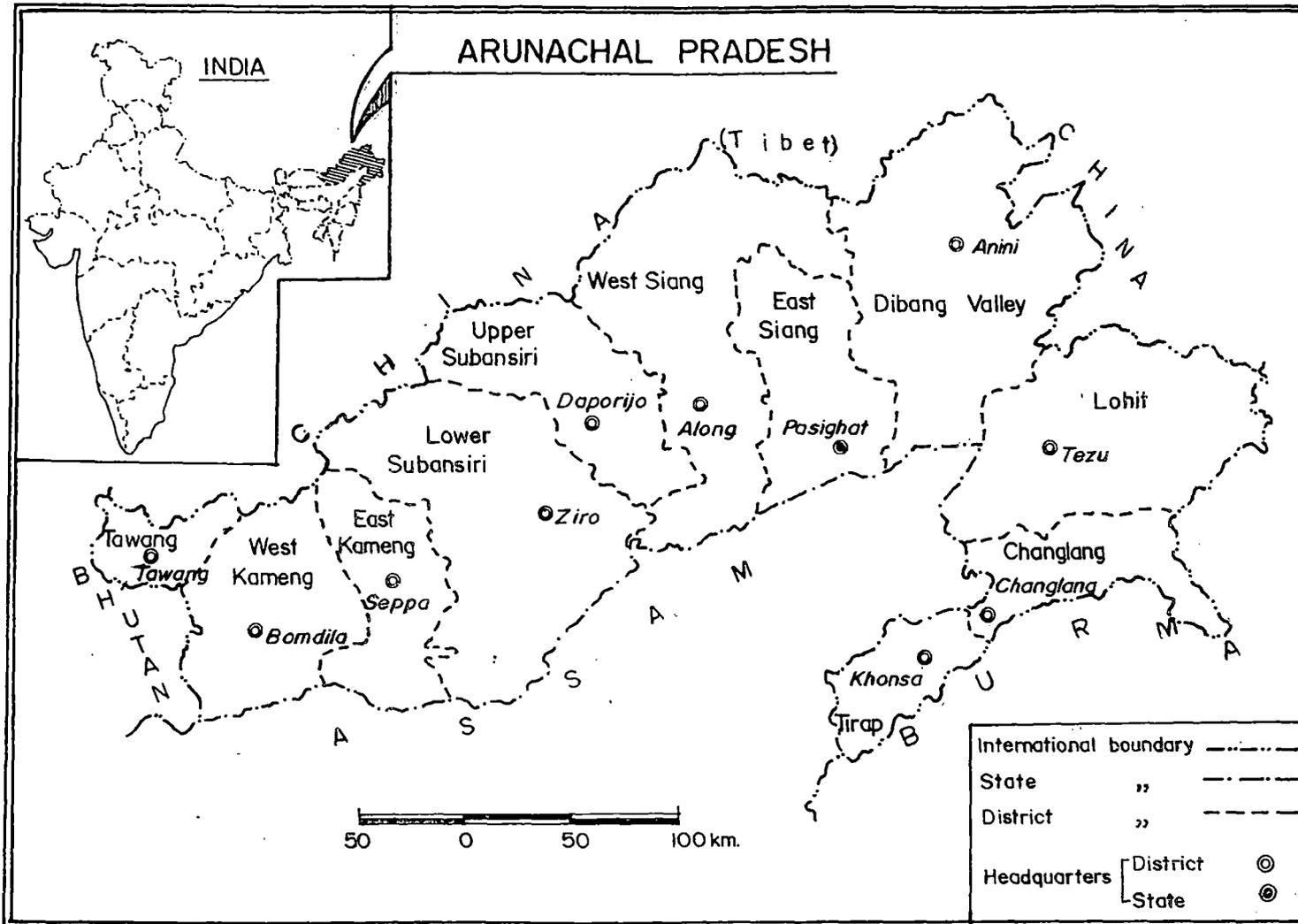


**CHAPTER 2**

**PROBLEM  
FORMULATION**

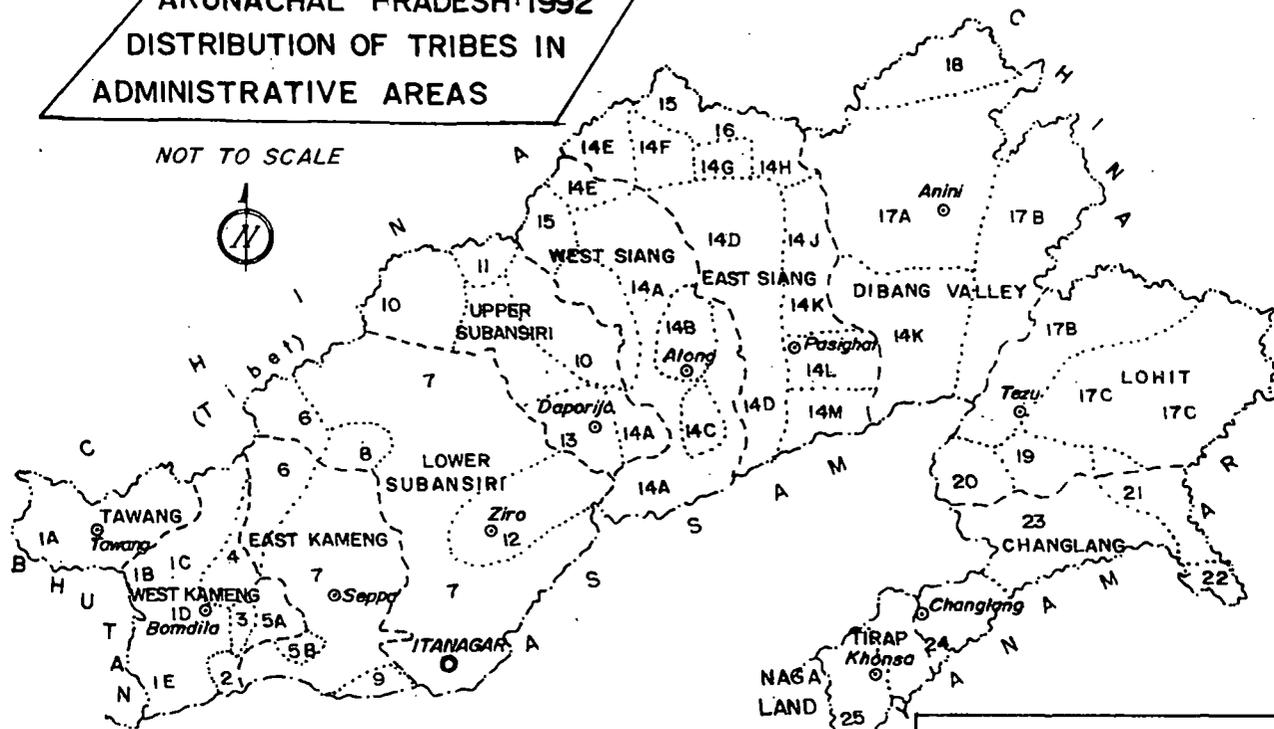
**II**

**OBJECTIVE  
SCOPE AND  
METHODOLOGY**



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

NOT TO SCALE



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

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/ Bordwarias/ Panidwarias 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"<sup>1</sup>. It has however, been mentioned that "the Presidential Order is illustrative and not exhaustive with respect to the tribes of North East Frontier Agency"<sup>2</sup>. The inadequacy of the numbers was found in the census of 1961, where the number of these tribes enumerated was 80<sup>3</sup> and in the census of 1971 this number rose to 110<sup>4</sup> but decreased to 105 in 1981 Census<sup>5</sup>. 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 Burma<sup>6</sup>.

(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"<sup>7</sup>, but in census grouping they were shown as 'Monpa, Lish Monpa, But-Monpa, Dirang-Monpa and Southern Monpa'<sup>8</sup> in 1961 ; and as 'Monpa, But-Monpa, Dirang-Monpa, Lish-Monpa, Panchen-Monpa and Tawang-Monpa in 1971'<sup>9</sup>.

(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"<sup>10</sup>.

(c) B.B. Pandey recorded that "The Nishang group of tribes as given in 1971 census, should be called the 'Bangni Group of Tribes'<sup>11</sup>. 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"<sup>12</sup>.

(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"<sup>13</sup>.

(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"<sup>14</sup>. 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<sup>15</sup>. 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"<sup>16</sup>.

(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 Gallong<sup>17</sup>.

(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'<sup>18</sup>.

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

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

(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"<sup>21</sup>. B.B. Pandey calls them as 'Nah'<sup>22</sup> and Dr. K.S. Singh describes them as 'Na'<sup>23</sup>.

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

(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"<sup>25</sup>.

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"<sup>26</sup>. 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/> 22 <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, Pangi, Tagin etc. shows that these tribes are eager to keep their indentity 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"<sup>28</sup>. 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"<sup>29</sup>.

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 Khrome<sup>31</sup> by R. Sinha. Dalton in his report described them to be different than the Hill Miris and called them 'Tanae'<sup>32</sup>. 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"<sup>33</sup>. 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"<sup>34</sup>. 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'<sup>35</sup>, 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 this 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, Ethncity 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 Bomdila, 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 Ramdaganja, 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>
<b>6. <u>Marital Status :</u></b>					
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
<b>7. <u>Languages :</u></b>					
a) Monolingual	05	-	-	-	05
b) Bilingual	15	-	03	-	18
c) Multilingual	19	07	22	02	50
<b><u>Other Languages known (other tribal languages known generally at understanding level only)</u></b>					
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

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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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