, o:n,u:n,io:n ia:n,a:i:n.
	(8)	(7)	(8)

The 128 phonemes (as given in appendix 'HH') were fed into the computer on the basis of which the number of phonemes used in each language was worked out, are given in the Table 5.4.

Table 5.4 : Number of phonemes used as per distribution from 128 phonemes computed

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
<u>Total Phonemes used</u>	109	85	101
<u>Phonemes Used in various positions</u>			
1. <u>All Positions</u>	49	44	51
a) Consonants	33	30	35
b) Vowels	16	14	16
i) Short Vowels	5	5	5
ii) Long vowels	5	5	5

contd ...

Table 5.4 contd ...

iii) Short Diphthongs	4	1	2
iv) Long Diphthongs	2	-	2
v) Nasalised Diphthongs	2	3	1
2. Initially	64	52	51
a) Consonants	39	30	35
b) Vowels	25	22	16
i) Short Vowels	5	5	5
ii) Long Vowels	5	5	5
iii) Short Diphthongs	4	1	2
iv) Long Diphthongs	7	7	3
v) Nasalised Diphthongs	4	4	1
<u>Medially</u>	85	71	88
a) Consonants	33	31	38
b) Vowels	50	40	50
i) Short Vowels	5	5	5
ii) Long Vowels	5	5	5
iii) Short Diphthongs	16	10	16
iv) Long Diphthongs	18	15	17
v) Nasalised Diphthongs	6	5	7
<u>Finally</u>	87	62	81
a) Consonants	27	20	26
b) vowels	60	42	55
i) Vowels	5	5	5
ii) Long Vowels	5	5	5

contd ...

Table 5.4 contd ...

iii) Short Diphthongs	16	9	18
iv) Long Diphthongs	26	16	19
v) Nasalised Diphthongs	8	7	8

From the analysis of the phonemic features of all the three languages, we can draw the following inferences :

1. Akas use gh, th:, dh, bh, hh, tsh, dz, gz and zh consonants; ao, ea, eo, io, oa, ue, and uo short diphthongs; eo:, eu:, oe:, ue:, a:o, uo:, i:o, a:e:, a:u:, e:u:, o:u: long diphthongs and io:n as nasalised diphthong in addition to Miri-Akas while Miri-Akas used d: (ḡ) consonant and io:, oi:, o:u: long diphthongs more than Aka.

2. Similarly Akas use hh, and gz consonants; oa, ue, and ua short diphthongs; uo:, a:o, i:o, a:u:, e:u:, o:e:, i:i:, a:i:e:, and a:i:o: long diphthongs and a:i:e:n as nasalised diphthong additional to Mijis while Mijis use d:, and hl consonants; ao:, ea:, io:, oi:, o:i: and o:u diphthongs additional to Akas.

3. Mijis use gh, dh, bh, th:, hl, tsh, dz, zh consonants; ao, ea, eo, io, and ua short diphthongs, ao:, au:, ea:, eo:, eu:, oe:, ue:, a:e:, o:l:, and o:u long diphthongs and io:n nasalised diphthongs additional to Miri-Aka while Miri-Aka use ua, ue short diphthong, i.e., i:i:, a:i:e: and a:i:o:

Table 5.5 contd ...

Bilabials : p,ph,b,bh,m (5)

Labio-dentals : f,v (2)

Lateral-alveolar : l (Differentiated from alveolar for
comparison only) (1)

Approximants : y,r,w -do- (3)

Uvular and Glottals h,g: and gh: (combined to reduce
space) (3)

Alveolar-Fricative : s,sh,z (3) (Differentiated for
comparison only)

Affricates : hh,ll,ts,dz,gz,hl,zh,tc,tsh (9)

Vowels : 105

Short Vowels : a, e, i, o, u (5)

Long Vowels : a:,e:,i:,o:,u: (5)

Short Diphthongs: ae,ai,ao,au,ea,ei,eo,eu,ia,ie,io,iu,
oa,oe,oi,ou,ua,ue,uo (20)

Long-Diphthongs: ae:,ai:,ao:,au:,a:e,a:i,a:o,a:u,a:e:,a:i:
a:o:,a:u:,ea:,ei:,eo:,eu:,e:a,e:i,e:o,e:u
e:a:,e:i:,e:o:,e:u:,ia:,ie:,io:,iu:,i:a,
i:e,i:o,i:u,i:a:,i:e:,i:o:,i:u:,i:i:,oa:,
oe:,oi:,ou:,o:a,o:e,o:i,o:u,o:a:,o:e:,
o:i:,o:u:,ua:,ue:,ui:,uo:,u:a,ue:,ui:,
u:o,u:a:,u:e:,u:i:,u:o:,a:i:e:,a:i:o:,
a:i:e: (64)

Nasalised Diphthongs: a:n,e:n,i:n,o:n,u:n,ia:n,a:i:n,
io:n,a:i:a:n,a:i:e:n,a:i:o:n (11)

The counts of various morphemic groups of phonemes are given in annexures of appendices G to U. The morphemic group counts are as per appendix 'JJ'. The percentages of all these phonemes-groups were worked out and are given in appendices 'KK' and 'LL'. The distribution of grouped phonemes are given in appendix 'MM' and their percentiles are in appendix 'NN'. Based on the phonemic and morphemic grouping 'CHI Square' values have been calculated through computer and the 'probability of the CHI Square values which may be exceeded' is given as per appendix 'OO'; the degree of freedom level of various categories and groups is worked out as per appendix 'OO' and the CHI Square values worked out through computers for phonemic variables groups are at appendix 'PP'.

Chi Square Test of Freedom/Association level : A Chi Square test has been carried out to have a recheck on the values found through the earlier comparative analysis to ensure that Association/Affinity and Difference/Freedom levels as found out earlier are not widely out. The Association/Freedom level obtained in Table 5.6 are worked out with the help of a computer programme.

The worked out association/freedom levels are at table 5.7. The final analysis of the phonetic structure is given thereafter based on the values obtained through the percentiles and CHI Square measurements with the help of 5 point scale i.e., Excellent (5), Very good (4), Good (3), Poor (2) and Very Poor (1).

Table 5.6 : Associations/Differentiations in Phonemic Structures as observed through percentage of phonemic use

	<u>Aka/Miri-Aka</u>		<u>Miri-Aka/Miji</u>		<u>Aka-Miji</u>	
	A	D	A	D	A	D
Velars	0	5	1	4	0	5
Palato-alveolars	4	1	2	3	3	2
Dentals	4	1	3	2	3	2
Bilabials	4	1	2	3	2	3
Labio-dentals	0	5	0	5	3	2
Laterals	3	2	3	2	1	4
Approximants	0	5	1	4	3	2
Uvular/glottals	1	4	0	5	0	5
Alveolar-Fricatives	1	4	4	1	2	3
Affricates	0	5	0	5	1	4
Nasals	1	4	4	1	2	3
Short vowels	1	4	1	4	1	4
Long vowels	0	5	0	5	0	5
Short Diphthongs	1	4	0	5	0	5
Long Diphthongs	1	4	2	3	0	5
Nasalised vowels	0	5	3	2	1	4
Consonants	4	1	2	3	2	3
Vowels	4	1	4	1	4	1
Total	4	1	4	1	4	1
<u>Total sr 1-16</u>	21	59	26	54	22	58
<u>Mean</u>	1.3	3.7	1.7	3.3	1.4	3.6
<u>Percentage</u>	26%	74%	34%	66%	28%	72%
<u>Association</u>	Poor		Poor		Poor	
<u>Difference</u>	V.High		V.High		V.High	

From Table 5.6 the associations between all three and any two languages were found to be poor, differences being very high.

Table 5.7 : Degree of Freedom and Association in phonology

	10%			5%			1%		
	A/MA	MA/MI	A/ME	A/MA	MA/MI	M/MI	A/MA	MA/MI	A/MI
1. Velars	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4	5
2. Palato- alveolars	1	2	3	2	1	3	3	1	1
3. Dentals	2	5	5	2	5	5	3	5	5
4. Bilabials	2	5	5	2	5	5	1	5	5
5. Labioden- tals	5	5	1	5	5	2	5	5	3
6. Laterals	1	1	4	2	2	3	3	3	2
7. Approxi- mants	5	4	1	5	3	1	5	2	2
8. Uvular & Glottal	1	5	5	2	5	5	3	5	5
9. Alveolar- Frica- tives	5	1	5	5	1	5	4	2	5
10. Affricates	4	1	2	4	2	2	3	3	1
11. Nasals	5	1	5	5	0	5	5	1	5
12. Short Vowels	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
13. Long Vowels	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
14. Short Diphthongs	1	5	5	1	5	5	1	5	5

contd ...

Table 5.7 contd ...

15. Long Diphthongs	1	1	5	0	1	5	1	2	3
16. Nasalised Vowels	5	1	3	5	1	3	5	2	1
17. Conso- nants	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
18. Vowels	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
19. G. Total	2	2	5	3	3	5	5	5	5
<hr/>									
<u>Totals</u> Sr.1 to 16	48	52	64	55	51	64	56	55	58
<u>Mean</u>	3	3.25	4	3.44	3.2	4	3.5	3.4	3.63
<u>Percentage</u>	60%	65%	80%	68.8%	64%	80%	70%	68.8%	72.5%
<u>Freedom level</u>	good	good	V. good	good	good	V. good	good	good	good
<u>Associa- tion</u>	40%	35%	20%	31.2%	36%	20%	30%	31.2%	27.4%
<u>Level</u>	poor	poor	V. Poor	poor	poor	V. Poor	poor	poor	poor
<u>Over all</u>	<u>Freedom</u>		<u>Association</u>						
Aka/Miri-Aka (A/MA)	good 66.3%		poor 33.7%						
Miri-Aka/Miji (MA/MI)	good 65.9%		poor 34.1%						
Aka/Miji (A/mi)	V. good 72.2%		V. poor 27.8%						

Legend: A = Aka MA = Miri-Aka MI = Miji V. = Very

Analysis

Comparative values of the freedom/association or difference/affinity are as follows :

Table 5.8 : Comparative study of results by percentiles and Chi Square

	Association	Freedom
<u>Aka/Miri-Aka</u>		
a) Through percentiles	Poor (26%)	Very High (74%)
b) Through 'Chi Square' 5%	Poor (31%)	Very High (68.8%)
<u>Aka/Miji</u>		
a) Through percentiles	Poor (28%)	Very High (72%)
b) Through Chi Square	Poor (20%)	Very High (80%)
<u>Miji/Miri-Aka</u>		
a) Through percentiles	Poor (34%)	Very High (66%)
b) Through Chi Square	Poor (36%)	Very High (64%)

Note :- The percentage has been taken by averaging the percentile reading and the reading found from the CHI Square.

From the above table, it is clear that :

1. Both percentile results and the results through Chi Square are remarkably close.

2. According to these results all the three languages have very poor association/affinity and very high/very good freedom level and very high differences. These are as follows :

- (1) Aka/Miri-Aka : Association poor (28%) and freedom very high (72%).
- (2) Aka/Miji : Association/affinity poor (24%) and freedom very high (76%).
- (3) Miri-Aka/Miji : Association/Affinity poor (35%) and freedom level (65%).
- (4) The above results also confirm to the overall visual observations.
- (5) The average number of phonemes in each word in each language also differs showing differing phoneme structure in a word..
- (6) Phonemic inventories recommended after considering the frequency of use and distributions and after dropping phonemes with a frequency 0.01% or less from total phonemes,, because of suspected chance error are given out in the table 5.9.

Table 5.9 : Phonemic Inventory; Aka, Miri-Aka and Miji Languages

Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
k, <u>kh</u> , g, <u>gh</u> , <u>ng</u>	k, <u>kh</u> , g, --, <u>ng</u>	k, <u>kh</u> , g, <u>gh</u> , <u>ng</u>
c, <u>ch</u> , j, -- ny	c, <u>ch</u> , j, -- ny	c, <u>ch</u> j, -- ny
t, <u>th</u> , d, -- n	t, <u>th</u> , d, -- n	t, <u>th</u> d, -- n
p, <u>ph</u> , b -- m	p, <u>ph</u> , b, -- m	p, <u>ph</u> , b, -- m
f, v,	f, v,	f, v,
y, r, l, w, s, sh, z, h,	y, r, l, w, s, sh, z, h,	y, r, l, w, s, sh, z, h,
g:, gh:		gh:
hh, ll, ts, dz, gz (34)	ll (27)	hl, ts, zh (31)
<p>(Following phonemes with a frequency less than 0.01% (Aka-9, Miri-Aka-16 and Miji-12), have been excluded as they are likely to be induced/chance entries, or have not been used at all.</p>		
th:, dh, bh, tsh, zh, tc	d:, dh, g:, gh:, ts,	th:, d:, dh, bh, ll, tc,
t:, d:, hh,	tc, gh, ph, hh, dz,	tsh, dz, ti, g:, hh,
	gz, tsh, zh, t:,	gz.)
	th:, hh	
<u>Vowels</u>		
<u>Short</u>		
a, e, i, o, u,	a, e, i, o, u,	a, e, i, o, u
<u>Long</u>		
a:, e:, i:, o:, u:,	a:, e:, i:, o:, u:,	a:, e:, i:, o:, u:

Diphthongs have not been included as they can be constructed by combination of various vowels, both short and long. For nasalised vowels, use of half 'n' or 'a' specific sign i.e., will do).

Having seen the phonemic aspects of the three ethnoses, and finding out the clear differences existing among these ethnoses at the micro level i.e., phonemic level, let us proceed towards macro level i.e., morphology, semantics and syntax.

Morphology :

Morphology will be studied both at structural as well as functional level. Morphological structure includes free morphemes, bound morphemes, prefix, suffix and infix in all the languages. If the morphemes are visually studied, we find that about 30% words are the free morphemes while all others are bound morphemes in Aka, about 40% in Miji and about 50% in Miri-Aka. Let us see all these turn by turn.

Free morphemes :

Free morphemes are for those very basic words in all the fields e.g., face, hand, body, foot etc., in body parts, pain, boil and vomit in diseases, man, tribe, clan and village in society; house, hearth and rope in household and

the like. Some of the important free morphemes are given below in table 5.10.

Table 5.10
Free morphemes in Aka/Miri-Aka/Miji

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Eye	enyi	niram	mei
Ear	uffu:	ra:n	lo:n
Hand	agz/izi	la:n	gi:h
Foot	ishi	livi/nivi	mulai/lai
Bone	irbe:	nira:n	mriyang
Skin	iksh	nippi:	lyang/meppe:
Blood	si:	ivvi:	zhai:
Pain	nau:	inni:	mano:
Boil	musso:	nishi:	dhin
Vomit	mau:	bu:n	mu/nu:
Man	nina:	muru:	nuvu:/nu:
Woman	memem/ufom	mimi/uyi	nimrai/ni:
Tribe	idge	co:n	
Clan	sama:	ja:ti	
Village	netci	koco	kabio:ng
Salt	gu:	plo:	la:
Milk	a:fu	a:fu:	dudh
Rope	shedra	ja:ru:	shi:
Water	hhu:/khu:	si:	vo:

contd ...

Table 5.10 contd ...

Paddy	zi:/ou:	ki:	e:n/e:m
Chilli	a:di	ada	zio:
Meat	fu:	su:	sekio:n
Fish	chi:	mo:la:n	coi:
Father	au:	abo:	aba:/abo:
Mother	a:nyi:	a:i:e:	a:nuih
Brother	a:i:e:	ama:	a:bo
Sister	amma	amma	amma
Wife	nofum	a:nye:	zhi:
Husband	lishi	ra:nciu	nighai
Sun	dru:	meme:	jo:
Moon	hubbe:	alla:	lu:
Star	liti:	dugrei	dotsung
Hill	phu:	go:n	phung
Land	no:	ku:	nah
Tree	si:/shuin	la:n	ou:
Animal	pallu:	simpe:	nuru:
Mithun	fu:	su:	shu:
Fire	mi:	milan	mai:
Bird	musu:/duo	polei	buzuh
I	no:	ne:n	nyang
You	ba:/jo:	nu:n/nune:	nyi:/ji:
He/She	i:	li:	i:/ai:
What	ha		thin/ciu
Good	uda	kappla:n	mevi:

contd ...

Table 5.10 contd ...

White	gro:	lapro:n	miglia:n
Red	tshu:	la:n	mech
Black	giu:	ma:n	mumo:
One	a:	ice:	ung
Ten	g:hi	pa:nla:n	lin
Am	hi:		ti:
Are	no/ni		yu:
Be	du:	ri:da	yu:/shi:
Of	hio:	pa:da:	nite:n

Specific features of these free morphemes are that they make most of the bound morphemes and they are small in size i.e., two to four words, (barring a few). They are simple to pronounce and do not have cluster-phonemes or very rare clusters. Also they are used for those words which an individual uses in an ordinary speech and are the very basic for learning a language. Akas have words, smaller in size in general than the other two, Mijis having the longest of all the three. Almost all the morphemes in the languages are independent and are not similar with the other two (only two phonemes are similar between Miri-Aka and Miji, three each in Aka and Miji and Aka and Miri-Aka). This proves that the basic vocabulary of all the three languages being different, these three languages are different from each other.

Bound morpheme : The use of hyphens is required in almost every sentence in all the three languages. The hyphens are used after the prefix, before the suffixes and both before and after the infixes. Both class changing and the derivational prefixes and suffixes are being used extensively in all the three languages. Let us see the examples of all the three types of affixes :

Prefixes : All the basic morphemes act as prefixes to form class-maintaining bound-morphemes. e.g.,

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Eye	enyi	nira:m	mei
Eye-ball	enyi-likhu:	nira:m-nuffo	mei-rat
Eye-brow	enyi-siri	niram-nipp le	mei-mew/mei-simi
Hand	agz	la;n	gi:h
Palm	agz-khu:	la;n-pai:	gi:h-dilung
Thumb	agz-ya:ng	la;n-a:i:	gi:h-nuit
Finger	agz-itsa	la;n-phi/la;n-kin	gi:h-tsoh
Nail	agz-itsachi	la;n-r-phe	gi:h-thin
Finger-joints	agz-bzu-go	la;n-nira;n	gi:h-ro;n
Tree	she	la;n	ou;
Branch	she-bo:	la;n-tci:	ou;-ditsang
Stem	she-va;bo:	la;n-ai:	ou;-vio
Root	she-khri:	la;n-nira;n	ou;-khrin
Flower	she-ba	la;n-no;p	ou;-boh

contd ...

contd ...

Leaf	she-re	la:n-nu:	ou:leh
Fruit	she-je		ou:-then
Creeper	she-ja	la:n-jaru:	ou:-bo;

There are class changing prefixes also in all the three languages, as given below :

Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
fu (animal)	su: (animal)	shu: (animal)
fu:-cho (bear)	su:-mo:n (bear)	shu:-tsang (bear)
fu-phu (black necklace)	su:-ja:n (meat) (of mithun)	shu-cung (meat)
fu:-khro (dried meat)	su:-peve:n (boiled meat)	shu-phrinh (hide)

Class-changing prefixes are, however, far lesser than the class-maintaining prefixes, in all the three languages.

Infixes : All the three languages use infixes though to a very lesser extent, that too mainly while words are used in sentences but rarely in independent words. Examples are given below :

Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
gzi-tsi-lye (finger ring)	bju:-ngo:n-su: (yak meat)	shu-nu-ru (animal)
gido-da-u (straight-en)	nippe:-ple:n-fa: (rupees fifty)	shu-ja-nuih (ewe)

However, these infixes are generally used differently, i.e., the word meaning the same may have no infix in Aka, but may have an infix in Miji or in Miri-Aka.

Suffixes : Both class-maintaining and class-changing suffixes are used in all the three languages as given below :

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
<u>Class-maintaining</u>			
Bitch	silio-muth	ikle:-nibling	shahzhih-nuih
Mithun (female)	fu-muih	su:-nibling	shu:-nuih
Big (female)	vo:-muih	lile:-nibling	zho:-nuih
<u>Class Changing</u>			
i-hhu (white of egg)		la:n-nira:n (finger-joints)	shu-bu: (mithun)
fu-hhu (wild-pig)		zupra:n-nira:n (Skull)	mai-bu (ashes)
dang-hhu (understand)		la:n-nira:n (root)	a:-bu (father)

It is not always binding that the same affix is to be used at only one position, e.g., as suffix or prefix. The same affix can be used as prefix as well as suffix to mean the same word or for two different words e.g.,

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Calf	<u>isi</u> ;-ve;-libaka	<u>nivvi</u> ;-vo;n-re	<u>lai</u> -dibbon
	ungs- <u>isi</u> (cheek)	lagia- <u>nivvi</u> ; (right leg)	tsung- <u>lai</u> (sole)

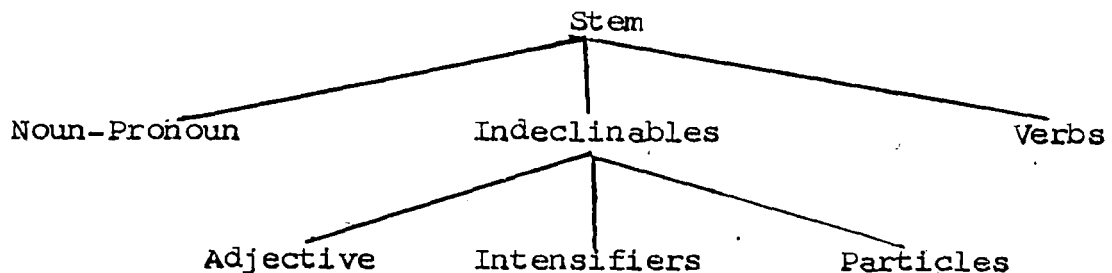
Analysis :

From the above it can be inferred that :-

1. Prefixes and suffixes are being used extensively by all the three languages.
2. Infix is used sparingly by all the three.
3. Some affixes are not used by any of the two languages, i.e., Aka and Miji, Aka and Miri-Aka and Miji and Miri-Aka. To convey the same purpose and meaning they all use different affixes.
4. Use of the same affix as prefix and suffix is often resorted to in all the three languages, specially in Miri-Aka language where it is not binding to use the affix either before or after the stem.
5. In structure, morphologically they generally follow the same structural pattern but the affixes semantically used for word structure differ.

Functional Morphology : Stems and the affixes as discussed above can be further clarified by functional morphology. Stems which can be inflected for case are nouns; for tense, aspect and mood are verbs, and stems which remain uninflected are indeclinables. Nouns are substitutable by pronouns. Adjectives are the stems which modify noun; intensifiers that modify adjectives and the particles that occur virtually independently are the indeclinables; prepositions and conjunctions fall in this category. Verbs identify actions, Nouns/pronouns come first, then adjectives, verbs and adverbs. Prepositions and conjunctions generally act as postpositions. This sequence is not followed strictly. At times, adjectives come before noun/pronoun and similar is the case with other affixes.

The distribution of all these functional elements is shown in the structural diagram below :



We shall study in detail and compare the functional use of these items.

Noun

1. Gender : Gender in all three languages is indicated in two different methods i.e., by different words and by adding suffix as given below :

a) Different words : e.g.

<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
au: (father)	murū (man)	nuvu (man)
anyi: (mother)	mimi (woman)	nimrai (woman)

b) Adding suffixes e.g.

silyo (dog)	like (dog)	shu-bu (bull-mithun)
silyo-imnyi (bitch)	like-nibling (bitch)	shu-nuih (cow-mithun)

2. Number : Number is indicated either by giving the quantity as suffix or a suffix to indicate more numbers. In Aka and Miji, sometimes no affix is used and the number is deduced from the text itself. Let us see all these three cases :

<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
a) Use of suffix :		
silyo (dog)	ikle (dog)	shahzhi (dog)
silyo anya (dogs)	ikle-pam-ge (dogs)	shahzhi-na (dogs)

b) Quantity :

silyo-ksi
(two dogs)

ikle-kene;
(two dogs)

shahzhi-gni
(two dogs)

c) Combination of two words is sometimes used for plurals in Aka i.e., 'sou-sam' (children) is a combination of two words meaning son and daughter.

3. Numerals : The numerals are either in individual-word form or a combination of a word and a suffix. The numerals 1 to 10, hundred and thousand in all three languages are indicated by words (see appendix 'S') while after deca upto next deca e.g. 11 to 19 are having the deca with an infix and a suffix used as plus. The multipliers of ten are reckoned in terms of multiplier number -- number as prefix e.g. zi-ghi (three-tens or thirty) in Aka. Generally higher than hundred, multipliers of hundreds are borrowed i.e., hazar (thousand) in Aka. A few examples of these are given below :

1 to 10 original	pum (five)	ple:n (five)	bungu: (five)
11 to 19	ghia:a:-kshi (10+2) (ten + locative infix + two)	palla:n-li-kene (ten + locative infix li + two)	lin-gni (ten + two) (no affix)

In Aka and Miri-Aka, locative infix a : (Aka) and li (Miri-Aka) are used in between the ten and next plus numeral while affix is not used in Miji.

21-29 bisha-a:-kshi niffla:n-li-kene gni-lin-gni
22 (20 + LI a: + 2) (20 + LI li + 2) (Two-ten-two)
 (LI = Locative infix)

In Aka and Miri-Aka, twenty has specific words i.e., bisha (probably adopted from Assamese bisha) and niffla:n respectively while in Miji, twenty is shown as ten multiplied by two i.e., gni-lin. For twenty two, all three languages add two as suffix while Aka and Miri-Aka also add locative infix as for figures 11 to 19.

For other multipliers of ten i.e., thirty, forty etc., Aka and Miji use the multiplier of ten before two i.e., pho-ghi (four-ten) in Aka and bli:-lin (four-ten) in Miji while in Miri-Aka instead of the use of palla:n for ten, suffix 'ffia:n is used i.e., kuple:- fflia:n (four-ten). Suffix seems to be ^a modified version of the original word. For hundred, there are different words in Miji and Miri-Aka i.e., bilong and palla: respectively while in Aka a prefix 'pho' is used as the multiplier i.e., pho-gi.

For thousand, modified version of Assamese haza:r is used in all three languages i.e., haza: in Aka, haja:r in Miri-Aka and haza:r in Miji.

4. Cases :- In cases, grammatical relationship is indicated through suffixes which are added on to nouns. These are actually noun-endings. While speaking in speed these suffixes

become agglutinated and can be located when spoken slowly with special stress. The noun, when acting as a subject, is not marked by a distinctive suffix, but suffixes are used only when it is acting as object. These suffixes should be termed as postpositions, added as they are to simple words or word combinations. Their isolability is the only factor which makes them distinct, when separated from the object. Examples are given below : (Objects : man and tree).

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
<u>Nominative</u>			
Man	nina	muru;	nuvu (no suffix)
Tree	aishuin	la;n	ou
<u>Accusative</u>			
The Man	no:-nina	ti:-muru-ti;	nuvu-ru
The tree	to-shuin	ti-la;n-li	ou-ru
<u>Instrumental/ Associative</u>			
With man	ri nin-yo	muru:- <u>paro;n</u>	nuva na-a/ nuvu jo-ru
With tree	ri shuin-yo	la; <u>paro;n</u>	ou;na-a/ ou;jo-ru
<u>Dative</u>			
For man	nina:-na-tharo;n	muru;pare	nuvu-ru
For tree	shuini <u>o;n</u>	la;n parre	ou;-ru
<u>Ablative</u>			
From man	nina tsigo	muru; gude	nuvu-nuyi
From tree	shuin tsigo	la;n guda	ou;-nuyi!

Genitive

Of man	No suffix	mur <u>u</u> pa:da	no suffix
Of tree		la:n pa:da	-do-

Locative &
Directive

In man	nina ge	mur <u>u</u> : ama:ka	nuvu-ne/neh
In tree	shuin ge	la:n ama:ka	ou:-ne/neh

Purposive

For me	nine-bo	mur <u>u</u> :parre	nuvu-dizhen
For tree	shuin-bo	la:n-parre	ou:-dizhen

From the above it can be seen that all the three languages have different case-particles which are actually the postpositions. Akas and Mijis do not have suffixes for genitives. However, application of the case suffixes is done by the same method in all the languages.

Pronouns : Pronouns in all these languages can be classified as personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, of number and quantity, reciprocal, distributive and relative. Personal pronouns can be objective, possessive or possessive adjective (determiner) and can be classified as first, second and third person. As a rule, the form of pronouns is not affected in different relationships. They take no suffixes; only when they are used predicatively, the genitive take genitive suffix. The personal pronouns end in a vowel, short long or nasalised; in almost all the cases

excepting in Miji where for 'I' or 'me' 'ng' consonant is used. Amongst the Miji, all other first person pronouns have either 'i:' or 'a:' at the end, while Akas have 'o:', 'a:' and 'i:' only; Miri-Akas have 'e:n', 'e:', 'a:n', 'a:' or 'i:' at the end. Demonstrative pronouns too, in all these languages have vowel endings except in Miji where 'ng' is used at the end in two cases. Similar is the case with quantitative and interrogative pronouns. In interrogative pronouns, the beginning is with h, kh or d in Aka and k, kh c, or th in Miji. We will see these classifications of pronoun under five different headings i.e., personal, possessive, adjective-possessive, demonstrative, quantitative and interrogative.

Personal pronouns : These can be further classified into first person, second person and third person and also into singular and plural as shown in the table below :

Table 5.11

Personal Pronouns								
Person	English		Aka		Miri/Aka		Miji	
	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
First	I	we	no	ngi	<u>ne:n</u>	em-e:n	<u>nyang</u>	any
Second	You	you	ba	jo	<u>nu:n</u>	nume:	<u>nyi</u>	ji
Third	He	they	i, to	i-na, to-na	li:	lime:	i:/a:i:	i:na:

Miri-Akas use -me: as suffix for plural of personal pronouns but Akas and Mijis use 'na' as suffix only in third person.

Possessive pronouns/Adjective-possessive pronouns : For use of pronouns as possessive as well as adjective possessive pronouns various suffixes used are 'chi' in Aka, -ghi, in Miri-Aka and tai:n in Miji.

Table 5.12

Possessive pronouns

English		Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji		
1st	My our	no- chi	ni- chi	ne:- ime-ghi ghi	nyang- tai:n	anyi-tain
2nd	Your your	ba:- chi	jo- chi:	nu:- ghi	nume:-ghi: nyi- tai:n	ji-tain
3rd	His the- Her ir	i:- chi	to- chi	li:- ghi	lime:-ghi: a:i:- tai:n	i:na:- tai:n

The same is applicable for the pronouns when used as object.

Interrogative pronouns : Interrogative pronouns stand for the persons or things for which the questions are asked, and are the English 'wh' words. English equivalent of these pronouns are given below :

Table 5.13

Interrogative pronouns

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
What	ha, haniya	gina	thin, tang, tein
When	khye/ke	hago-na	khu-khrin/kro:
Where	ha:nga/ha:ga	ha:ju-na	gi-ya/khi-ya
Whose	dzu-ci/jia/ji -wa huga	asgu:-na	tsu:/ciu:-thai
Who	dzu: ju: jo-wa	asna	ciu: cu: siu:
Whom	ji-nio	asna	ciu
Why	deu, hado, ha:bo	halo-na	tung/teinrh
How	khinga	halo-na	kea./gingih-de cowai
How much/many	khinga	harge-na	khinyang/gingo

These interrogative pronouns are placed just before the verbal group in the Subject-Object-Verb patterns of these languages and are an exception to the English rule. Akas and Miri-Akas generally use 'h' phoneme in the beginning of interrogative pronouns, while Mijis use t, th, ts, k, kh, g, or c sounds.

Demonstrative pronouns : Demonstrative pronouns also known as determiners or demonstrative adjectives as pronouns stand for the persons/things pointed to e.g.

Table 5.14

Demonstrative pronouns

English		Aka		Miri-Aka		Miji	
Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.	Sing.	Plu.
This	These	si-i:/ thoe	si:/ ozu:	ti:	thi:- me:	hung/ pai	phai- tsu/
That (Same level)	Those	phye/ thoe	i:o- hinge:	li:me:	mime:	phai- tsu	phai-
That (Above)		a:i: thi:	peci	khri: me:	--	tha:ng -tsu: cai:- ong	tha:ng -tsu:
That (Below)		ga: thu:/ ga:to: e:n	gua- ling	ba:-me:	nung	phy-tsu maniai -o:m	phu-tsu mulong

Specific feature of the demonstrative pronoun of all these languages is the use of different words for these pronouns for 'same level' 'above' and 'below'. Similarly for 'far' and 'near' (of 'that' and 'these') different words are used; exception being Mijis where singular and plural are generally the same.

Indefinite pronouns : Indefinite pronouns stand for particular persons or things, whose identity, number or quantity are definite, e.g.,

Table 5.15

Indefinite Pronouns

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Some	me-mye/tona	tikhra:-ge	tinc mai-ungh
Anyone	tcu/zeda-majia-a:	iging-ge-va	tinma:-te:a
None	mo:-a:/juchi-jama	kunga-ga	mang-ung tin- ma:n
Nothing	niva:/hamu	inge-va/ra;n-ga;n	te;no;n/ngo

All these languages have different indefinite pronouns.

Pronouns of Number and quantity :

Table 5.16

Pronouns of number and quantity

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Ten	gh	pa;nlla;n	lin
All	vyeu/ozu	purra;	veh/ve/meikio;n
Few	mesa:-me	tikra:nge	mia;n/may-ung
Little	mi:/mye	unga:	hainio;n
Many	a;nye;	a;nye:/aba:ja	mi-nau a;tivu-ma;n
Much	a;nye:/juchi- ja-ma	kunga:-ga:	mang-ung tin-ma;n

All these languages use different pronouns of number and quantity.

Adjectives : Adjectives in all these languages generally follow the noun they qualify. Generally used adjective types are Demonstrative, qualitative, interrogative, quantitative and distributive. No possessive adjectives are used. They are used in attributive (used after nouns), predicative (complement before verbs) and as other parts of speech as nouns, adverbs etc. Examples of the various types of adjective types are given in succeeding paragraphs.

Demonstrative Adjectives : Demonstrative adjectives in Aka and Miji languages are very exhaustive and explanatory that ^{as} what we have in English or Hindi. While giving out the direction they differentiate the various levels.

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
<u>That</u>			
above	thi:-a:i:e a:i:thi:	khri:-me; -jare-jae	phang-tsu
down	gathu:-a:i:e:n	ba;me:-jare:-jae	phu-tsu
Same level	phye-tho:e	li;me:-jare:-jae	phai-tsu/po:o
far	tho;	-	phai-tsu
<u>There</u>			
above	si:-ge;/gatho ligze	go-utumpa	thang-ya/cha;i:- o:n
down	a:yi:n	ama:ka	phy-ua/cha;ma
same level	si:/todi-ge	khripa;	phai:-ya:
far	gatho-ligze:	-	

contd ...

contd ...

Those

above	pechi	-	thang-tsu-na
below	g.ua:-linge:-di	nung	phu:-tsu:-na
same			
level	i:ohi-nge:-da/ zana	mime:-pura- jaro-jae:n	phai:-tsu:-na/ po:ch
<u>These</u>	si:/eye/ozu:	thi:-me:	hung-na:/hu:n

From the above we find that the Aka and Miji demonstrative adjectives are more exhaustive and discriminatory than of Miri-Aka.

Distributive Adjectives : The Aka and Miri-Aka have not been found to be using distributive adjectives but are being used by Mijis. The replies by the Akas and Miri-Akas for providing equivalents of each, every, either, or neither have been in the negative while the Mijis provided the equivalent words easily as follows :

tsu:-mangloi (either) tsu:-mandey/akhemih (every)

ma:ng-lai (neither)

Quantitative Adjectives : All the three tribes use numerals which are quite clarifying/explanatory. For indefinite quantity i.e., some, many, little, any, much etc., they have their own words, as given below :-

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Any	hadamje	-	ku-medey
few	ne-sa;-me	tikra:nge	mey-ung/mia:ng
Many	a;-nye:/ane;	aba:ja	mein-na:ng/mi-nau
Much	a:nye:/sepew-u	tikra:nge/aba:ja	mi-nau/a:tivu-ma:n

Interrogative Adjectives : Same as explained for interrogative pronouns.

Possessive Adjectives : Same as explained for possessive pronouns.

Qualitative (of quality) Adjectives : All three ethnoses have qualitative adjectives. They have different words to indicate comparative degree of quality as given below :

English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Good	u;-de:/uda	kappla:n	mivi:
Bad	ma-vo	-	mi-ngi:
Fine	hasa	-	mi-vi:
Big	dow/dio	-	mi-do/do
Clever	bu-zu	-	bhu-zi
<u>Comparative degree</u>			
Good	u;-da:/uda	kappla:n ava:-	mivi
Better	are-e-u-phau	kappla;n-nuzung	-
Best	ere-u-m-du	kappla;n-sung	mivi-lafi

contd ...

contd . . .

High	levzo	utto;n	mene-via;n
Higher	ere-u-levao	utto;n-sung	mivian-lait
Highest	-do-	utto;n-su:te	-

From the analysis of the above it can be said that Akas and Mijis adjectives are better distinctive than Miri-Akas: all of them have well developed adjective systems.

Verbs : In all the three languages, the verbs do not change for number and gender. The usual verb substantive for Aka are suffix-du, -da or -de; for Miri-Aka these are -ga, -go or -gi and for Miji, these suffixes are -ru or -yu. The root is often used without any suffix in present indefinite tense. For 3rd person, the verbs take different suffixes than those taken for 1st and 2nd person. Suffixes for 1st and 2nd person are generally the same. The tenses are indicated differently in all the three languages with different suffixes to verbal roots in each language for every type of tense. The verbal roots are placed first in the verbal group but last in the sequence S-O-V (Subject-Object-Verb) of a sentence. Aka is found to be the most complicated language as far as the verbal suffixes are concerned as they use suffixes at convenience and rules seems to be often bypassed. The different suffixes as verbal roots used in all the three languages are given in the Table 5.17.

Table 5.17

Suffixes used to represent various tenses

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Mji
1. <u>Indefinite</u>			
(a) <u>Present</u> :	Verbal root may be without suffix. Suffix-we/-be/-bi/ -chho/-chha and -do are also added	-ga/-go/-go	Verbal root may be without suffix or with suffixes-ru,-yu or yu-shi
(b) <u>Past</u>	No marked difference is found between past and present. At times, -ni, -na, or-i are also added as suffixes.	-bo:	-ni:
(c) <u>Future</u>	-nye/-nie/-nya	-fo/-fa:	-ne;or-ney
2. <u>Continuous</u>			
(a) Present	-khoe	-uga	-ri/-ri-jih/or -ri-giphang
(b) Past	-m-khiu	-ba-ga	jih-ni
(c) Future	kho-da	-bo-fo:	jih-ne

contd ...

Table 5.17 contd ...

Perfect

(a) Present	-affia-khoe:	chan-ba-ga	-ye,-du
(b) Past	-affia-da-we:	ba-ga	-
(c) Future	affia-ji-jo-we:	-ba-bo-fo:	-

Perfect Continuous

(a) Present	-um/in-khue-we:	ba-us ga	-
(b) Past	jim-khoe-we:	ba -ga	-
(c) Future	jim -khoejo-we:	ba bo: to	-

A comparative table of use of verbs in various tense forms of the root 'go' is given below :-

Indefinite	Present	Past	Future
English	I go	I went	I shall go
Aka	no khagi woe:	no kho woe:	no khajo woe:
Miri-Aka	me: yi lang	me i: nga	me i: fo
Miji	nya:ng deih ru	nyang deih ni:	nyang deih ne:

Continuous

English	I am going	I was going	I will be going
Aka	ni khojim khoe woe:	no kho-jim chhue woe:	no khojim khojo woe:
Miri-Aka	me: yu: ga:	me i: nga	me: i: go: fo,
Miji	nyang deith riji	nyang deith rijini	nyang deih rijine

contd ...

contd ...

Perfect

English	I have gone	I had gone	I would have gone
Aka	no kho woe;	no offa gaju woe;	noji jo woe;
Miri-Aka	me: yi:nga	me: i; ba:nga:	me; ba: yi: lang

Perfect
Continuous

English	I have been going	I had been going	I would have been going
Aka	no kho itse jim khoe woe;	no kho use ji tchoe woe:	no khoitse jim kho jo woe;
Miri-Aka	me i: go: a ti ga:	me a go:n ga	me ba:n ego:fo

From the analysis of the verbs we find the following :-

- (a) Verbs come last in the sentence pattern Subject-Object-Verb in all the three languages.
- (b) Miri-Aka and Miji verb roots and suffixes are more simple and stable than the Aka verb roots and suffixes.
- (c) The roots and their use differ significantly in all the three language.
- (d) The root is often used without any suffix in present indefinite tense.

Adverbs : Seven classes of adverbs may be distinguished in all the three languages. These are of (1) time (s) place (3) manner or equality (4) interrogation (5) affirmation and negation (6) comparison and (7) quantity. Examples of these are given below :-

1. Adverb of time

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
Formerly	furge	-	kyelow
Today	you	-	hung wo hung rugh or hu-ni
Tomorrow	jaha:	-	na-wu:
Yesterday	fu-gey	-	digah-wugh
Afterwards	sia:-funghe	puro:nda	jih-mi-nin-ya ksu-niu
Recently	khucho-eye	-	tsavo-matsu-yihru
Now	yam-hhwa/yam- kshwa	-	sih-siwo-dang
Always	ze:r:u:/siwa/ shau	uttei/udei	da:n-lang/dauglin
Sometimes	khe:ma	-	gilyin
Never	khe:-hhwa-je/khe- khua-je	-	dang-lin
Before	e-vra/uvu-je e-bra-ja	pa:ti-go:n	nivvian-yih-ru tso-raw
Then	memei/sinamai	-	
Soon	a:me:i:	-	mu-guthuh/yi- ruh

contd ...

contd ...

2. Adverb of place

Here	eye/ago	ti:	a:ho/a:ru:/niba: ng
Where	toe:/tha-ge;/si:	li:/khrupe	phaiyag/phu-lya
Near	inyisa/e-ni-cha/ ene-sa	elei	mi-ni mu-nih
Below			
Up	edju-ge/uthu:je	-	phung-thang/ choi
Down	gumge/lineo/ula:- goshe:	-	Dhu-yu/mumu:/ mu-bizin-za
At	ha:a:-go		
In	ulu:ge	ama:ka	ya ru
Far	erra-ge/ugage:	alla:	mirih/marang ha:no/ri/yo
Behind	ullu-ge;/e-phum-ge	<u>puaO:ngo:n</u>	mie:sa minge:-sa
Above the house	inye- <u>shkichage</u>	nungo	mamcha: <u>i:o:n</u>
Below the house	neo:-uluge:	ama:ka/	
There up	gato/ligza	go-utumpa	thang-ya
There down	gtho-ai:n	ama:ka	phu:-ya
These same level	to/to/digo	khripa	phai-ya
That up/ above	tho/a:i:e:	ba:me/khrime -jare-jae	chai-ong
That down	gathu:-a:i:n	ba:me-jare jae	man <u>iaiasm</u> jae
That same level	go:/thoe:	lime jarejoe	po:rr

contd ...

contd ...

Adverb of Manner and Quality

Bravely	g:uo:-o:/neg:u:- du:	neuro:n- kample	miza:ng/miga:ng
Happily	lishu:/lobo:	uttu:- -macha:n	mu-ling-bu:/ lungs/thig-she
Quickly	khucho/chhu:cho	utto:- kappla:n/ uttu:-rui	mu-guthuh/ lung-bei
Fast	udro/mike:u,	pa:tti:	mi-bigah maj-ji
Slowly	sa:osha:/sho:- sho jan-jan	ise:-ise:	dimoh-nuye/ dumo-h-nu lumo
Friendly	ujoid/ija:a/e-ja	ajinlei	
Politely	shosa-shosa	o:i:n-misi -rige	mikhi:-khia:n
Rudely	<u>ma:o:i:o:</u>	ka:shi-ru-go	maga:n
Loudly	kho:-o:i:o	cha:ffu-re-ru	
Frankly		ijan-ija:n-rug	

4. Adverbs of Interrogation

What	ha/hanya	gina	<u>thin/tang/tein</u>
Where	ha:-ngi:/hang-ga	ha:ju:na	kro:/gi-ya/ <u>khiya</u>
Who	dju:-gwi:/jia/ huga	asna	<u>chiu:/tsu:</u>
Why	deu/hado/-bo/hondo	halo:na	thin-ru-de/tung
When	ke/khya/khe-ya- sigla	hago:na	khu-khrin/kro:
How	khin-ye	hrrge:na	kinya:nay/singo
Whom	ji-nio	-	chiu:-ru
Whose	dzu:chit	asguna:	chiu:/chiu-thai

contd ...

contd...

5. Adverbs of Affirmation and Negation

Never	kha:-hhwa-ja	-	daughin
May	khe-khua-je	-	-

6. Adverb of Comparison on Degree

High	levzo	utto:n	mene-via:n
Higher	ere-u-larzo	utton-suno	meno-via:n-lait
Highest	ere-u-m-lavzo	utto:n-sinte	mena-via:nt
Good	uda	kappla:n	mus;
Better	ere-e-u-phan	ava:- kappla:a	miri-lafi:
Best	ere-si-m-du	kappla:n -sung	-

7. Adverb of Quantity

Few	ne-sa:me	tikra:nga	m;a:n/mey-ung
Little	mi:/mye/mi-sa	gina	thin/tang.
Nothing	ni-va:	in-ge-va/ rai:n-ga:n	Tengo:n/nga
None	mo-a;/juchhi -ja-ma	kungo:-ga	mang-ung
Much	a:nye:/a:nyua:	tkkra:nge:	minau/a:tivu -ma:n
Many	a:nye/a:nyia:	aba:ja	main-na:ng

Adverbs are in frequent use in all three languages. The semantic element of adverbs differs in all. No patterns could be established however, due to less number of sentences recorded.

Prepositions : Following prepositions are generally used by all three ethnoses. They use different prepositions but the manner and place of use is generally the same :-

	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
With (associative)	ja	purro:n	jo-ru:
With (Instrumental)	mbo, yo		na-a
In	ulu:ge	ama:ka	ya ru:
From	yo/gou/chi-yo	gadha:	yah/nuyi
At	ha:a:go	ha:ngo:ri:ya	
Behind	ulu-go	pu-o:no:n	minge:sa
For	-ro:n	pa:rre	dizhe:n
Over	hi-o:	pa:da	nintean
Under	livzi		muliviong
Cut	liuru:	-	mubazung
On account of	nausshi	-	gebion gshong

All ethnoses use prepositions frequently but with varying semantic elements.

Conjunctions

Following conjunctions are being used by all the three ethnoses. They use different prepositions but the manner and place of use is generally the same.

	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
And	sio:/ha:mso/ aiya	inia kinna:	sro/suru:
Because	-re	-	-
If	time/soio senemereda	nunga yony	nido-inta Chimta
Both	naksam-a;- se jochi	-	-
Yes	ya	-	ji
No	<u>nyi</u>	-	<u>nge</u>

Conjunctions could be evaluated for Aka and Miji languages only and they were found to be close.

The functional morphology (grammar) study of these languages reveals the following :-

- (a) Gender in all the three languages is indicated by two methods i.e., with the use of separate words for both the genders, suffixes are frequently used for the female gender otherwise.
- (b) Number is indicated either by giving the quantity or with the use of suffixes.
- (c) Numerals are used either by individual word or by adding the multiplier/additive as suffix. Borrowed words are generally used to count higher than hundred.

- (d) Case-particles in the form of post-positions are used in all three languages but differently. Akas and Mijis do not have suffixes for genitives. The post positions get assimilated in a continuous speech and can be differentiated only from slow speech.
- (e) Pronouns in all three languages are classified as personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite, of number and quantity reciprocal, distributive and relative.
- (f) Miri-Akas use '-me:' as suffix for plural of personal pronouns but Akas and Mijis use '-na:' as suffix only in third person.
- (g) Akas use '-chi', Miri-Akas '-gi' and Mijis '-tain' as possessive and adjective-possessive-pronouns.
- (h) Akas and Miri-Akas generally use 'h' phoneme in the beginning of interrogative pronouns while Mijis do not have a set phoneme for this purpose.
- (i) Different words for 'same level', 'above' and 'below' in all three languages is a specific feature of demonstrative pronouns.
- (j) All these languages have different indefinite pronouns or pronouns of number and quality.

- (k) Adjectives in all three languages generally follow the noun they qualify. All three languages differentiate demonstrative adjectives more clearly than in the case of English and Hindi. Amongst these ethnoses demonstrative adjectives are more exhaustive and distinguishing among Aka and Miji than in Miri-Aka.
- (l) Distributive Adjectives are used only in Miji but not in Aka or Miri-Aka.
- (m) All the three ethnoses use different distinguishing words for quantitative adjectives and interrogative adjectives.
- (n) All three languages have qualitative adjectives and they use different words to demonstrate different qualitative adjectives. They all use suffixes to state different comparative degrees.
- (o) In all three languages verbs do not change with number or gender. The usual verb substantive for Aka are suffix '-du', 'da' or '-de'; for Miri-Aka these are '-ga', '-go' or '-gi'; and for Miji the suffixes are '-ru' or '-yu'.
- (p) Verbs come last in all the languages in the sentence patterns which are Subject-Object-Verb (SOV).

- (q) Miri-Aka and Miji verb roots are more simple and stable than the Aka verb roots and suffixes. Verb substantives are used in all three languages which act as suffixes to the verbal roots.
- (r) The verb roots and their use differs significantly in all three languages.
- (s) Adverbs and prepositions are in frequent use amongst all. The semantic elements differ significantly amongst all, though the manner and place generally remains the same in all three language.
- (t) Manner, material and method of use of conjunctions in Aka and Miji languages appear to be close.

From the above the inference can be safely drawn that grammatically (morphological level) all these languages differ significantly from each other. Aka and Miji languages differ lesser than Aka/Miri-Aka and Miri-Aka/Miji. The semantic element is the major factor causing these distinctions which needs further study.

Semantics : In semantic analysis, the study is taken at two levels. First, an affinity analysis of these three languages will be carried out with the languages of the region with the help of 35 basic words selected from Grierson's 'Linguistic Survey' after matching them with the vocabularies recorded by other writers. The languages will first be compared

to find out to which family and group they belong and thereafter, their links will be studied with the languages of the group/groups (tables 5.18 to 5.23). The level of affinity will be measured on the basis of five point scale adopted in chapter II i.e., Excellent (5), Very Good (V.G.4), Good (3), Poor (2) and Very poor (1). Thereafter, the detailed comparison will be carried out with the vocabulary items given in volume II appendices 'G' to 'T' which contains 1978 Aka words, 1150 Miri-Aka words and 1874 words. The categories of these words are shown in table 5.24. These words are further grouped on the basis of 'basic' and 'cultural words' (Volume II Appendix 'JJ') and also on the linguistic basis (Volume II Appendix 'MM'). The first grouping is carried out to compare whether there is more similarity in basic words; it will be considered that the languages are basically different. The linguistic grouping is for convenience and to avoid comparing 128 phonemes and also to find out the pattern of sounds being used in these languages. Semantic affinities between vocabularies of the three languages are given at table 5.26 based on similarities given out in table 5.25.

Table 5.18 : Affinity of languages recorded by Grierson and others with Aka language

(Numerals 13, Pronouns 12, Body parts 10: Scale adopted, 5 point)

Group	Exe (5)	V. Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V. Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman</u>	40	12	9	10	1	72
Numerals (x13)	5	12	6	2	1	26
Pronouns (x12)	30	-	3	2	-	35
Body Parts (x10)	5	-	-	6	-	11
<u>Austro-Asiatic</u>	10	-	15	-	1	26
Numerals	-	-	3	-	1	4
Pronouns	10	-	9	-	-	19
Body Parts	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Indo-European</u>	5	4	-	6	-	15
Numerals	-	4	-	2	-	6
Pronouns	5	-	-	-	-	5
Body Parts	-	-	-	4	-	4
<u>Sinitic</u>	-	-	3	4	-	7
Numerals	-	-	-	2	-	2
Pronouns	-	-	-	2	-	2
Body Parts	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Dravidian</u>	5	-	-	-	-	5
Numerals	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pronouns	5	-	-	-	-	5
Body Parts	-	-	-	-	-	-

contd. ...

Table 5.18 contd ...

<u>Agglutinative</u>	5	-	-	-	1	6
<u>Non-Indian</u>						
Numerals	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pronouns	5	-	-	-	-	5
Body Parts	-	-	-	-	1	1

Overall affinity of Akas is 41% for Tibeto-Burman family, 15% for Austro-Asiatic family, 9% for Indo-European, 4% with Sinitic, 3% with Dravidian and Non-Indian agglutinative languages. The affinities being closest with Tibeto-Burman and closer next to Astro-Asiatic. We shall see Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic languages in detail and drop others due to their low affinities overall.

Table 5.19: Semantic Affinity of Aka with Tibeto-Burman and Astro-Asiatic families (based on 35 words of each language measured on 5 Point Scale)

	Max (5)	V. Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V. Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman family</u>						
<u>North Assam Group</u>						
Miji	15	8	15	4	1	43
Miri-Aka	05	-	-	6	3	14
Dafla	10	-	3	2	-	15
Abor	10	-	3	2	-	15

contd ...

Table 5.19 contd ...

Hill-Miri	10	-	3	2	-	15
Apatani	-	-	3	2	-	05
Mishimi	5	4	-	2	-	11
Padam	5	-	-	2	-	07
Gallong	10	-	-	2	-	12
Nocte	5	-	-	4	-	09
Monpa	-	-	-	2	-	02
Sherdukpen	-	-	-	2	-	02
Sulung	5	-	-	2	-	07
Howa	-	-	-	2	-	02
Tagin	5	-	-	2	-	07
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Himalayan Group</u>						
Newari	5	-	-	-	-	5
Sangpang	-	-	-	2	-	22
Manchu	5	-	-	-	-	5
Kulung	-	-	-	2	-	2
Chamba Lahuli	5	-	-	-	-	5
Limbu	-	-	3	-	-	3
Kampu	-	-	-	2	-	2
Rangkas	5	-	-	-	-	5
Murmi	5	-	-	-	-	5
Kanug	-	4	-	-	-	4

contd ...

Table 5.19 contd ...

Tami	5	-	-	-	-	5
Padi/Pahri/Pahi	-	-	-	-	1	1
Sunway	-	4	-	-	-	4
Hajor	-	4	-	-	-	4
<u>Naga Group</u>						
Tableng	-	-	3	-	-	3
Empeo	-	-	-	-	-	-
Namsangia	-	-	-	2	-	2
Banpara	-	-	3	-	-	3
Tamlu	-	-	-	2	-	2
Mosang	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Kuki-Chin Group</u>						
Chinbok	5	-	-	-	-	5
Yadurn	5	-	-	-	-	5
<u>Kachin Group</u>						
Bara Group	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Tibetan Group</u>						
Gyarung	5	-	-	-	-	5
Hairpo	5	-	-	-	-	5
Ba;tis	5	-	-	-	-	5
Balti	5	-	-	-	-	5
Ladaki	5	-	-	-	-	5
Purik	5	-	-	-	-	5

contd ...

Table 5.19 contd ...

Spiti	5	-	-	-	-	5
Kagati	5	-	-	-	-	5
Sherpa	5	-	-	-	-	5
Danjengka	5	-	-	-	-	5
Hloke	5	-	-	-	-	5
Kapte	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Lolo Moso Group</u>						
Aka (Kanang)	5	-	-	-	-	5
Aka	15	-	-	-	-	15
Lahu	10	-	-	-	-	10
Nung	10	-	-	2	-	12
Moso	5	-	-	-	-	5
Pympyn	5	-	-	-	-	5
<u>Austro-Asiatic Group</u>						
Damang	5	-	-	-	-	5
Wa	-	-	3+3+3+3	-	-	12
Darang	-	-	-	2	-	2
Khasi	5+5+5	-	-	-	-	15
Sakai	5	-	-	-	-	5
Malay	-	-	3	-	-	3
Khasi	-	-	3	-	-	3

Following languages have more than 5% affinity with Aka:-
Miji, Miri-Aka, Dafla, Abor, Hill-Miri, Mishmi, Nocte, Ako,

Lahu, Nung, wa and Khasi. Other languages are having only one or two words close which can be considered as a chance affinity hence affinity with them is not taken into account, further.

The groups to which affinities above the chance-factor of 1%, are, North-Assam group, Lolo-Moso group and Palaung-Wa group. In Lolo-Moso group the languages close are Aka, Lahu and Nung, while in Palaung-wa group the languages close are 'Wa' and 'Khasi'. In North-Assam group the languages close are Miji, Miri-Aka, Dafla, Hill-Miri, Padam and Mishmi.

Table 5.20 : Semantic Affinity of Miri-Aka with language families

(Total words 35 Scale 5 Point)

	Max (5)	V.Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V.Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman</u>						
Numerals		8	3	6	-	17
Pronouns		4	9	-	-	13
Body Parts	5	-	15	-	-	20
Total						50
<u>Austro-Asiatic</u>						
Numerals	-	-	-	2	-	2
Pronouns	-	-	3	-	-	33
Body Parts						
Total						5

contd ...

Table 5.20 contd ...

<u>Karen</u>						
Numerals	-	4	-	-	-	4
Pronouns	-	-	-	-	-	-
Body Parts						
Total						<u>4</u>
<u>Dravidian</u>						
Numerals	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pronouns	-	-	-	-	-	-
Body Parts					2	<u>2</u>
Total						<u>2</u>

It can be seen that the maximum affinity of Miri-Aka is with Tibeto-Burman family. With other language families, affinity is very negligible. Hence for further analysis, the languages of Tibeto-Burman family will be considered for establishment of the further affinity.

Table 5.21 : Semantic Affinity of Miri-Aka with other languages of Tibeto-Burman family
(Total words 35 scale 5 point)

	Max (5)	V.Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V.Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman family</u>						
<u>North Assam Group</u>						
Aka	5	-	-	6	3	14

contd ...

Table 5.21 contd ...

Miji	-	-	3	6	-	9
Dafla (Nissi)	-	4	-	-	-	4
Abor	-	4	-	-	-	4
Mishmi	5	3	3	-	-	11
Apatani	-	4	3	-	-	7
Gallong	-	4	-	-	-	4
Nocte	-	-	3	-	-	3
Hill-Miri	-	4	-	-	-	4
Digaru	-	4	3	-	-	7
Miju	-	4	-	-	-	4
<u>Lolo Moso</u>						
Sibia	-	-	3	-	-	3
Lisu	-	4	-	-	-	4
Moso	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Naga Group</u>						
Sema	-	4	-	2	-	6
Hlota	-	-	-	2	-	2
Chang	-	-	-	2	-	2
Tablang	-	-	-	2	-	2
Tangkul	-	-	3	2	-	5
Maring	-	-	-	2	-	2
Namsangia	-	-	-	2	-	2
Kwoirang	-	4	-	-	-	4
Empeo	-	4	-	-	-	4

contd ...

Table 5.21 contd ...

<u>Burma Group</u>	5	-	-	-	-	5
<u>Himalayan Group</u>						
Rangkas						
Newari			3	-	-	3
Chaurasya			-	-	1	1
Lepcha			3	-	-	3
Murmi			3	-	1	4
Kananri			3	-	-	3
<u>Bora Group</u>						
Dimasa				2	-	2
Tipura	-	4	-	-	-	4

From the above it can be seen that Miri-Aka is closest to Aka and then closer to Mishmi and Miji. With other languages, it has just a chance affinity i.e., only one or two words, the total of which comes less than 5%, hence has not been taken into account. Group-wise, it is close to North-Assam group and then Naga group, Himalayan group and lastly to Lolo-Moso group.

Table 5.22 : Affinities of Mijis with Languages families and Groups

(Total words 35 Scale 5 Point)

	Max (5)	V.Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V.Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman</u>						
Numerals	15	8	12	2	-	37
Pronouns	15	-	3	6	-	24
Body Parts	-	12	9	-	2	23
Total						<u>74</u>
<u>Dravidian</u>						
Numerals	-	-	3	-	-	3
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-
<u>Karen</u>						
Numerals	-	4	-	-	-	4
Other,	-	-	-	-	-	--
<u>Agglitivative Non-India</u>						
Numerals	-	-	3	-	-	3
Other;	-	-	-	-	-	-
Nil affinity with other families	-	-	-	-	-	-

Miji has affinity only 42% approximately with Tibeto-Burman family 74 points out of 175, and only of one word each other groups, hence we shall consider Miji to be belonging to Tibeto-Burman family. We shall further see its affinity with the group and languages of Tibeto-Burman family.

Table 5.23 : Semantic affinity of Miji with other languages of the region

	Max (5)	V. Good (4)	Good (3)	Poor (2)	V. Poor (1)	Total
<u>Tibeto-Burman Family</u>						
<u>North Assam Group</u>						
Aka	15	8	15	4	1	43
Miri-Aka	-	-	3	6	-	9
Nissi (Dafla)	-	-	3	-	-	3
Howa	-	-	6	-	-	6
Nocte	-	8	-	-	-	8
Apatani	-	-	3	2	-	5
Mishmi	5	-	9	4	-	18
Abor	-	-	-	2	-	2
Miri	-	-	-	2	-	2
Padam	-	-	-	2	-	2
Gallong	-	-	-	4	-	4
<u>Naga</u>						
Banpara	-	-	3	-	-	3
Kaugoi	-	-	3	-	-	3
Sema	-	-	6	-	-	6
Maring	-	-	6	-	-	6
Kabui	-	-	3	2	-	5
Mosang	-	4	-	-	-	4
Koi-Ao	-	-	-	2	-	2

contd ...

Table 5.23 contd ...

Mikir	-	-	6	2	-	8
Tangkhul	-	-	-	2	-	2
Tungse	-	-	3	2	-	5
Padang	-	-	3	-	-	3
Kazang	-	-	3	2	-	5
Kangri	-	-	3	-	-	3
Namangia	-	4	-	-	-	4
Tablang	-	4	-	-	-	4
Supong	-	-	3	-	-	3
<u>Boro-Group</u>						
Dimasa	-	4	3+3	-	-	10
Garó	-	4	-	-	-	4
<u>Himalayan Group</u>						
Pahadi, Kanung, Vayu	X					
	X					
Rangkas, Dimal,	X		3 each	-	-	3 each
	X					
Kanesi, Sanwar,	X					
	X					
Lambichang, Mirmi	X					
Pahadi	-	-	6	-	-	6
Limbu	5	-	3	-	-	8
<u>Lolo-Moso Group</u>						
A-ko, Moso, Lisu	-	-	3 each	-	-	3 each
Nung	-	-	9	-	-	9
Lehu	-	-	6	-	-	6

contd ...

Table 5.23 contd ...

Hlota	-	-	6	-	-	6
<u>Tibetan Group</u>						
Kagate	-	4+4	-	-	-	8

Analysis. From the above it can be seen that the Miji has some affinities with North Assam group, Naga group, Boro group, Lolo-Moso group and Himalayan group, maximum being with North Assam group. The affinity, however, with other than Assam Group can be considered as below the chance factor. Amongst the languages, the maximum affinity is with Akas and then with Mishmis. Other languages with whom it has an affinity above 5% (chance factor) are for Knowa 5%, Miri-Aka (6%) Dimasa (6%) Limbu 5%, Kagate 5% and Nung 6%) all however have very poor affinities.

More detailed semantic differentiation was carried out between Aka, Miji and Miri Aka languages with the help of more words than we had used earlier. For this purpose the number of words of these three languages recorded by this researcher are given in table 5.24.

Table 5.24 : Number of words/word forms in all three languages under various categories (files)

Sr.	Cat	English	Aka	Miri-Aka	Miji
1.	Body	122	237	155	198
2.	Medical	45	51	44	38
3.	Society	194	227	174	190
4.	Meals	92	109	61	127
5.	Culture	120	118	19	86
6.	Marriage	25	26	20	25
7.	Kinship	119	218	131	201
8.	Nature	226	324	206	337
9.	Grammar	84	138	65	135
10.	Verbs	202	258	168	284
11.	Adjectives	78	131	49	117
12.	Numerals	32	55	42	53
13.	Proper nouns	-	86	16	83

- Note ; 1. The words of the three languages include various speech-forms for the same word.
2. Miri-Aka religion (under head culture) words are not included because they could not be recorded. Similarly lesser number of other words specially proper nouns have been included, due to the same reason.

Table 5.25 : Words having affinity/closeness
(5 Point Scale)

Sr.	English	Aka	Aka/ MA	Miri-Aka	M.A./ Miji	Miji	Aka/ Miji	Remarks
<u>Body</u>								
1.	Arm	wa	-		-	vae	3	
2.	Beard		-	ju	1	guh	-	
3.	Body		-	ga:	1	zah	-	
4.	Breast	a:ffu:	5	a:ffu:	-		-	
5.	Ear		-	muza	3	muzu	-	
6.	Face	agra:	3	agra:-pu:	-		-	
7.	Finger	agz-itsa	-		-	gi-ts-oh	2	
8.	Hand	e-gi	-		-	gi	3	
9.	Jaw			tani:	3	tuni:	-	
10.	Teeth	thu:	-		-	thu:	5	
<u>Medical</u>								
11.	Doctor	daktor	5	daktor	5	daktor	5	(Loan word)
12.	Hospital	aspi;tal	4	haspital	5	haspi-tal	4	-do-
13.	Medicine	dwa	3	dwa-go	3	dawok	3	-do-
14.	Pain	na:n	1	inni	1	no	1	
15.	Woman	mau:	-		-	mu:	3	
<u>Society:</u>								
16.	Circle	sarkal	5	sarkal	5	sarkal	5	-do-
17.	Circle Officer	si:o:	5	s:i:o:	5	si:o:	5	-do-

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

18. Deputy Commissioner	di:si:	5	di:-si:	5	di:si:	5	Loan word
19. Girl	mumsa	2	mumi	-	-	-	
20. Gram Panch -ayak	Pancait	5	pancait	3	pancga:	3	-do-
21. Old-woman	nuna	-	-	-	nu:	3	
22. Panchayat member	membar	5	membar	5	membar	5	-do-
23. Political Interpreter (PI)	pi:-a:i:	5	pi:-a:i:	-	member	5	-do-
24. Postman	da:g-lago	3	da:k	5	da:k	3	-do-
25. Village Headman	gao:n bura	5	gao:n-bura	5	gao:n- bura	5	-do-
26. Wife	ga:	3	gi:	2	zhi	2	
27. Woman	memem	3	mimi:	-	-	-	
28. Biscuit	biskit	5	biskit	5	biskit	5	-do-
29. Blanket	kombol	5	kombol	3	komblang	3	-do-
30. Book	khako	4	ka:ko	-	-	-	-do-
31. Bottle	botal	5	botal	5	botal	5	-do-
32. Bowl	bartan	-	-	-	bartan	5	-do-
33. Button	batan	-	guda:m	-	batan	5	-do-
34. Cell	sell	-	be:tri:	5	be:tri:	-	-do-
35. Chappal	capal	5	capal	5	capal	5	-do-
36. Cloth Unstitched	ge:	1	gi-lle	1	ga:	3	
37. Fan	pankha	-	-	-	faén	-	-do-
38. King	ra:ja:	5	ra:ja:	5	ra:ja:	5	-do-

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

39. Metal Jug	jug	5	jug	5	jug	5	Loan word
40. Milk	a:fu:	5	a:fu:	-	-	-	-do-
41. Paper	kako:z	3	ka:ko	3	kagaz	3	-do-
42. Pen	pe:n	5	pe:n	-	-	-	-do-
43. Pant	pe:nt	5	pe:nt	5	pe:nt	5	-do-
44. Photo	poto:	4	foto:		p:to:	5	-do-
45. Price	igong	-			-igong	5	
46. Queen	ra:ni:	5	ra:ni:	5	ra:ni:	5	-do-
47. Radio	redi:o	5	radio	5	redi:o	5	-do-
48. Shirt	kami:z	-	poula	8	3 pailo	-	-do-
49. Shoes	si:ta	5	si:ta	-	-	-	-do-
50. Socks	mounza	3	munza	3	mauja	3	-do-
51. Table	sha:-tebul	3	teibul	5	tebul	5	-do-
52. Window	khidki	5	khidki	5	khidki	5	-do-
53. 'Dah' Medium	vetspha	2		-	vetsun	3	
<u>Meals :</u>							
54. Bear (drink)	bi:ar	5	bi:ar	5	bi:ar	5	-do-
55. Butter-tea	sime:				sama:	3	-do-
56. Milk	a:fu:	5	a:fu:			-	
57. Tea	sa:h	3	tsa:	4	sa:	4	-do-
58. Tea with sugar	sa:h-si:-ni:	3	si:ni:-sa:	5	sini:-sa:	3	-do-
59. Kerosene	kaeroshin	4	kira:sin	4	kirashin	4	-do-
60. Maize	sibbe:	-		-	sebea:n	2	-do-
61. Mustard-oil	saro:n-te:l	-	mi:tha:-te:l		sarso:n-tel	5	-do-

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

62. Salt	ru	-		-	lu	2	Loan word
63. Sugar	sini;	5	si:ni..	5	si:ni:	5	-do-
64. Wheat	phu;	3	pu;	3	peoh/pheo	3	
65. Almonds	bada;m	5	bada;m	5	bada;m	5	-do-
66. Apple	a:pl	5	a:pal	5	a:pal	5	-do-
67. Grapes	angu;r	5	angu;r	5	angu;r	5	-do-
68. Ground-nut	bada;m	5	bada;m	5	bada;m	5	-do-
69. Guava	amru;d	5	amru;d	5	amru;d	5	-do-
70. Mango	a:m	5	a:m	5	a:m	5	-do-
71. Orange	narang	5	narang	5	narang	5	-do-
72. Pear	na:spati	5	na:spati	5	na:spati	5	-do-
73. Pomegranate	ana;r	5	ana;r	5	ana;r	5	-do-
74. Pineapple	anana;s	5	anana;s	5	anana;s	5	-do-
75. Cabbage	khubbi	4	kubbi	5	kubbi	4	-do-
76. Carrot	gajor	4	gajra	4	gajar	5	-do-
77. Chillies	a:di	3	a:di	-		-	
78. Cauli-flower	ful-khubbi	4	pul-kubbi	4	ful-gubi	4	-do-
79. Potato	-	-	la:shanikku	3	lasha:nyia	-	
80. Raddish	mu:lle/ mullika	3	mu:le	5	mu:la	3	-do-
81. Vegetable	phuje	-			phen	1	
82. Fish	chi	3		-	tsi:	3	
83. Meat	fu;	2	su;	-	sekio:n	-	

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

Culture (Ornaments)

84. Silver-plated bead-necklace	magile	-	-	magile	5	Loan word
85. Bead	sum	-	-	sum	5	
86. Diamond-shaped ornaments	si;ban	-	-	sigba	2	
87. Necklace with large bead	double	-	-	doule;	5	

Marriage and Customs :

88. Engagement	goina-vio	1	ga:u	1	ga:-drava	1
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Nature :

89. Cloud	mumu	1	muba:u	1	ma;mang	2
90. Earth	n-ou	2	na:	5	na:	2
91. Field	vi:	-	-	vo:	2	
92. Gold	se:	-	-	se:	5	
93. Fire	mi:	-	-	mai:	3	
94. Hill	gaya	1	go:n	-	-	-
95. Iron	si:	-	-	si:	5	
96. Jungle	sembe:	4	sempe:	-	-	-
97. Landslide	roh	3	rah	-	-	-
98. Mountaintop	phu-dzu	-	-	phung-do	2	
99. Sun	jo	-	-	jo	5	
100. Bear	shu-co	2	su:mo:n	3	shu:-tsang	3

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

101. Fish	tsi:	-	-	tsi:-fi:	3	
102. Horse	fugra:	3	sugra:	3	shu-gro:	2
103. Louse		-	fla:n	1	fe:n	-
104. Mithun	fu:	4	su:	5	su:	4
105. Snake		-	gi:bu:	3	bu:	-
106. Crow	pulga:	4	pulka	-	-	-
107. Bamboo	fu:	5	fu:	-	-	-

Grammar

108. I/me	no	2	ne:n	2	nyang	2
109. You (pl)	jo:	-		-	ji:	3
110. He/She	i:	2	li:	-		-
111. We	nyi:	-			a:nyi:	3

Verbs

112. Appologize	ma:f- -thro:n	4	ma:f-tro:n	2	ma:f-bai:	2	Loan word
113. Bark	phui-i:	-		-	phiw	3	
114. Bind	phu-dzo	-		-	phuh-dzo	4	
115. Bow	khi:i:-r:	-		-	giri	2	
116. Bring	lave	-		-	lu-bi	2	
117. Build		-	re:n	1	ri:na	-	
118. Burn	pho	-		-	phrau Jong	1	
119. Eat	tso-u:	-	to	-	tsu:h	3	
120. Fall of hail-storm	ga-u	-		-	gu	4	

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

121. To be fast		-	pa:nti	2	fuentei	-
122. Has/have	du:	-		-	du:	5
123. Hurt	tsadupo	-		-	sadupho	3
124. Itch	sidzu	-		-	gudzu	3
<u>Adjectives</u>						
125. All	vyen	-		-	veh	2
126. Big	dow	-		-	do	4
127. Clever	buzu	-		-	bhu-ji	3
128. Fall	gau:	-		-	goh	2
129. How much?	khinya	-		-	khinyu	3
130. Where ?	ha:nga	-	ha:ju:	-		3
<u>Numerals</u>						
131. One	a:	2	akia	3	akhe	2
132. Two	kshi	-		-	gnih	2
133. Four	pale:	2	kipplai	2	pilli:	2
134. Seven	mryo	-		-	myagh	1
135. Eight	sigih	-		-	sigih	5
136. Nine	sthu/sthi	-		-	sithu:	4
137. Thousand	Haza:	3	haja:r	4	haza:r	3
						Loan word
<u>Kinship</u>						
138. Father	awo:	3	a:bo:	5	a:bo:	3
139. Brother's son	noyum	-		-	nuh	1

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

140. Brother's daughter	noyu:	-		-	neh	1
141. Elder brother's wife	angini	-		-	angeh	2
142. Father's elder brother's wife	a:phi:	-	a:co:	3	a:ci:	-
143. Mother's elder Brother's wife	a:ffe:	5	a:ffe:	-		-
144. Elder sister	amma:	5	amma:	5	amma:	5
145. Sister (common)	nimo:	1	na:	1	neh	1
146. Father's elder sister's husband	a:khi	-		-	akug	1
147. Father's younger brother	-	-	awa:ng	5	awa:ng	-
148. Mother's younger brother	ose:-a: -i:n	5	ose:-a:i:n	-		-
149. Mother's younger sister	annei	5	anei	-		-
150. Younger sister's husband	kama	5	kama	3	guma	3
151. Mother's mother	a:i:e- mukhran	3	a:i:u- mutan	-		-

contd ...

Table 5.25 contd ...

152. Wife's Brother, wife's elder sister	-	-	dia	5	dia	-
153. Wife's elder brother	-	-	bia	5	bia	-
154. Wife's elder brother's wife	-	-	bia	5	bia	-

Table 5.26 : Scaling of Semantic Affinities

Sr. No.	Category	Aka/Miri-Aka			:Aka/Mjji			:Miri-Aka/Mjji		
		Count	%	Affinity	Count	%	Affinity	Count	%	Affinity
1.	Body	8/775	1.03	V.P.	13/99	1.31	V.P.	8/775	1.03	V.P.
2.	Medical	13/220	5.91	V.P.	16/185	8.65	V.P.	14/185	7.57	V.P.
3.	Society	131/870	15.06	V.P.	124/950	13.05	V.P.	106/870	12.18	V.P.
4.	Meals	101/305	33.10	V.P.	103/545	18.9	V.P.	97/305	33.80	V.P.
5.	Culture	0/95	0.00	Nil	17/430	3.95	V.P.	-0/95	0.00	Nil
6.	Marriage	1/100	1.00	V.P.	1/125	0.80	V.P.	1/100	1.00	V.P.
7.	Kinship	32/675	5.12	V.P.	17/1005	1.69	V.P.	39/675	5.86	V.P.
8.	Nature	30/1030	2.91	V.P.	30/1820	2.35	V.P.	20/1030	2.14	V.P.
9.	Grammar	4/325	1.23	V.P.	8/675	1.19	V.P.	2/325	0.62	V.P.
10.	Verbs	4/840	0.840	V.P.	29/1490	1.95	V.P.	5/840	0.60	V.P.
11.	Adjectives	0/245	0.00	Nil	17/585	2.91	V.P.	0/245	0.00	Nil
12.	Numerals	7/220	3.18	V.P.	16/265	6.04	V.P.	9/220	4.10	V.P.
13.	Total	331/5700	05.79	V.P.	400/9160	04.41	V.P.	303/5665	5.35	V.P.

From the above, we can find that :-

1. There are no affinities on the higher scales i.e., maximum, very good or good.
2. Almost all the affinities less the following are having very poor affinities.
 - a) No affinity or zero affinity :- in culture and adjectives among Aka/Miri-Aka and Miri-Aka/Miji.
 - b) Poor affinity :- in meals between Aka/Miri-Aka and Miri-Aka/Miji only.
3. To clarify the point of very poor affinities further, they have been further categorised as very poor-1 (between 10 to 19%), very poor-2 (between 5 to 9.9%) and very poor - 3 (below 5 but above 0).
4. We found very poor affinities on the upper - (1) scale to be in society among all and in meals among Aka/Miji only. In the middle scale-(2) come medical among all, kinship among Aka/Miri-Aka and Aka/Miji; and numerals among Aka/Miji only.

The reason for Miri-Akas having zero affinity with others in para 2 (a) above is probably because sufficient words for comparison were not available in Miri-Aka in these two fields.

5. The affinities of society and meals group are higher

probably because of numerous loan words of these fields in all these languages from common sources i.e., Assamese/Hindi/English languages.

In overall, similarities/affinities of all three languages or any two languages are very poor.

Analysis : From the comparative study of the semantic features of the three languages with about 400 other languages and also with each other, following can be inferred :-

1. All three languages are closest to the languages of Tibeto-Burman family, North-Assam branch, hence can be stated as belonging to this set.
2. All these languages semantically differ from each other significantly.
3. They differ significantly from all other languages of the region and cannot be considered as dialects of any other language.
4. Though these languages differ from other languages but they show marginal affinity with other languages but amount of this affinity differs.
5. Akas and Mijis can be stated as closest to each other semantically than to any other language of the region, though affinity is poor.
6. Aka has some affinity (Very poor) with Miri-Akas,

Bangnis, Abor, Hill-Miri, Gallong and Mishmi of North-Assam group of Tibeto-Burman family and with Ako, Lahu and Nung of Lolo-Moso group of Tibeto-Burman family and with Khasi 'and' 'wa' of Austro-Asiatic family. These affinities however, are of a few basic words only which may be, because of borrowing during their movements to the present location; or while their contact with each other at present location.

7. Affinity of Miri-Akas (after Akas) is only with Mishmis. This affinity reminds one of the statement by I.M.Simon about the striking resemblance of Miri-Aka and Mishmi. However, from the present study, this resemblance is not that obvious as can be taken note of for establishing their common identity. It may be, that during their movements, Miri-Akas stayed alongwith Mishmis for considerable period where they acquired these words from Mishmis.
8. Miji is shown to be having 'very poor' affinity with Mishmi and Dimasa only after its affinity with Akas. This too seems to be due to the reason of their contact during their mobility or stay with these people where they acquired some words from Mishmis and Dimasas.
9. Affinity with Mishmis of all the three ethnoses is of importance because it is likely that all these

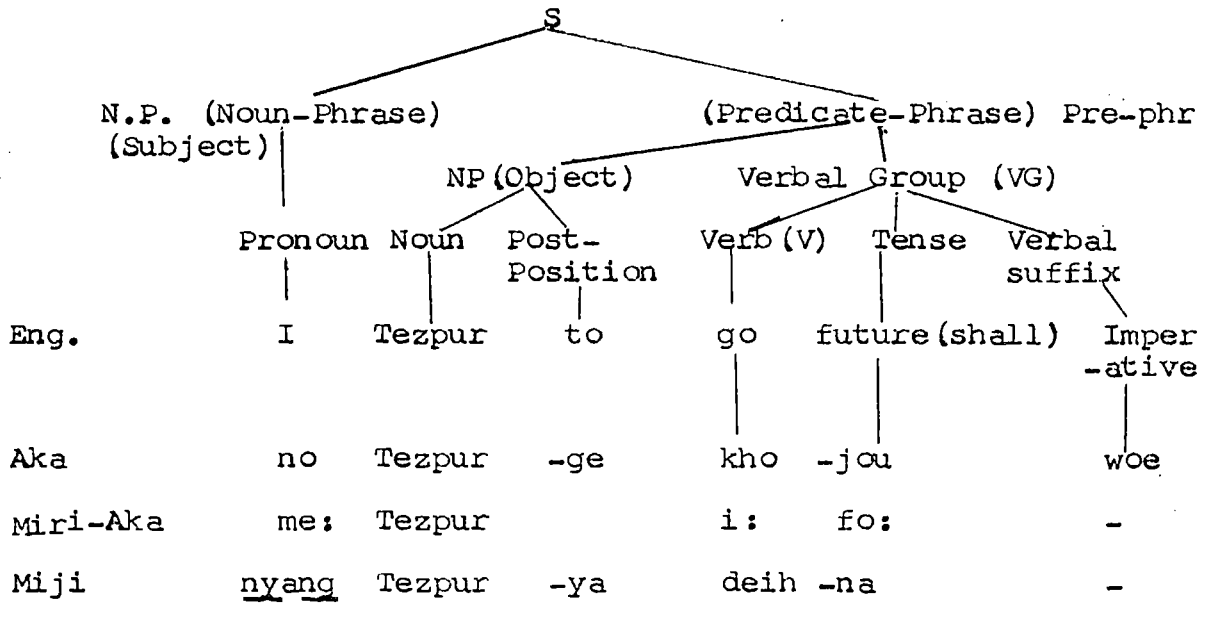
ethnoses after leaving their country and reaching their present location met somewhere near Mishmi country where-from they acquired certain words. Alternatively, it may be that all these tribes originally might be from the same tribe or from the same area as are the Mishmis, but separated long time back.

10. From the detailed study of all these languages based on the semantics, we find that the affinity between Akas and Miri-Akas is very poor but better than with any language of the region. Similarly the affinity between Miri-Akas and Mijis is very poor. But the similarity between Akas and Mijis is better, which seems to be as a result of prolonged contact and lot of loan words commonly loaned from Hindi/Assamese/English.
11. Affinity between these languages increased specially in the field of food items (vegetables) and new items of daily use.

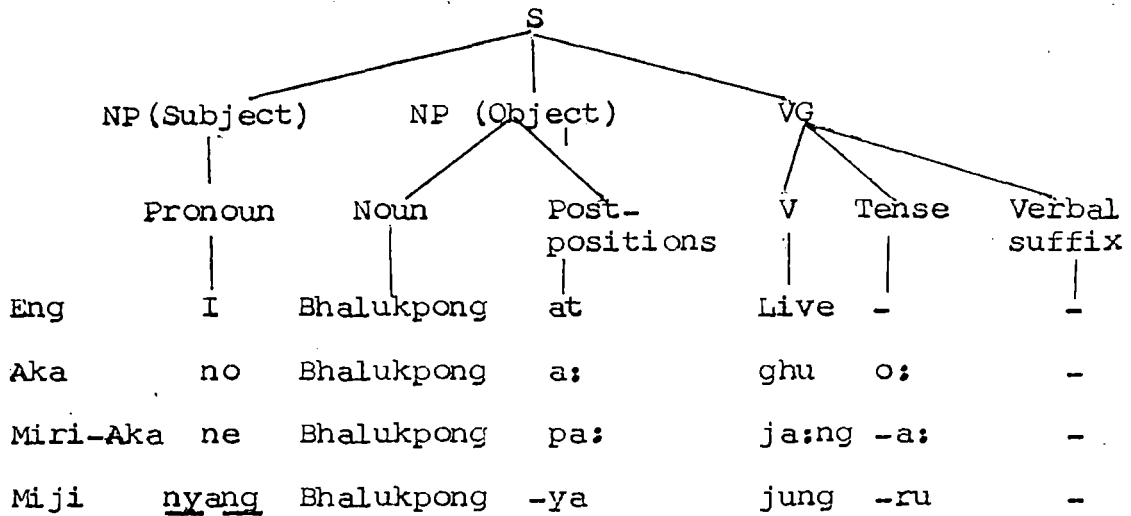
After the study of phonology ; morphology and semantics, the fourth aspect of language attribute is syntax, which will be taken up now. The study of syntax is carried out only at surface structure level to avoid error due to human factor and the likely appearance of variations during interpretation.

Syntax Structure : Basic syntax structure of all the three languages is generally the same i.e., Subject-Object-Verb (S-O-V). e.g. :-

English	I shall go to Tezpur.
Aka	no Tezpur ge kho-jou woe
Miri-Aka	me: Tezpur i: fo:
Miji	<u>nyang</u> Tezpur-ya deih-na



English	I live at Bhalukpong.
Aka	no Bhalukpong (lfo:ng-futhu:) a: gno-o;
Miri-Aka	ne Bhalukpong pa: ja:nga
Miri	<u>nyang</u> Bhalukpong-ya jung-ru



However, there are differences in the basic components of the three languages. These components will be discussed under two headings i.e., Noun Phrase and Predicate Phrase, in the succeeding paragraphs.

Noun Phrase (Subject) : Noun-phrase in all the three languages may consist of, pre-determiner, determiner, ordinal, quantifier, adjective-phrase, classifier and noun. Normally there is no rigidity in placing qualifying adjectives either before or after the qualified noun in the noun phrase. The articles are not used and the determiners as well as pre-determiners may be placed even after the noun acting as object. Examples are given below :

- | | |
|---------|-----------------------|
| English | A tall man. |
| Aka | nina psheu (man tall) |
| English | a big man. |
| Aka | deu nina (big man) |

English	Hunting dog.
Miri-Aka	ikle-suram/suram ikle (dog hunting/hunting dog)
English	Good food.
Miji	taavo mivi (food good)
English	Dirty water.
Miji	vu nici (water dirty)
English	Miji Language.
Miji	dhimmai-lau (Miji language)

Similarly placement of the adjective in the noun-phrase too is flexible though generally it comes after the noun; i.e.,

English	Your elder daughter.
Aka	ba sam nugo (You daughter elder)
Miji	<u>ngi</u> zumraih mukugro (you daughter elder)
Miri-Aka	mu; neg-mimi-gulup-go;n (you daughter elder)

If the adjective phrase is used as is shown earlier, the adjective may be either following or leading. Further examples are given below :

English	Eldest son.
Aka	nosa-nugu-fo: (son eldest)
Miri-Aka	ne; unga: -cho;n-su:n (son eldest)
Miji	zve : -mukho (son eldest)

In case there is a preposition phrase or post-position phrase the preposition or post-position is normally omitted and understood through the text e.g.,

English	Cut with knife.
Aka	vetsa -sa-fiu: (knife cut)
Miri-Aka	kapla ; de; -chiru: (knife cut)
Miji	vaitsen-z-rinrap (knife cut)

Here the noun comes first and the verb is transferred last, as is the case with all the grammatical sentence structures.

Predicate Phrase ; The typical predicate phrase may consist of noun-phrase (Object), post-positional phrase, adjective-phrase and a verbal-group. We shall take all these four one by one. Noun-phrase (object) comes immediately after the noun-phrase (subject) e.g.,

English :	My name is Deru.
Aka	na nu tonkion Deru (Me/I name Deru)
Miji	nyang minh Deru (me/I name Deru)
English	I killed a tiger.
Aka	no shithi shiu: (I tiger killed)
Miri-Aka	me cha; ru; lig (I tiger killed)
English	I am an Aka/Miji.
Aka	no Hrusso (I Aka)
Miji	<u>nyang</u> Dhimmai (I Miji)

In the above cases we have seen that in all the three languages object immediately follows the subject and also that the verb is omitted as it has to be inferred from the sentences only. Hence the use of verb becomes a secondary requirement only.

Post-positional phrase is a specific features of all these languages different from the prepositional phrase as the use of 'in', 'of', 'from' etc. is generally, after the noun/pronoun; though before the verbal group, e.g.,

1. English with man.
Aka uffum mija (man with)
Miri-Aka muru pvro:n (man with)
Miji muvu-jo-ru (man with)

2. English From Bana.
Aka bana-tsigo (Bana from)
Miri-Aka bana-gadha (Bana from)
Miji bana-nuyi (Bana from)

Sometimes these postpositions are omitted as they are supposed to be inferred from the sentence structure itself, e.g.,

- | | |
|----------|----------------------------|
| English | Hair of a cat. |
| Aka | asa umu (Cat hair) |
| Miri-Aka | hawe: .mummi: (cat hair) |
| Miji | kha: shu: gopai (cat hair) |

In Miji however '-i' is occasionally used instead of omitting the suffix for 'of' i.e., nuvu-i-gopai (man of hair).

Adverb Phrase : Adverb phrase in all the three languages is placed before the verbal group e.g.,

English	Come quickly.
Aka	khucho-khave ; (quickly come)
Miri-Aka	itre; ta ; ro; (quickly come)
Miji	mukhthu-dai; (quickly come)

Different adverbs are used for the same words like 'there' 'that' etc., according to the degree of level. This is different from other languages. Examples are given below :

<u>English</u>	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
There (same level)	to-dige	khripa	phai
There (up)	gato/ligza	go-utumpa	thang
There (down)	gtho-aiyeen	ama; ka	phu

Adjective-Phrase : Generally adjective-phrase is just before the verb-phrase in all the three languages. Examples of the use of adjective-phrases are given below :

English :	Your dog is better than my dog.
Aka	ba tsilo no tsilo -se-i u-fo-da your dog my dog, good is
English	A dog is bigger than a cat.
Miji	shazhih kaa-shuru mi-do-laih dog cat big exceed

If we see the sentence structure of Aka and Miji, the structure is found to be as Subject-Object (comparative, qualitative, adjective) and finally the verb. For describing the degree, the pattern in all the three languages is however, different e.g.,

<u>English</u>	<u>Aka</u>	<u>Miri-Aka</u>	<u>Miji</u>
High	levzo	utto <u>o:n</u>	mivia <u>a:n</u> (mene -via <u>a:n</u>)
Higher	ere-u-levzo	utto <u>o:n</u> -sung	mivia <u>a:n</u> -lait
Highest	ere-u-m-levzo	utto <u>o:n</u> -su:te	-
Good	uda	kappla <u>a:n</u>	mivi
Better	ere-e-u-phau	ava:-kappla:n	mivi:lafi;
Best	ere-u-m-du	kappla:n-sung	-

From the above it can be seen that use of ere-e-u and ere-u-m increase the superlative degree in Aka and are placed in front while in Miri-Aka ung and su:te or ava: or sung placed in front or following the adjective increases the superlative degree. Things however are different in Miji where the third degree is not found to be used.

While using interrogatives, the sentence construction does not change from simple sentences except that the 'wh' adjective is used just before the verbal group, which may often be omitted e.g.,

English	What is your name ?
Aka	ba ni -ni - haniya ? (You name what ?)
Miji	<u>ngi</u> minh thin ? (You name what ?)
English	Will the girl weave ?
Miri-Aka	ig-mingi pila ?

Verbal Group (VG) : Verbal group in almost all the cases comes at the end, along with the verbal suffix and the order is generally, the verb suffixed with tense. It also comes with the verbal suffix (as in Aka only) which has a different construction pattern where wa/wae/bae is often found attached at the end in each sentence, e.g.

English	Are you well ?
Aka	ba u-da ya ? (you well are ?)
Miji	nyang mi-vi yu-shi ? (you well are ?)

The reply to this answer is very simple i.e., question mark type speech is converted into normal imperative sentence and the verbal suffix is often missed e.g.,

English	I am well
Aka	no u-da (I well)
Miji	nyang mi-vi (I well)

As per the analysis of syntax structure, it is apparent that the basic sentence structures of all three languages is the same i.e., Subject-Object-Verb (S-O-V), with minor

variations specially in Aka languages which uses verbal suffix extensively. Use of Adjective-phrase in all three languages is not fully settled; instead prepositions, post-positional suffixes are used in all three languages.

The analysis of the four aspects of language attribute provides us the following inferences :-

1. The Aka, Miji and Miri-Aka are three clearly distinct languages which have very poor/poor similarities, and as such can be stated as three different languages.
2. They all can be grouped under North-Assam group of the Tibeto-Burman family as they have maximum similarities with this group.
3. They have maximum differences in phonology followed by the differences in morphology, semantics and then syntax. Their differences decrease from micro level (phonology) when they are maximum, to macro level (Syntax) when they are structurally close. It is most likely that in distant past they were part of the same language but with the passage of time their differences increased; due to long isolation and where they maintained their individual identities.
4. All three languages have some affinities, though

only marginal with Mishmi language of the region which is probably due to their having been close to Mishmis in some times past. This indicates that while migrating, they either passed through and stayed in Mishmi country; or have been close to Mishmis.

5. The Aka language has more peculiar characteristics than the other two and its rules are more difficult to understand than the other two, because of the complexities of its structural features. Miri-Aka is relatively simplest of all the three.
6. Marginal closeness of Akas with Lolo-Moso group and Palaung-Wa groups of Tibeto-Burman languages needs a separate in-depth study.
7. The closeness of these language is more where they have the loan words from the common source i.e., Hindi/Assamese/English mix. Maximum closeness is in words for the items which have been recently introduced into the area i.e., electronic goods, vegetables, fruits, modern amenities and administrative terms etc., and with the modernisation these similarities are likely to increase.
8. Their differences with the neighbouring languages are quite marked which shows that their isolation from the neighbours have been nearly complete for a

long time or they came into their contact at much later stage.

9. Miri-Akas, Mijis, or Akas do not belong to Bangni, Hill-Miri, Miri or any other language linguistically; the doubt which arose in the chapter on name, territory and culture, is set at rest with this.
10. The differences in kinship terms, despite close socio-cultural and marital relations, indicates that these relations are skin deep and not of very distant past. This also negates the theory that the Aka and Miji were having a common ancestor in the near past. It may be so in the distant past which however can-not be denied in view of the nonavailability of sufficient evidence to the contrary.
11. The closeness of Mijis to Akas being more than that of Miri-Akas is an indicator that Mijis have had longer contacts with Akas than the Miris-Akas. It also points to the fact that Miri-Aka is a splinter group of another tribe which might have come to the area much later than Mijis and their marriages with Mijis and Akas started much later as is pointed out in the interviews with them.

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CHAPTER 6

SUMMARY

AND

CONCLUSION

Chapter VI

Summary and Conclusion

The world is passing through a period of serious ethnic turbulence. There has been a pronounced and sudden increase in tendencies among ethnoses world over to insist on the significance of their group distinctiveness and identity and new rights that derive from this group character. In India, the live example is of Arunachal Pradesh, where the ethnoses, officially designated as tribes, who were only 11 as per the Presidential Order 1956, were enumerated as 80 in 1961 census and record breaking 110 and 1971 census. No where in the world, we have so many officially designated tribes within such a small population (only 4,67,511 as per 1971 census).

Any serious thinker on this subject will start with a question mark on the legitimacy of these numbers. Doubts are magnified further when one finds that even a single man (in six cases) has been designated a 'tribe'. Not only this, single groups of people have been identified more than twice e.g., Gallong counted under four different names : Adi, Abor, Adi-Gallong and Gallong, while certain tribe-names have not been included at all just because, they have not been rightly identified. These names and numbers are recorded at the will of either the enumerators or the people themselves, who are not necessarily qualified to define a tribe correctly;

and far complicated is the ethnic process involved in identity establishment.

This study of the Aka, Miji and their kindred was taken up to discover the anomalies in the situation and also to provide a basic framework for future investigation. These ethnoses were stated to be having close socio-cultural relations, long close contact and frequent intermarriages amongst them. These tribes are officially recognised as 'Scheduled Tribes'. Scheduled tribes in India have been identified generally from the attributes of backwardness, primitive traits, geographical isolation, distinctive culture, and shyness of contact. On evaluation of the application of these attributes to Arunachal tribes in general, it was found that these were the differentiating attributes between a tribal from a non-tribal and not between two tribes. In most of the researches on tribes the world over, common name, territory, culture, kinship, and language in various mixes are accepted to be the differentiating attributes for a tribes hence, these latter attributes were accepted for the present study too.

Related literature on the topic being negligible, major stress was laid on the field work, and a comparative method was adopted for differentiation of these ethnoses. Common name, territory and culture were combined in one chapter (Chapter III) while kinship and language were found to be

more distinctive during field work; hence these were presented in two different chapters i.e., chapter IV and V respectively.

From the detailed analysis of various attributes, following could be safely inferred :-

1. Aka is a group name for two ethnoses i.e., Hrusso and Pichang (Miri-Aka).
2. Both these groups call themselves Aka outside their own area or before the outsiders because the Aka exoethnonym given to Hrusso has been used as a cover by Pichang as well, though they are different from Akas.
3. Pichangs are the only kindred who differentiate themselves from Akas. Mijis do not have such kindred who identify differently.
4. The exoethnonyms of the three ethnoses are then Aka, Miri-Aka and Miji while endoethnonyms are Hrusso, Pichang and Dhammai, the names which these people prefer. In future, they are likely to demand to be called by endoethnonyms, as is apparent from their behaviour.
5. The various differentiating attributes generally based on subjective assessment as per their priority of distinction are given in table 6.1, below :-

Table 6.1 : Priorities of attributes providing distinctions within these three ethnoses

	Aka/Miri-Aka	Aka/Miji	Miri-Aka/Miji
1.	Language	Language	Language
2.	Kinship	Name	Kinship
3.	Territory	Kinship	Territory
4.	Culture	Territory	Name
5.	Name	Culture	Culture

6. Various aspects of these attributes which distinguished these ethnoses are given out in table 6.2 below :-

Table 6.2 : Priorities of aspects of attributes providing distinctions

Priority	Aka/Miri-Aka	Aka/Miji	Miji/Miri-Aka
1.	Phonology (language)	Phonology (language)	Phonology (language)
2.	Morphology (language)	Morphology (language)	Morphology (language)
3.	Semantics (language)	Semantics (language)	Semantics (language)
4.	Endogamy (kinship)	Terminology (kinship)	Endogamy (kinship)
5.	Terminology (kinship)	Endoethnonym (name)	Terminology (kinship)
6.	Present- settlement- concentrations (territory)	Present- settlement- concentrations (territory)	Present- settlement- concentrations (territory)

contd ...

Table 6.2 contd ...

7.	Syntax (language)	Syntax (language)	Syntax (language)
8.	Endoethnonym (name)	Exoethnonym (name)	Endoethnonym (name)
9.	Geographical- boundaries (territory)	Geographical- boundaries (territory)	Geographical- boundaries (territory)
10.	Administrative- boundaries (territory)	Administrative- boundaries (territory)	Administrative- boundaries (territory)
11.	Migrations (territory)	Migrations (territory)	Migrations (territory)
12.	Names of festivals, fairs rites, rituals, ceremonies etc.	Names of fairs festivals, rites, rituals, ceremonies etc.	Names of fairs festivals, rites, rituals, ceremonies etc.
13.	Local exoethno- nym (name)	legendry (kinship)	Local exoethnonym (name)
14.	Behaviour (culture)	Behaviour (culture)	

7. These attributes and aspects are able to clearly differentiate between these three ethnoses. The differences have been measured on a five point scale in phonology and morphology aspects of language where their affinities have been found to be poor while their differences are very high.
8. Linguistically all the three languages fall under North-Assam Group of Tibeto-Burman Branch of Sino-Tibetan family. They are however, clearly different

from all the languages of the region. All three languages have marginal affinity with Mishmi. In addition, Akas have very marginal affinity with Lolo-Moso and Palaung-Wa groups, which shows some minor contact between these languages in the past. Within these ethnoses, the Akas are closer to Mijis than to Miri-Akas.

9. The priorities of distinctions have been changing over from situation to situation and time to time. Examples of these are given below :-

(a) The most probable reason of Miri-Akas having been enumerated or known under the name of Aka seems to be their small population which though now is about 300, was much less, i.e., around one third in 1961, the time of their first enumeration. Having enumerated so once, they did not assert their identity in 1971, but now as is apparent from their mood and from their viable numbers, they will assert for separate enumeration and a separate identity.

(b) All the ethnoses have passed a sequence of migrations, most probably in the form of waves. They sometimes came close to each other and sometimes separated. It is most likely that, after original separation they came close to each other.

in Mishmi country as is apparent from their marginal linguistic similarities with Mishmi language. The separation of one group of Aka took place probably after Mishmi country wherefrom this group moved through Assam while the other group through lower Arunachal. The other group of the Akas and the Mijis had least contact with Miri-Akas probably till their departure from Chayangtajo area, where-from they are stated to have migrated together. This period of migrations does not seem to be very old.

(c) Miri-Akas accepted domination of Akas probably at their present place of settlement where they are sandwiched between three dominant tribes i.e., Mijis, Bangnis and Akas. They chose to align with the Akas possibly because the Akas were the most dominating in the area.

(d) The socio-cultural and inter-marital relationships between these three tribes is indicative that proximity as well as regular and sustained contact are two important factors in determining close relationships. The recent marriages of two Miri-Aka girls with Bangnis and employment of a Bangni priest in Aka/Miri-Aka wedding are pointers to this. Also the break in contact between Akas and Miri-Akas due

to internal feuds, has brought to a temporary halt, their social, cultural and marital relationships with each other. This alienation seems to be the reason why the Miri-Akas assert themselves to be different from Akas more vigorously as the dependancy of Miri-Akas is no more on Akas.

(e) The impact of Miri-Aka area having been separated from Aka area administratively has reduced the contact of Akas with Miri-Akas but it has led to an increase in contact of the Miri-Akas with Bangnis.

10. Two other attributes which came up during the study are 'the political organisation' and 'the we-feelings'. It was found that Akas had been organised under a Raja/Rani while other ethnoses had their clan chiefs or even band-chiefs. Now village councils have taken over the reins of the local administration, while the higher democratic organisation controls these village councils. The differences in this field exist no more, as now the same system is prevalent amongst all the tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, hence the differences in organisations are not being discussed further. The other factor i.e., 'We-feeling' or 'Solidarity within the tribe' is found again to be differentiating but at rare occasions only. This point however, gains importance in the light of remarks of Barth i.e., 'ethnic groups

are categories of ascription and identification by the actors themselves'. They accept a group of people in their 'we feeling' when they have certain common bond, feeling or interest. The ethnoses have generally the 'we feeling' based on consanguinity. It has been found that, even though, these tribes have affinal kinship, yet they do not include the other two in these 'we feelings'. Here consanguine kinship takes priority over others. Hence, common name, territory, culture, kinship and language turn out to be the most distinguishing attributes, their importance however, changes from situation to situation and time to time. This proves the hypothesis.

We have now to consider the applicability of these attributes to 'a tribe' as a society vis-a-vis the attributes required to define 'a tribe' as a 'stage of evolution'. In chapter I, we find the attributes of a tribe mentioned in both the cases. The attributes describing 'a tribe' as a stage of evolution have been described as backwardness, primitive traits, distinctive culture, geographic isolation and shyness of contact with community at large. If we apply these attributes for determining identity of these tribes; we will not be able to differentiate any of these from each other, or for that matter from any of the neighbouring tribes, as these attributes apply generally to 70% population of the

area which is tribal. These attributes can at the best be applied to call all of them as 'tribals'. To distinguish them as individual tribes, we have to apply the other set as required to distinguish one society from another. Even L.H. Morgan who was the chief exponent of 'a tribe' as a 'stage of evolution' defined tribe as a "completely organised society".¹

If we study the attributes required to define a tribe as a society, we will find that all these ethnoses identify themselves with different names i.e., Hrusso, Dhammai and Pichang, when they are in close contact with each other. Pichangs however, have been enumerated under the name Aka; the exoethnonym given to both Hrussos and Pichangs. The name Aka hence does not represent one ethnos but two in this sense, as is apparent from the way they both accept this common exoethnonym while away from their concentrations as also during enumeration. Hence Hrusso, Dhammai and Pichang can be considered as the actual names for their separate identity and not the officially recognised names Aka and Mijis, which are exoethnonyms. We therefore can safely say that the endoethnonyms determine their identity and not the exoethnonyms.

All the three ethnoses have generally distinct territories based on their concentrations. The intermix and overlap of populations exist but to a limited level. Considering Barth's point of view that, 'overflow of personnel

does not affect territorial identity', we can say that territory too, is a distinguishing attribute.

Their culture however, due to prolonged contact, has mixed up and does not mark clear boundaries, though a few differences exist. On the basis of culture, we cannot determine their different identity.

In marriage and kinship, we find that their frequent intermarriages have nearly eliminated the differences in the marriage system, only the linguistic terms differ. In kinship too, we cannot differentiate them on the basis of affinal kinship. Consanguinal kinship genealogies as well as the kinship terms are clearly distinctive of all the three ethnoses.

Language attribute has been found to be the most distinguishing attribute and the clear differences in phonology, morphology and semantics not only amongst each other but also with any other tribes of the region are clearly differentiating.

When we consider these attributes for determining the identities of three ethnoses as tribes, we have to consider whether the name, territory, culture, kinship and language demarcate the same boundary or not. Works of Fried, Dell Hymes, John Gumprez, Paul Friedrich, C. Voeglin, Driver, Naroll etc., show that linguistic, cultural and tribal unity are not always the same things.²

Let us consider these remarks in the present context. We found that these tribes generally have distinguishing geographical and administrative territories, with marginal overlaps in the form of inter-mixing of population in a few villages. These overlaps are likely to increase with demographic and situational changes over a period of time, but presently, the overlaps are of a limited scale and do not affect distinguishing capability of territory seriously. The name too, has been a cause of confusion specially between Hrussos and Pichangs, who together were enumerated under a common name Aka and describe themselves so even now outside their own zone, because they consider Aka to be a common name for both the ethnoses given by the outsiders. This is so probably because of the prolonged domination of Akas over them affected their suzerainty. They are now gradually getting enlightened and have started asserting their identity as 'Pichang'. The cultural boundaries have spread all over the combined geographical limit of all the three ethnoses. It has thus ceased to be noticeably differentiating. There is a special reason for it. All the three tribes have prolonged socio-cultural relations and frequent intermarriages due to which the cultural differences got gradually reduced to a limit of non-distinction.

Similarly the kinship has been affected by these close socio-cultural contacts and frequent inter-marriages. We find virtually no differences in their marriage systems

except the language element, which strangely enough, still stands out. This linguistic element in the kinship terms, is clearly distinctive of the three ethnoses. Another clear difference is that the clan exogamy is being strictly followed among Akas and Mijis while Pichangs allow marriages even within the clan, and this aspect assists in boundary marking of Pichangs, which generally appears to be the same as geographical boundaries in their case.

The kinship terms are however, affected by the contact; and kinship boundaries of Akas and Mijis are not the same as territorial boundaries. The only matching boundaries with their geographical boundaries are the language boundaries. They are so clearly distinguishing that one can say without doubt that their linguistic boundaries are the true determinant of their ethnic boundaries. All the aspects of the language describe these three ethnoses to be different.

From the above discussion we find that the boundaries provided by most of the aspects of culture and kinship are not the same as geographical boundaries distinguishing them, but there are some aspects like myths and legends as well as the linguistic elements of culture and endogamy and kinship terms which provide some boundaries which more or less confirm to the geographical boundaries. Boundaries provided by these attributes are confirmed by endoethnonym to be nearly the same, while language attribute leaves no doubt about

these boundaries to be the same. The languages have so clearly marked distinctions that, even the inter-marriages have not reduced the linguistic differences. How do their marital relations survive despite of these language differences then? is an interesting question, and is dealt with next.

All these tribes have maximum bilinguals and multilinguals specially at understanding level. Language does not become a bar between a husband and wife belonging to different linguistic groups, because they both understand each other's language and learn these languages through exposure. The researcher came across a family where the Aka husband had six wives, two each from Akas, Miri-Akas and Mijis. They all lived very well with each other and according to them they found 'no difficulty in communicating' due to multilingualism.

Another aspect in maintaining boundaries which needs consideration at this stage is the overall impact of continuous counter-action between close intermarital and socio-cultural relationship on one side and linguistic differences on the other. Will these ethnoses come closer or maintain their differences? We have seen various ethnic processes in chapter I. The process they will follow, depends upon time and situation, however, if the present close relationship continues, then time is not far when the linguistic

differences will decrease further and socio-cultural and marital relationship will increase. The continuous overflow of people may reduce the territorial distinctions. This can be considered as the process of ethno-genic inter-ethnic consolidation, which may ultimately lead to assimilation. The enumeration of Pichang (Miri-Aka) with Hrussos may be considered as a case of inter-ethnic integration, leading towards assimilation. Their common cultural tradition may mould them to a common 'ethnic union' or 'ethnic reserve'.

Hence, presently, based on at least four attributes i.e., language, kinship, territory and name we can safely say that all three ethnoses are different tribes however, it is likely that in future, the situation may not be the same specially in case of Hrussos and Pichang. The culture attribute is not found distinguishing because of close socio-cultural relations, inter-tribal marriages and prolonged contact, but this does not negate the distinguishing capability of culture. For example, if we compare any of these ethnoses with their Bodic neighbours, we will find the culture too, is a clearly distinguishing attribute. It will be then wise to say that the distinguishing capability of this attribute has varied according to the situation.

An important point emerges at this stage that Akas and Mijis have numerous clans while Pichangs have only one clan. Can only one clan form a tribe? Morgan describing

clans as gens, states, "A gens --- is a body of consanguineal descended from the same common ancestor, distinguished by a gentila name, and bounded together by affinities of blood".³ Here the main attributes of a clan are given as consanguine relationship between members, descent from a common ancestor, a common name and blood relationship among the members.

The most prominent difference between a tribe and a clan is that "the tribe is an endogamous group while the clan is an exogamous".⁴ Also, a clan is stated to be having no exclusive territory or language. Pichangs have an exclusive territory and language and does not fall in the exclusive category of a clan. Though it has only one clan name, yet it does not meet the other requirements for being called a clan. It is not exogamous. It has its exclusive territory and language. Hence it will be more appropriate to call it a tribe than clan.

More detailed study on this aspect will certainly be able to clear, if there is still any doubt. For the present, we can safely proceed with the finding of 'Pichang' to be a different tribe as are Mijis and Akas. We can hence designate them as three different tribes.

The term 'tribe' however, is considered derogatory due to its colonial linkage. We have used two sets of attributes to designate them; one set based on 'tribe as a stage of evolution' and the second set based on 'tribe as a society'.

The first set has a colonial history while the second set has a glorious past. In India, the term has been further modified which now designates them as 'Scheduled Tribes' on the basis of their having been 'included in the list of Scheduled Tribes'. It means that those tribes which have been included in this list will only be having the privileges and preferences meant for 'Schedule-tribe' and not those who have not been listed. It is clear from this that Pichang or Miri-Akas if they assert independent identities from Akas cannot get any benefit meant for Scheduled Tribes until they are included in the Scheduled Tribe List, while other people enumerated under the names of Haisa-Tangsa, Hotang-Tangsa, Katin-Tangsa, Korang-Tangsa, Langkai-Tangsa, Lowang-Tangsa, Sanke-Tangsa or Nonang with a population of only ONE, or for that matter 28 tribes having a population less than 15 will be getting all the benefits; but because they have been included in the Scheduled Tribes List. Similarly the Nah/Nga/Na, Rau, Rishi-Mora, Pa-Ta-Phea etc., who have not been included in the Scheduled Tribe list can get no benefits if they declare their independent identity, but those who have been included in the list under more than one tribe-names e.g., Gallongs as Adis, Abors, Adi-Gallong and Gallong, are authorised to avail the benefits. Are these people then rightly identified? They certainly are not. This clearly proves the inadequacies of the Scheduled Tribe list on the basis of which those people can avail privileges, preferences

and benefits. Names appear to have been included or excluded indiscriminately in the Scheduled Tribes list based on the census list where the names are recorded under the head "tribe" by the enumerators who had no knowledge of the attributes of 'a tribe' and wrote as such because they felt so, or were told so by those who even did not understand what 'a tribe' is. The problem was further magnified by the communication problem due to language differences between the enumerators and the people. This inaccuracy of the list is clearly brought out by this research-work where, while studying the identity of only two officially listed tribes, we found three from amongst the same people. It is unimaginable at this stage as to what will be the out-come if the detailed study of the officially listed 110 tribes is conducted, as from mere figurative assessment in chapter II, we found numerous anomalies.

To give right privileges and right preferences to the right people is the aim of preparing these lists, but they have not been able to achieve their aim as is clear from the presented study. Hence it is very important that instead of maintaining the lists based on census returns or modifying them based on better or changed results of these census, a team of experts and dedicated research-workers in this field are employed who determine the correct identities studying their attributes defining 'a tribe as a society'. The name 'Scheduled Tribe' also may be reconsidered due to its

derogatory connotation and replaced by a name which is respectable and acceptable. Names like 'Adivasi', 'Vanayjati' etc. have been considered but have not yet been found acceptable. Pathy suggests the term 'ethnic minority'⁵ for a tribe, while this researcher feels that any names analogous to 'a minority community' will be more appropriate. The acceptance of the final name however, can be made only after due research and with the concurrence of the people themselves lest this appears another derogatory attempt on their dignities. Till a suitable name is found, the name 'Scheduled Tribe' may be continued, however its definition has to be modified to state that, "a scheduled tribe is a geographically isolated, undeveloped, primitive and contact-shy kindred-group with a common name, territory, culture, kinship and language".

The need for identifying these people correctly is urgent because they are getting enlightened and claim their privileges and preferences more vigorously now. If due to lack of their correct identity they do not get the officially authorised benefits, or their benefits go to the people who do not have correct identities; they will certainly object, agitate and even may get violent.

We have nothing to worry, if the step towards ethnic identification is taken in right direction at a right time, because, the increasing assertion of tribal identity is a part of the overall forces of social change and modernisation.

This pace of change has been rapid, particularly since independence due to intensified modernisation and development. This process has also increased the need for a secured place and identity on the part of the communities in the new scheme of things. They are becoming conscious of the fact that in order to acquire the benefit of modern civilisation they need to be viable in human resources. As a consequence, small and distinct local groups combine to form a larger group as is the case of grouping and regrouping of Adis, Mishmis, Tangsas, Monpas, Nishis etc., to form a larger group and adopt a common appellation. The various processes of ethnographic groups i.e., forming ethnic unions, ethnic reserves or ethnic dyads is in full force in Arunachal in determining new identities. Such redefinition and expansion of identity may be viewed as an adoptive mechanism to the changed social, cultural and political circumstances. Such widening of identity is a development, having positive potentials for effective integration of the separate tribal groups in our country. The situation can only be favourable if we are awake and visualise the changes in ethnic processes in right perspective.

References

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