

CHAPTER - V

Economic, Literary and Spiritual Panorama.

In order to get a complete picture of the traditional Adi culture and society in its entirety, a study of the economic, literary, and spiritual background also is most necessarily involved. In the present chapter, therefore, an attempt shall be made to present that background as it prevailed in the Adi land till the other day before the processes of modernisation started leaving their definite impact on all fronts of life and society of the Adi people. Our first concern is with the economic panorama.

5:1. Economic Activities.

Among the economic activities of the Adis cultivation, hunting, fishing, weaving and some little trade have all along been the most important ones and have close affinity with various social, spiritual and literary practices. Agriculture provides the people with their staple food and the main material for their dress. According to their mythology, the gift of the knowledge of cultivation was made to them by the gods and it was a goddess who ⁱⁿvented it. As such, in the matter of cultivation all through, Adi women play a major part and do it with their characteristic skill, efficiency and neatness. Again, a large number of Adi festivals and ceremonies centre around various agri-

Cultural operations which are intended to please and propitiate the relevant presiding deities for greater benefits and prosperity.

The kind of cultivation resorted to by the Adis is popularly known in North-East India as Jhum. It aims at exploitation of the natural fertility of the soil till it is exhausted by croppings, and has to be got restored by a period of fallow during which wild vegetation is allowed to grow freely on the plots. All the cultivable land or srik of a village is divided into a number of blocks or patats which are taken up for cultivation in succession, after a definite number of years of fallow, in a cycle. (1)

The main bulk of agricultural products is food crops. Both grain and garden crops are cultivated, like various kinds of paddy, job's tears, millets, maize, tomato, potato, pumpkin, onion, gourd, brinjal, mustard, chilli, ginger, jackfruit, orange, banana, papaya, pine apple, sugarcane. To feed the cottage looms cotton is largely produced and tobacco for smoking.

Agricultural production aims at meeting the requirements of the household consumption. The producers are themselves the consumers and engaging additional labour to produce more is not envisaged in the system. But there are provisions for taboos in agricultural activities, death depriving families of working hands etc. To meet such emergency, there are two systems. According to

one known as riqlap labour is hired on payment of cash, while according to the other called enlik, payment for hired labour is made in kind. (2)

Every family has its individual plot for cultivation allotted to it on which it exercises full right of ownership. But in cases of troublesome and complicated disputes, it has to accept the decision of the Kebang and submit to its directions to avoid inter-family conflicts. The fine democratic and community spirit of the Adi people makes the whole village participate in a body in all the different stages of agricultural operations from start to finish. (3)

Several important festivals and ceremonies have become essential parts of agricultural operations. Fencing of the fields against intruding cattles is attended with the performance of Ettor festival, the first weeding of the fields with the Lune Solung, the final weeding with the Lutter Solung, and lastly, the storing operation of the grains is marked by the Rikti ceremony to purify the granaries. An idea of the agricultural processes of the Adis may be had from the calendar appended to the end of this chapter. (4)

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Hunting and fishing, two other major engagements of the Adis, may be described as gathering of animal food. With the progress in domestication of animals and introduction of agriculture,

hunting and fishing gradually change from essential means of livelihood into a form of community entertainment and pastime mainly and source of protein food in the next place.

Though hunting is far less important than agriculture as an economic activity, the very high and special social status accorded to chase indicates its much older existence as being the only definite source of sustenance of the people. Every household prominently displays its collection of trophies of chase as a sign of its social status. Every member of the tribe is valued in terms of his participation in the community hunts arranged by the moshup with elaborate codes of conduct, rules of procedure, rituals, and principles governing the sharing of the game among all. (5) In spite of the many changes occurring in the Adi society over the years, hunting is still now a great event with them and during the lean months of agriculture it solves their food problem to some extent.

Likewise, fishing is firmly established among the Adis as a mode of obtaining animal protein for food. Fishing has the similar place among the economic pursuits as hunting but it is much inferior in social importance. Like hunting it is also organised on community basis. As a sport, it is more national in character, in so far as it is, unlike hunting, open to both the sexes. At the end of the agricultural season, it assumes the appearance of a popular festival when persons of all ages and both sexes go out in

gay batches for fishing. Various kinds of traps and nets are used in fishing and methods like catching by hand, by pelting stones, poisoning the water, drying up or diverting or barricading the river bed ~~and~~ are also applied by the Adis. The total catch is usually collected in one place and divided equally among the villagers who take part in the expedition. That invariably lots are cast, omens are read, and trips are planned or postponed according as the spirits decree, only indicate the prevalence of the Adi belief in the supernatural. Performance of Ampi, Unning, Kirug rites and ceremonies associated with chase, points to the same mood of propitiating the unknown powers and spirits. (6)

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Among the other occupations in which the Adis keep themselves engaged for sustenance are weaving, basketry, rearing domesticated animals, and a little trade with home-made products. The Adis are good at weaving and their taste in colour scheme and artistic designs is excellent. Weaving is now a major occupation of the people which makes them self-dependent in the matter of dress. Weaving is solely confined to women. They weave well, with patterns and colours which are very much ⁱⁿ perfect taste and particularly adapted to the surroundings. The Adis are expert in basketry also. It is generally an occupation for the old people who spend their leisure hours in knitting baskets, fishing nets, traps, mats etc. Both weaving and knitting products, clothes, garments, shawls

and basketry supply household needs and outside markets.

Rearing some domesticated animals as pig, mithun, cow, goat, and fowl for supply of meat and milk as also for sacrificial offerings is an important occupation of the Adis. They are also expert makers of various instruments and implements for the purpose of chase, cultivation and various other uses. They do their little trade with all the various cottage products already mentioned and purchase the various necessities and little luxuries of their simple life. It is nothing on a grand scale but is just enough to keep their life going without either much hardship or lavishness. Now, to state the economic setting, as it was prevalent in the Adi land till late 1960's, a little more elaborately for clearer understanding.

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Farming is the major occupation of the Adis. In the matter of cultivation all through, excepting in felling big trees and clearing the debris on the land before actual cultivation starts, Adi women play a major part. Again, quite a large number of Adi festivals and ceremonies centre around agriculture because they think that they must please and propitiate the various unknown and unseen beings who are the presiding authorities over this matter, so that they may enjoy the full reward of their labour. Adi economy centres round agriculture and that agriculture is of an

first is left fallow and the fourth is taken up. In this way the cycle continues till after tenth year the first block is taken up again. This allows ten years' fallow to every block. This cycle is commonly called 'Jhum' cycle and ensures against the exhaustion of soil. The cycle depends on the number of 'patat⁴' available and the population to be supported. Thus each 'patat' has alternating periods of tillage and fallow succeeding each other in fixed rotation. It would appear that the time a 'patat' is to be brought under cultivation being fixed and known in advance, there would be no need for fresh selection each time. Yet the routine rotation has to be got approved by the spirits to ensure success of crops. So the village elders have to gather in a Kebang, everytime a 'patat' is opened, to deliberate on the selection and get it approved by the unseen guardians of fields and crops. The village miri reads omens to know their will.

Large-scale use of single blocks is characteristic of the Adis. A large Adi village, has, therefore, a very large continuous block of land, say a thousand acres cultivated at a time. Gentler slopes of the hill are usually preferred, but in some cases the fields are pretty steep. The highest altitude for agricultural land is six thousand feet. Every 'patat' is divided into household plots. Every family has its individual plot allotted to it from the day it settled in the village. Though there are no written records, the village memory retains all the details

of such allotments and if not in theory, in practice each family may be said to exercise right of ownership on its own land. During fallow all these plots are open to common pasturing of the village cattle, but such trees on the land as are of any use with its leaves used to make mats etc. continue to be owned exclusively by the owners, and these can in no way be utilized or interfered with except with the explicit permission of the rightful owner.

The family ownership of plots however is more evident in the cultivation stage of the cycle. After the omens are read and found favourable, a day is fixed by the Kebang for the clearing, and the whole village, men and women both, except the invalid or otherwise disabled, go to the block. Here however they split up into family units, each working on its own plot, which is well known to all from generations. This working on family basis is maintained all through the cultivation period, except the occasion of fencing. The entire area under cultivation has to be fenced in against the semi-domesticated mithuns. In this work the village men serve as a single unit. In others, the family as a separate unit works by itself.

Clearing comprises cutting down the jungle that has grown in the fields during the period of fallow, spreading the debris over the fields to dry and burning them when dry. The cutting is extremely thorough. The land is completely cleared of the natural vegetation and only the stems of larger trees are left standing, and

are used in marking the boundaries between family plots. Some of the heavy pieces of log are carried home for the family hearth and the rest are burnt, when thoroughly dry, on the fields in order to add the fertilizing ash to the soil. The unburnt charred logs are rolled to the boundaries. This burning of the debris and clearing after that are done by the families separately, mainly by the men, the women helping and keeping them well-supplied with beer. Man's hard labour ceases with the burning and woman's begins; sowing, weeding, harvesting all are women's charges.

Agricultural production aims at meeting the requirement of the household consumption. The producers are themselves the consumers and engaging additional labour to produce more is not envisaged in the system. But there are provisions for taboos in agricultural activities, death depriving families of working hands etc. To meet such emergency, there are two systems. According to one known as 'riglap' labour is hired on payment of cash, while according to the other called 'enlik' payment for hired labour is made in kind.

Slavery may also be mentioned in this context. In the early days it was a source, though to a limited extent, of labour from outside the family. But in whichever way it was procured, slavery can not be considered as external labour. For once processed, a slave became a member of the family, at least

of an inferior status.

The main bulk of agricultural products is food crops. Both grain and garden crops are cultivated, like various kinds of paddy, job's tears, millets, maize, tomato, potato, pumpkin. Fencing and weeding of the fields are two important stages in the agricultural operations. Some areas are fenced to confine the mithuns so that they may not escape and destroy the crops. Along with this the Ettor festival is performed. The first weeding starts about a month afterwards when the seeds have sprouted and grown about six to nine inches in height. After the first weeding all the women of the village perform the Lune Solung festival. The second weeding is carried on when the crops have grown higher. Just before the final weeding the Adis perform the Luttor Solung festival for the prosperity of the cattle. The last important agricultural operation on the field are reaping and thrashing. Crops are reaped about one and half months after the final weeding. The grains after reaping are carried to the field-house for thrashing. The straw if left in the field is burnt to use as manure. The storing operation is celebrated by the Rikti ceremony to purify the granaries.

Hunting and fishing as means of producing food stand in the same relation to the domestication of animals as gathering of wild fruits and roots stands to agriculture. They may, there-

fore, be described as gathering of animal food. With progress in domestication of animals, hunting and fishing gradually change from means of livelihood into a form of entertainment and pastime. With the Adis, they are in a transitory stage where they have developed a few traits of the latter though retaining still their main economic character. This stage has however, been long static as domestication of animals and has not made any appreciable advance. So it is as economic activities they are still to be considered.

Though hunting is far less important than agriculture as an economic activity, yet its social significance is much greater. It is a man's occupation par excellence and stands second only to war in dignity. Its high position is reflected in the social recognition it is given. Every household prominently displays its collection of trophies of chase as a sign of its status. Everyman is valued for his manly qualities, among others, by his contribution to this collection and some of these go to decorate his grave to add to his status in the next world. The moshups treasure similar collections as proud souvenirs of all community hunts. Indeed arranging such hunts is one of the principal functions of the moshup. Community hunts are important social undertakings attended with elaborate codes of conduct, rules of procedure, rituals and principles governing the sharing of the game. The entire village participates in it in some way or other. Only the women are to be satisfied with distant and

neutral observation. The heroes are to abstain from any contact with women after success. The engaged males are bound to give shares of the kill to the families of the brides.

This high and special status of chase indicates that it is an occupation much older and indigenous to the community. It once formed the only important source of sustenance of the people. It originated at a time when they were nomads moving after the beasts of the forest. The degree of success depended on the availability of game and the supernatural element naturally dominated. As the community depended on the game bagged, chase had to be a collective enterprise and every kill had to be shared fairly by all. These aspects still linger in the rites performed and in the community cooking and eating in the moshup after a hunt in which the old people are specially entertained.

This has been in the earliest days. But when the Adis came first to be known closely in the 19th century, they had already switched over to agriculture as the main stay of their economy. This must have come through the women who came therefore to bear the principal burden of the labour. It brought stability to the society in respect of food and made permanent settlements possible. Chase lost its economic importance and tended to turn into community entertainment mainly and source of protein food in the next place with the passage of time.

Yet since it was the earliest organised occupation of the society, it retained its old position in its estimation. Agriculture -- the woman's innovation - failed to dislodge it from that position in a patriarchal society. Naturally Adi heroes are great as hunters or warriors and not as producers of rich harvests.

The Adis start practising hunting quite early in life. The elders teach the youngsters the use of various weapons and traps of chase, and the young are always eager to accompany hunting parties whenever they get an opportunity. Young children are generally allowed to join group hunting parties for beating the forest and to learn the game well. Bows and arrows are used to kill big games whereas traps of various kinds are used to catch birds, rats, hares, squirrels, and porcupines. Whenever a hunting party is decided upon by the village council, an announcement is made on the previous night, and all young men assemble in the moshup next morning with their bows and arrows and dogs. With burning sticks in hand they proceed to a part of the forest in a half - circle with dogs while they fix nets on the other side. As the animal is sighted, dogs are let loose ~~after~~ it, while the hunters from their position behind the trees shoot at it with poisoned arrows.

The rites performed before hunting are quite elaborate. Before the hunting actually starts, the Adis observe some worshipping ceremonies in the moshup, drink apong and sing the

origin of hunting known as 'Ampibari'. In the last night of hunting another ceremony is held in the moshup, followed by a feast. When an animal is killed, the man who first spotted and wounded it, gets the major share. The rest of the meat will be shared by those who helped him in hunting on that particular occasion. In group hunting the rule is different. All collections go directly to the moshup where all the male members of the village assemble. The meat is divided among all and the whole community enjoys a grand feast. To the Adis teeth, skulls and horns of the hunted beasts are great trophies which are either taken home by the hunters or kept in the moshup as articles of decoration and velour. During the hunting periods, sacrifices of mithusⁿ are very frequent and for a number of days a great festival called 'Uning', with dance and ritual, ensues. Every able-bodied Adi must take part in community hunting, failing which he will have to pay a fine and it will go^{to} the moshup fund. The Adis do not eat the flesh of tigers, wild dogs, jackals, cats, snakes, kites, hawks, crows, and bats. Various kinds of deer, wild boars, dambars, squirrels, rats, and variety of birds are their favourites. In spite of the many changes in the Adi society, hunting is still now a great event with them and during the lean months of agriculture it solves their food problem to some extent.

The absence of fish from the traditional list of offerings prescribed at sacrifices and the methods employed in catching it, point to an exotic origin of fishing among the Adis.

It is, however, firmly established for over such a long time in the country and is so widely practised by all the sections of the people that it may well be taken for all practical purposes as a mode of obtaining animal protein for food. It is everywhere reckoned as a delicacy and a nutrient. The surplus of catches is smoked and laid by to supplement nutritive deficiency and to relieve the monotony and scantiness of menu particularly in lean periods of the year.

Fishing has the similar place among the economic pursuits as hunting but much inferior in social importance. Like hunting it is organised on community basis. As a sport, it is more national in character, in so far as it is, unlike hunting, open to both sexes. Though more of a man's job, women also participate in it helping the men. At the end of the agricultural season, it assumes the appearance of a popular festival when persons of all ages and both sexes go out in gay batches for fishing. There are no celebrated rituals or procedure for fishing as in the case of hunting. But still a kebang of the village council is held in which the method and the place for fishing are decided upon. Usually lots are cast before the party sets out for fishing. If the omens are favourable, they decide to go on the trip; otherwise, the trip is postponed. Various kinds of traps and nets are used in fishing and methods like catching by hand, by pelting stones, poisoning the water, drying up and diverting the river-bed, and barricading a portion of water with stone or bamboo ~~XXXXXX~~ fencing are

also applied by the Adis. The total catch is usually collected in one place and divided equally among the villagers who take part in the expedition. But no social honour goes to the successful catcher and none have to observe any taboo. Since fish and the land of fish find frequent mention in the Adi Abangs, it denotes that the people were familiar with it as a source of obtaining ready food since long past.

Besides agricultural products, cultivated vegetables, hunting and fishing which meet their food requirements, the Adis collect various other wild roots, fruits and leaves for eating. Because of the fairly abundant supply of such forest products, starvation among the people is quite unknown and in the past-known history of the land, no famine has ever occurred. Again, as there is no selfish motive, everyone helps his fellow neighbours in case of real need. Moreover, the fine spirit of equally dividing the flesh of animals killed in hunting or the total catch in fishing among all, without depriving anybody, brings out the essential socialistic nature of the people.

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The Adis understand the value of dress as a means of protection against the rigours of the climate, supernatural influences and natural enemies, as also for enhancing physical charm, rank and wealth. The Adis are good at weaving and their

taste in colour scheme and artistic designs is excellent. What puzzles one about Adi weaving is that in their Abangs or mythology of creation, there is no reference to the origin of weaving. Whether among the Adis it is an invention of a later date than that of the Abangs or practised in imitation of the neighbouring tribes, is a point of dispute. The possible explanation has been offered by B. B. Shastri, Director of Arunachal Research, when he says that in old times the Adis used to accept finished woven products from the Idus, since they themselves did not know how to weave. Later on, they drove away the Idus from their habitation, captured their villages along with the weaving-looms and started weaving for themselves. This conclusion is reached with an eye to the striking similarity between the Idu garments and those of the Adis, particularly coats, in colour and design. Whatever it may be, weaving is now a major occupation of the Adis which makes them self-dependent in the matter of dress. The Adis also grow cotton in the Jnum fields but they purchase dyed yarn mostly from the Marwari shops. The quantity of finished woven products was quite meagre which met their own requirements somehow in the past. But nowadays these are sold far and near. Weaving is confined solely to women. The Adi women weave well, with patterns and colour which are very much in perfect taste. The colour-sense of the Adis is very well-marked and is particularly adapted to the surroundings.

Domestication of certain animals is an important occupation of the Adis which is also of great use from the economic

standpoint. The mithun, pig, dog, and fowl are the principal domesticated animals. Of these, mithun is both economically, ritually and socially by far the most important. It is reared in semi-domesticated state, roaming free in the forest for most of the year. Identity marks on the ear indicate ownership. Its economic importance lies in the high price attached to it. In fact, it is the highest denomination currency. That is why its possession is a mark of wealth. Being costly, it is used for high denomination payments only either as bride-price or in bartered trade. In religious rites it is the highest and best offering which can be made to the spirits and the greatest festivals are always attended by mithun sacrifice. The method of sacrifice by strangulation and by axing the back portion of its head is considered to be unique. It is one of the earliest animals which the people have known and it finds frequent references in the mythology. In their theory of creation there were four mithunⁿ from which all other beings and things were created. So the mithun is considered as the sacred animal and theft or wounding of mithuns is looked upon as a very high crime. Killing of mithun for the purpose of sacrifice bestows high social honour on the host and the skull is proudly displayed in his house.

Pig is fully domesticated. Its utility is not only for its flesh but also as a scavenger. It plays an important part in Adi rituals as it is a cheaper and common offering to the spirits. It is sacrificed by suffocation and piercing and cutting the wind

pipe. It is used as an exchange payment for barter trade where the amount involved is not much. But it never receives the honour that the mithun gets. If mithun is the most honoured, dog is the most loved of the domestic animals. It has no economic value whatever but has a place in rituals. It is the prescribed sacrifice on the ritual gate built for the outsiders to keep away evil influences following them. But it is a domestic pet above all. It has free access in the houses and lives with the men sharing their bed, food and everything. This may be a survival from the days when the people were ~~haxxxx~~ hunters and the dog was their most useful and constant attendant. That is why the mythology gives high recognition to it. It is the dog which is said to have brought paddy seed from the lower world and helped men in many other ways. The domestic fowl is the most customary article of the Adi rituals. Chicken liver and egg are the principal ingredients of divination. It is largely used as sacrifice to the spirits. In almost all festivals and ceremonies fowls are killed and the meat is highly enjoyed in feasts. Fowls are considered as part and parcel of every Adi household.

Another occupation in which the Adis find their time and energy engaged is in the task of manufacturing the various instruments and implements for the purpose of cultivation, war, chase and various other uses. For this job there is a special class of people, the blacksmith, about whom we get some references in their

mythology through Yodo Yongmo, the first blacksmith. The Adi smith is an expert in metal work. He does not extract iron from ore, but purchases pig iron from Pasihat or gets by barter from the Tibetans. He is an expert in manufacturing dao, spearhead, knife and arrow-head. In rare cases, he manufactures swords, which are generally obtained from the Tibetans. These smiths are not of a separate clan, but the profession is generally inherited from father to son or by the nearest male relative. Once a man takes up this profession in a village, nobody competes with him. The Adi smith is not distinguished from other villagers in any way and leads the same kind of life as the other villagers do, excepting that he, by this profession, adds a little more to his usual agricultural income. His charges are paid mostly in kind. The Adis are expert in basketry also. It is generally an occupation for the old people who spend their leisure hours in knitting baskets, various kinds of fishing nets and traps and other things for domestic uses. For this they use jungle creepers, cane, bamboo and such other materials. For pottery they mostly depend on supply from outside; so also about metal utensils.

Till the other day the Adis did something of trade, mostly on the basis of the barter system, since they did not have the use of coins in their past. The Adis from both the upper and lower areas usually came to Along, Pasihat and Pangin in the past for barter. They purchase from shops of these places

salt, yarn, raw wool, cotton, blankets, and little luxuries such as hurricane lanterns, electric torches, flasks, beads and tin boxes.

In any economic system, however primitive, an article can be regarded as true money only when it acts as a definite and common medium of exchange, as a convenient means in obtaining one type of goods for another. In so doing, it should also serve as a measure of values, allowing the worth of all other articles to be expressed in terms of itself, and it should also be a standard of value with reference to past and future payments, while as an economic reserve, it should allow wealth to be condensed and held in reserve. Judged by these criteria, the Adi area can hardly be said to possess any true currency. So the following can be termed as primitive money in both a very elastic and restricted sense at the same time. In their society, two kinds of objects are used as money -- (i) articles of practical use, and (ii) articles of decoration.

The first comprises articles of domestic use, generally of metal, and domestic animals and skins of wild beasts sometimes. All metal utensils are used as money in Adi lands. Of these danki or the bell-metal cauldron, imported from Tibet, is of the highest denomination. Of domestic animals the mithun is the most important. A man's wealth is estimated by the heads of mithun, tadoks, utensils and dress he possesses, thus indicating his social

status. Mithun is the highest denomination 'coin' which has to be taken and paid in full. It is, therefore, used in big transactions only. Pigs and fowls are also treated as money, usually in petty business. The value of individual animals varies according to their worth in terms of flesh, physique and luckiness. Now-a-days goats are being reared for earning money, but they do not belong to the indigenous economy. Bronze plates of Tibetan origin are standard valuables, used for large payments, and Tibetan prayer bells are used as barter objects.

Adi economy is based mainly on the consumption level and that also family-wise. (8) Every family as an independent unit produces its own essential requirements of food and dress. The common section of the people who are mostly poor, produces the bare minimum requirements for living and thus the major part of the general economy is in the mere subsistence level, with no surplus at all, in which hoarding things for profit motive is out of the question. Concurrently, there is another handful class of people who produce more and have surplus, which they utilize in acquiring things of prestige, decorative and material value. The Adis believe that the social status and authority enjoyed by one during this lifetime will also be carried over to the other world beyond death. Thus a rich man will always try to enhance his riches and position, thereby ever widening the gap between the haves and have-nots, which is a perpetual malady of the sophisti-

ated world. But the matter is not yet that bad with the Adis. They still now retain largely the spirit of democratic fellow-felling, co-operation, and balanced sharing of things with all, without pretending to show traces of hypocritical charity to the less fortunate members of their society.

5:2. Literature and Fine Arts.

The Adis are known to be very practical and materialistic in their approach to life. In almost every matter concerning human existence they are said to be most unemotional in their ideas and outlook. Yet such a materialistic race of people do actually possess a highly interesting oral literature of their own that has been transmitted through the generations and which is not lacking in the imaginative quality that all literary specimens of the world possess. Some may say that the imaginative quality expressed in Adi oral literary samples is somewhat blunt or gross in comparison with that from other smart specimens of world literature. But it must be borne in mind that such a comparison is rather unfair, that Adi literature must be appreciated for all that is fine in it on its own strength, and that due concession must be allowed for the primitive state of the tribal society when this literature was first composed by the nameless Adi authors of hoary past. They contain a fascinating record of the mental, moral, spiritual, and intellectual growth of the tribe and serve brilliantly for the purpose of sociological study. (9)

If a reader can ^{follow} ~~all~~ the Adi speech, he will come across some real gems in this literature, which is rich in both religious and secular varieties. Adi literature can be classified into several groups as Abang, Abe, Penge, Punung, Nitom and YO YO Gognan or myths of origin and creation of things; introductory speech to Kebang; funeral hymns, dance-songs; love-songs; and lullabies. Nothing is known about their authors and date of composition. (10)

Adi language has the credit of being remarkably rich in oral literature, both religious and secular. The religious literature is represented mainly by rhapsodies known as abangs, relating the myths of creation, origins of social institutions and the original history of the people. The exact number of abangs is not yet known and the collection may be said to have merely started. One of them deals with the origin of the moshup. It is divided into three sections. The first narrates the creation of this world and the titanic struggle between the originator of the human race and his adversaries. In the second part, it deals with the progress of the race and the development of agriculture and war. In the third, it recounts how the moshup came into being and stresses its importance in the social structure of the Adis. (11)

Similarly, there are abangs on the origin of the mithun, the most acceptable sacrifice for the gods. The bari is a special kind of abang which is sung by men only to celebrate the

building of a new house in a village. It narrates how man first came to build houses and live in them. It is sung solo, followed by a chorus after each stanza. (12)

The abangs may be compared with the Puranas of the Sanskrit literature and the sagas of the Teutons. They are written in an archaic esoteric language which is unintelligible to the layman. They exist in the memory of a special class of Miris and even among them, only the most experienced and learned remember them correctly, and understand and can explain their exact significance. This class, however, is gradually dying out and if the abangs are not recorded early, soon a time might come when they will be lost to the world. Dr. B.S. Guha has collected a few and engaged himself on a special study on them.

More sublime in tone are the funeral hymns known as pange. These are traditional compositions written in rhythmic prose and are endowed with the simple grandeur of biblical psalms. In them, the soul of the deceased is directed along the path to the land of the departed and in this, they resemble the Vedic funeral hymns, especially the famous Setu sama and the Tibetan Book of the Dead. They are imbued with a pathetic appeal that moves the audience to tears as they are reminded of their sad bereavements.

Ponunos are lengthy ballads that draw their themes from the abangs and sing of the origin of things and of the Adi

face. They assume familiarity on the part of the audience with all the details of the Adi mythology and the treatment is rather by allusion and mere hints than by full narration and detailed description. Their language, too, as that of the abang literature, is archaic and they, moreover, use obsolete poetical names of tribes, places and persons. For these reasons, they are extremely difficult to understand for those who are not acquainted with the Adi mythology. Even the local people, excepting professional Miris, though they may know some of the ponungs by heart, have no deeper understanding of these ballads than a vague general idea of the topics treated. The ponungs are, however, very popular and are regularly sung to the accompaniment of dances for days together on religious occasions, each ponung being known after the religious festival in which it is sung. (13)

The name ponung has been extended to secular compositions which celebrate some non-religious special occasions, such as the arrival of an honoured guest. They are short lyrical extempore pieces depicting the sentiment of the composer at the time of occasions celebrated. They too, however, have traditional forms beginning with well-known traditional lines which are used as refrains. But the successive lines which form the body of the songs are usually changed to suit the occasions and the predilection and power of composition of the singers. So, they are mostly fluid in form, changing from locality to locality and singer to singer. Every

song, in this way has got numerous versions formed round the same nucleus. (14)

Abas may be taken to represent the political literature of the people. They are the introductory speeches delivered by kebang-abus in kebangs. Naturally, they are in prose, fixed in form and phraseology with attempts at innovations and alterations interpolated here and there. They are recited in a cadence peculiar to them which lifts them from the plane of ordinary conversational prose of daily intercourse.

All this literature is more or less public in character in so far as they are meant to be recited in or to entertain public gatherings. There are two other classes of compositions which are of a more personal nature. There are a number of love-songs which nobody sings in public. They are meant to be whispered into the willing ear of a lover or a lady-love in seclusion and privacy. Lullabies are sung by girls while rocking babies on the back.

Now-a-days, new fields in literature are being attempted, specially by young writers who have had the benefit of the school or college education. There has grown up an appreciable amount of writing, especially poetical compositions, in praise of the development work initiated by the Administration, exhorting the people to co-operate with the Administration in its schemes for

the progress of the land, deprecating addictions such as opium and delineating the duties of the younger generation to their land and people. These are, however, still limited within the educated class that is forming, and it is yet to be seen how they are accepted by the people. These compositions in some cases, have departed from the traditional Adi norms and have borrowed themes and forms from the more developed neighbouring languages. The old religious literature, on the other hand, is showing signs of losing its hold on the people, especially the young generation that is going in for modern education. Conversance with it is decreasing day by day and though Adi men and women do not yet find it difficult to recognize a particular piece when it is recited, there are few that can claim a full knowledge of the themes. Familiarity with the refrains and rhythms of the secular ponung is still wide-spread, and as soon as a Miri starts a song, the dancers immediately react with the relevant movements with appropriate rhythms and instantaneous repetition of the refrain.

(15)

Traditional Adi literature has been orally transmitted by generations of Miris who form a class of professional rhapsodists. It is not possible in the present state of our knowledge to ascertain how far they have been able to hand it down faithfully in its original form. The system of transmission however cannot claim the utmost perfection and rigorous exactitude^d, yet the great difference between the original language and the speech of the

common man of to-day speaks for its ancient character. This process, however, is coming to an end; even sons of Miris renowned for their knowledge of the ancient lore are showing a marked preference for the modern methods of book and pen, and a great reluctance for memorizing a dying literature that fails to appeal to them any longer.

All these different forms of literature are rather public in character in the sense that they are meant to be recited in or to entertain public gatherings. There are two other classes of compositions which are personal in nature. One is called Ni-tom or love songs, which are never to be sung in public and meant only to be whispered into the ear of a lover or lady-love in seclusion and privacy, expressing amoral feelings and desire for union and marriage. The other class consists of lullabies which are sung by girls or elderly persons while rocking babies on the back. It is these two classes of poetical compositions which bring a touch of softness, charm and sentiment in the hard, practical life of the Adis, thereby offering the ~~greatest~~ pleasure that literature ever stands for.

Besides these, there are two other types of performances which may be included in songs. These are known as Jadu Baris and Delongs. The Jadu Bari which is mere mock-
(16)
debate falls very far from any semblance to art.

Delong is more of a frolic and fun by boys, who

in exuberance of youth and enlivened by deep potations jump and frisk about in circles to the accompaniment of what, for want of a better word, may be described as songs. But then the songs and the dances here never try to keep company of each other and go their own ways as directed by the merry mood of the participants.

The Boris have a dance drama known as Tepo Rija. It is a war-dance by young men. There is another dance known as Benji Noki. It is a symbolic dance. It depicts a married woman kidnaped by her lover and his associates. They are pursued by the husband's party. In it the losing party appears with their faces besmeared with soot and others cherish clothing such as gunny cloth.

In Adi dances, there are usually two parties - one consists of a single individual, the Miri. The Miri, originally the medicineman, is the repository of all tribal myths; through oral transmission he learns by heart traditional ballads - which are usually very long, relating the stories of creation, of the origin of the people and animals, of the discovery of poison for their arrows, legendary histories and genealogies of the tribes and so forth. He is the authorised musician in these dances. Girls who are to dance deck him in his official attire : a red gale over his usual dress, two kirings hung from his neck, so that one dangles on either side of his chest. He holds a sword upright in the right hand. Thus attired he takes his stand in the

centre of a circle formed by the dancers who are generally thirty to forty in number. He chants his songs and jerks his sword jingling the metal discs loosely attached to the hilt keeping time with the music. No musical instruments are used. The girls catch the refrain and sing it in chorus and dance to the rhythm. The office of the Miri is normally a male prerogative in the lower region. But women officiating as Miri are quite common in the north. The steps in the dances are almost the same all over the Adi country and are not very difficult.

The whole body of Adi folk literature consisting of myths, incantations, prose speeches, songs, lyrics, dirges, and lullabies, however seemingly elementary, are nevertheless exceedingly effective aids to the understanding of the course of the tribe's development in the past. The many references to the Kehang, Moshup, Rasheng, etc. point to a quite advanced state of socio-political atmosphere. The parallel mention of both hunting and cultivation may be looked upon as the co-existence of these two vital occupations of the tribe and the respective roles played by males and females in society. The references to domesticated animals point to a stable state of social existence, where nomadic roamings were no longer there, whereas the repeated mention of supernatural activities and superstitious beliefs points to the essentially vacillating and unscientific state of mental growth and intellectual immaturity. Contrarily, the excellence

in artistic matters, songs, dance, and poetry - is sufficiently indicative of the extraordinary progress in cultural sphere. Everything combined together will only point to the existence of a somewhat mixed state of socio-cultural attainment by the Adi tribe at the time of the composition of these collected literary samples.

5:3. Religion and Spiritual Life.

Now, to come to the ethereal, spiritual, religious side of Adi life. What we understand by Adi religion, has got two sides - negative and positive. On the negative side, we may refer to their predominant belief in the existence of a whole world of invisible spirits, generally called UYu, who are not favourably disposed towards man and have thus to be kept satisfied by propitiatory measures. (17) On the positive side, the Adis conceptualize higher deities who rank as makers of all living creatures. These higher gods, in their opinion, are really the moral upholders of the created world order.

The Adis have been placed by historical circumstances in a very difficult country. It denies them the easy luxury of material comforts and they have to lead a life of extreme hardship for centuries in the difficult world of nature. Environment has been the real ruler of the people for centuries. Nature, more hostile than friendly, appears to the Adis to be controlled by a host of spirits who are ill-disposed towards man, and lurk in every corner looking out for chances for doing them

harm. His untutored mind sees a demon everywhere and in everything, and the beginning and end of his religion is to appease the malevolent spirits of an unseen world.

The world of Adi religion can be said to have five
(18)
main features as stated below:

First, there is a very general belief in a supreme god who is just, good, and benevolent. For example, Donyi-Polo, the sun-moon deity, is regarded as the great witness in the sky, the upholder of truth. Secondly, there is in their religion a genuine emphasis on the spiritual realities behind the life of everyday. They believe in a circumambient unseen world, in which gods and men, the living and the dead, are one great family.

Thirdly, the religion is built up from an elaborate mythology which is regarded as representing, metaphorically, a world picture, and an insight into life generally, and may, therefore, be considered as primitive philosophy or metaphysical thought.

Fourthly, their religion is associated with a social ethic that unites the tribe in its discipline and makes for a certain nobility of conduct. The great tribal virtues of discipline, devotion to work, generosity, hospitality, etc. are reflected in their religious faiths and link the Adi religion with the most advanced ethical and religious systems.

Finally, the religion gives the people the power to

reconcile themselves to the eternal emergencies of life. It is true that there is an element of fear in all primitive religions, which gives rise to many propitiatory rites. That is what happens in all the great religions of the world. The Adis approach the matter of religion from a realist's viewpoint and keep the unfriendly gods propitiated, as is done in all the world religions.

A notable feature of the Adi religio-supernatural world is that here unseen powers and deities are well-graded in accordance with their authority, position, and degree of superiority, in their respective fields of control. Again, these powers, both hostile and indifferent, are closely related to men and the belief goes that men and spirits were in fact the progeny of the same forefathers. (19) In the beginning, men, animals, gods and other spirits had no difference and they all lived together in a homogeneous setting. There are myths telling us that it is because of the cheatings committed by men that Gods went apart from them. The gods and other higher deities clearly distinct from ordinary spirits, have always been superior to men in status and power, and it is they who created the basical objects in nature and shaped its general form and character. There are undefined eternal beings who existed before the creation and have stood aloof since the creation of the world started. This distance and aloofness make their help ineffectual at the time of dire necessity. The first of the series is Keyum-the first cause. Sedi, the earth, was the

issue of Umseng who was born of Keyum. Melo, the sky, was her brother and they together began what later on became the normal course of propagation-sexual reproduction. This incestuous first pair is conveyed as a double deity, though their separate individualities are always clear. In the many stories told of them, they have been credited with the creation of all important phenomena. Plants, animals, metals came out of the different parts of the body of Lingen Sobo, their first offspring. Of their other offsprings Sedi Resiye and Sedi Tabe were the first hunters, Tusing Mati, the first exponent of tribal law and justice, Yidung Bote, the repository of Wisdom and, Gumin Shoin, the protector of mankind. They are neither men nor ordinary spirits or Gods - but some kind of composites of all three and take their place as members of the spiritual hierarchy.

Pedong Nane, the great grand-daughter of Sedi Melo was the last of the series of creators. Donyi, the sun and Polo, the moon are a twin of hers. Dade, Kine-Nane, and Doni, the father of Robo and Nibo, are her other children. The real identity of Pedong Nane is difficult to establish. Sometimes she is identified with the rain that links heaven and earth and also with the snow on the high hills. With Pedong Nane the age of creators is over and the age of spirits and other creators begins. In the border land stand Donyi-Polo - the Sun-Moon duality. They are not creators themselves but stand aloft above the rest. They may be taken to represent the Adi idea of moral deities who watch over

the maintenance of law and order and truth in the universe. That is why they are invoked in the beginning of Kebangs on disputes to reveal the truth and expose the false. Doying Bote has been included by some among the children of Pedong Nane. We also get references to another deity, Kane-Dane, who might have existed before the creation and for having taken no part in it, does not receive any great importance. Tori Mone, a goddess of worldly wisdom as distinct from the moral or celestial, is another opaque character of the ethereal sphere. Her position in the hierarchy is not known, but her association with Ute and Poro, the controlling spirits of the wild beasts and reptiles argues in favour of her being a spirit herself. The origin of the human race is traced back to the creators of the world through a complicated genealogy of semi-ethereal mythical beings. (20)

The world of spirits being unseen, clashes between men and spirits are unavoidable and the Adis have been forced to put up a defence against the evils of the active and watchful powers of darkness and to devise means to ward off the wrath of guardian spirits. So, a class of defenders has been organized by the Adi society who are capable of combating the spirits in their own sphere. They are persons gifted with spirits more potent than those of common men. They show signs of their psychic superiority by early propensities to fall in trance and foretell things to come. They have, however, to undergo a practical

training and gain experience in techniques of application of their natural gifts with an experienced preceptor in the trade. The mainspring of their efficiency lies in their inborn capacity for contacting the world of spirits. It is believed that certain spirits take fancy on certain persons on account of some spiritual affinities and treat them as their media. It is through these familiar spirits that they get access into the supernatural world and find out causes and remedies of misfortunes. Such persons in Adi society are called the Epak Miri and Nyibo. The exact distinction between the functions of the two is not known. Nyibo is a diviner whereas Epak Miri is a curer of diseases and other calamities. A Nyibo performs by day whereas an Epak Miri functions only at night. The means adopted by the Nyibo to win the favour of spirits is the narration of old stories of creation, reminding the spirits of their common origin with man and their past mutual friendship, whereas the Epak Miri uses songs and dances to attract the spirits. Miris and Nyibos usually do not partake of their shares of the sacrificed meat. Miris and Nyibos live a common life in society along with all others without getting any special privilege. Their dress and ornaments only differ from those of the common people. They wear special types of beads in their hair and waist. Their fees are nominal. Both men and women can be Miris by virtue of their spiritual aptitude manifesting itself through special signs only and never by heredity. The rites of the Miri are propitiatory, and always follow, never precede, mis-

fortunes. The soul of the Miri acts as an emissary to the land of the spirits and uses all the craft of a diplomat in inducing the spirits to come to terms, make treaties and be appeased by offerings with the hope that they would not do harm but would become friendly. The service of the Epak Miri is of vital necessity in every phase and sphere of the Adi life.

Except for a kind of black magic reported to be practised by the Gallongs in which chopping of certain particular trees are supposed to inflict corresponding injuries on an absent person, purely magical rites have not been observed by the Adis.⁽²¹⁾ But all their religious rites are tinged with some magical traits. Though forcing spirits into desired acts is not in the power of any according to them, yet they seem to believe in some magical power in natural objects. For example, hostile spirits dislike and keep away from the tapit, tang, tagiyang and tangmo trees. So the Adis use these trees in the construction of their mohups which were originally given to them as the strong place of refuge from the attacks of evil spirits. Branches of chir and tan trees are used in sacrificial structure and in suffocating pigs and mithuns in sacrificial rites. The liver is supposed to resemble the Ekam leaf in which Nibo had wrapped up his knowledge and wisdom. So the liver is considered to possess the power of revealing the mysteries of the spirit-land and that is why the Miris consult the livers of the sacrificed animals in divining causes of diseases in

Roksing rites. The hollock tree is a favourite haunt of Epoms that waylay unwary travellers. In such a case the villagers attack this tree in the locality with weapons in the hope that Epoms would compel the spirit to set the wrong to right.

Implements used in sacrifices are believed to acquire special sacred properties and are not to be touched by women. Banana trees, being the favourite haunts of the dreaded Nipongs, are used in some religious rites. Smoked squirrels and 'meri' flowers are also believed to possess some highly magical traits. Songs and dances and women's skirts used by Miris are considered to be specially attractive to the spirits. It is due to the Adi ceremonies accompanied by such songs, dances, invocations and prayers that we have got some of the finest and sublimest utterances of the Adi language in which the moral tone of the human soul, the spirit of submission to the highest deities and the sincerity of heart are pitched to the highest. Blood of animals, ginger, plantain, stocky twigs and many such objects are used to ward off the evil spirits and whatever be the occasion, -- birth, death, house-building, hunting, marriage, war, cultivation, Kohang and what not, - the number and varieties of rites accompanying them are simply innumerable and in each case the presiding spirits are attempted to be propitiated or expiated with utmost care. But any distinction, if it ever existed in the beginning, between purely

magical and purely religious practices is lost now-a-days and both are blended into one and can be detected only on meticulous analysis.

The Adis are a practical and materialistic race. They weigh everything in terms of loss and gain in their concrete forms. Their relations with gods, men, spirits and animals are characterized by this attitude and all their transactions are based on the system of barter and purchase. They barter man and wordly goods for animals in their dealing with spirits; they bribe off the wicked ones and demand and pay compensation for harms and breaches of contract. Absolute submission to the divine authority and sublimity of faith are gradually decaying from among the Adis and some kind of businessman-like mentality has perhaps wiped traces of spirituality out of their religion to a certain extent in recent times. (22)

The most predominant feature of the ritualistic aspect of the Adi religion is the place accorded to sacrifice. The culmination of all religious rites, whether on social or individual level, is almost invariably associated with some special kind of sacrifice. There are roughly three theories about the origin of sacrifice. These are : (a) Communion, underlying in the wide sense of contact -- the most rudimentary forms of sacrifice; (b) Conciliation, underlying the wish to avert, neutralize or expel evil by means of sacrifice; and (c) honorific

offerings, underlying the more developed freewill offering in grateful recognition of the goodness and beneficence of the deity.

Sacrifice in Adi religion is mainly conciliatory or propitiatory. It cannot, however, be asserted with any certainty that the other ideas are completely absent. The Adis, for instance, seem to make a distinction in the status of the deities or spirits in accordance with their power of doing good or evil, and the magnitude of sacrifice is rated accordingly. A lesser spirit has to be content with the sacrifice of a chicken while a powerful spirit will be satisfied with nothing less than a mithun. Among the Adis sacrifice plays another role which is different from the ordinary propitiatory rite. They believe that the soul of a man goes to another world after death where they enjoy the same status which they enjoyed in earthly existence. This world is dominated by different spirits. It thus becomes obligatory on the descendants of the deceased to well provide the soul for its journey to the land of the dead. Thus things which were his cherished possessions go to decorate his grave and animals are sacrificed during funeral rites in the belief that they go to their owners in their spirit forms, and the dead is gratified with food so that the ghost of the dead is prevented from returning and molesting the survivors. (23)

In this connection the peculiar manner of sac-

rifice practised by the Adis should be noted. The method of strangulation applied to the sacrifice of pigs and mithuns has no parallel among other tribes in the north-eastern region. Heimendorf observes that in no case the gushing forth of blood of the sacrificial animal is essential to the Adis. At the same time no particular precaution is taken against spilling of blood in the process. The only parallel of such a practice of sacrificing animals by suffocation, as he has cited, is that by the nomadic tribes of Eastern Tibet. No one can say definitely whether the Adis had any conscious belief in such a procedure. Perhaps the practice grew out of some such old belief which is now lost to the people that the this particular mode of sacrifice would please those spirits for whom this was meant and that procedure is being followed till to-day without any question. (24)

An extension of the idea of sacrifice can be seen in some forms of divination which constitute almost a universal trait of all religion. In so far as it is thought that divination is associated with omens sent by supernatural beings, deities or spirits, it forms a part of religion and even so-called higher religions are not absolutely free from it. There is no end to occasions which call for divination. The Adis perform divination through the Ipak Miri and the procedures are generally of three kinds. The first is known as 'Haruspicy', in which the entrails of the dead animal contain cryptic message of

a deity, intelligible to the enlightened eyes of a diviner or a priest. The second is oracular and necromantic method. In this, the priest falls into a trance and when in this supernormal state the desired rapport is established with an intended spirit, it answers questions through his mouth. A third process of divination is called 'hepatoscopy'. This is the method of divination by the liver of the sacrificial animal, mostly chickens. Before starting out on a communal hunt, or building a new house, they use such divination. In it, the diviner exposes the animal's liver and by an examination of its principal parts predicts the future. (25)

Closely associated with the practice of divination is the idea of ordeal which does not call for a sacrifice. Ordeal is generally connected with torture, divination, oath or wager. Among the Adis supernatural guidance is sought through ordeals only when human discernment proves inadequate for deciding disputes. In this matter the accused person, protesting his innocence, is challenged and compelled to submit to a physical test or some kind of torture. If he is innocent it is believed that he will come out unscathed even if he has to pull out an egg with bare hand from inside boiling water or if molten lead is dropped on the palm of his hand. Such methods are sanctioned by the Adi society as legally justified. (26)

In such a peculiar setting where man is always conscious of a pervading network of a host of spirits, both

friendly and hostile, many festivals and ceremonies to keep the spirits satisfied are quite natural to crop up. The large body of superstitious beliefs of the Adis has given rise to a good number of ceremonies and festivals concerning every sphere of activity which takes place throughout the year and which serve to perform the three-fold functions of entertainment, communal get-together, and ritualistic propitiation of the spirits. Offerings, sacrifices, incantations, dance, songs -- all join together to form the essential ingredients of these ceremonies which are only expressions of the Adi people's religious sentiments. (27)

Among the various Adi festivals and ceremonies mention may be made of names like Gammang, Takuk, Patar, Mabat, Piang, Keming, Mopun, Aren, Pombi, Ettor, Lune or Lutter Solung, Wikti, Mannan, Ampu, Kirug, Unning and Yage. It will require a whole volume to deal in details upon these. So we should just touch upon their nature, significance and the occasions they celebrate in brief.

Ceremonies like Patar, Keming, Piang, Takuk, Gammang and Mabat are related to warfare and are done when the Adis come back victorious to their villages after a successful fight with the enemy. When the hero approaches ~~xxx~~ his village from the battle field, he is greeted by all members of his tribe and just outside the village ^{before} he may enter the village, a big fire is lit and the warrior has to sacrifice a fowl in order to

satisfy the hunger of the evil spirits. People gather around him, make joyous noise and dance in glee. This ceremony over, the hero comes to the Moshup where another ceremony called Keming is performed. In this pigs and mithuns are sacrificed. These animals are killed by pricking them with spikes; then their blood and intestines are scattered on all sides and lastly their legs are hung on a bamboo pole. The ceremony, though apparently horrible, has a lot of fun for the observers. If a woman by mistake touches the weapons of war, the Adis sacrifice one fowl to the Piang deity and the women will perform the Takuk ceremony in order to avoid disaster in war. To test the effect of the sacrifice, they first of all go out for hunting. If they are able to kill an animal easily, it proves that the offering has been answered. If not, they are to perform Gammang, Mabat and Piang ceremonies with sacrifices of fowls, uttering incantations and taking all possible efforts to satisfy the displeased deity.

Festivals like Mopun, Aran, Pombi, Lune Solung, Lutter Solung and Rikti are associated with cultivation and storing of food crops. These festivals are celebrated every year or at interval of a few years. The time of celebration synchronises with the end of the sowing of seeds in the Jhum agriculture fields. They symbolize the desire of the Adis for a life full of peace, contentment, all round prosperity and happiness for entire humanity. The Mopun festival is performed during the cutting of jungle and

clearing of the land before cultivation. The old people ^{plant bamboo poles on} ~~are~~ the ground along with two branches of 'tan' and 'sinkang' trees. A cane basket called 'mopun' is filled with earth and leaves and is hung on the branches of the bamboo pole. Pigs are sacrificed near the poles and their blood is sprinkled over the mopun with some incantations. The major share of the sacrificed meat goes to the aged, the rest is shared by the young. The function is followed by dance and drinking in the moshup and rasheng. The conclusion of the clearing activities is marked by propitiation of domestic spirits or Gumin Shoin. The festival is known as Aran or Pombi. The entire village abstains from work in field for five days and fastens to the house post offerings of ginger, meat and rice to the spirits. Then a platform is made with bamboo poles and branches of trees. A pig and a chicken are sacrificed with the chanting of incantations in order to propitiate the presiding spirits controlling the fertility of the soil, jungle treasures, domestic animals and rain. The pig is sacrificed by suffocation and the fowl by cutting the throat and then the chicken's blood along with some rice paste is sprinkled over the platform. Old people of the village are invited and are feasted with the meat, rice and apong, specially prepared for them.

The sowing of seeds and fencing of the fields being over, some rest days follow during which the Ettor festi-

val is performed. The days are fully enjoyed by the whole community with feast and offerings to the Agam, lord of the animals. The major contribution to this festivity comes from the owners of the mithuns. After the first weeding all the women of the village perform the Luna Solung or Taku-Binnyal ceremony in their respective houses. This festival has all the paraphernalia of Mopun, excepting that two pieces of ginger are stuck on an arrow planted near the house. Then a chicken is sacrificed near the granary. The blood is strawn round the granary and the body of the bird is kept inside for a whole night. The feathers are taken out and planted on the ground near the granary. In the night dances are organised by the girls, Miris sing Solung Abangs and rhapsodies on the origin of crops, and the whole community indulges into a jovial fastivity. Just before the final weeding the Adis perform the Lutter Solung festival for propitiation of Toqupyogam and Agam. It is meant for the prosperity of the cattle. All the families that possess mithuns, bring them home from the jungle and tie them to the posts in the yard in front of their houses. Every family then sacrifices pigs and chickens according to its means, and the sacrificial meat along with pieces of ginger is offered to the spirits. A bow and a few arrows are hung over the door of each house. At night every owner of mithun holds a feast of among and rice. Sometimes this festival continues for four or five days. The climax of the festival is the Solung dance, performed each night

near the moshup. The Miri sings about the evolution of the crops, and mithuns and the girls follow him in chorus and dance to his tune. The storing of crops is celebrated in some villages by the Rikti ceremony to purify the granaries. This festival is performed by each family independently. They prepare rice-cakes, sacrifice a chicken near the granary and sprinkle the blood all round it. The rice-cakes are eaten with apong. Occasionally the festival concludes with dance and song.

Hunting and fishing are two favourite pastimes of the Adis which are attended with some ceremonies known as Mannan, Ampi, Kirug, Unning and Yage. While at the moshup on the day previous to the annual hunt, the Adis worship Amoi. At night the moshup boys drink apong and sing Ampibari, which gives an account of the origin of hunting. On the fourth day of hunt they perform the Mannan ceremony and hold a collective feast of rice and apong in the moshup. The last day is meant for the Donio Kirug ceremony which gives them another chance for a grand feast in the moshup at night. Unning is an important festival extending over as many as nine days of community hunting. On the first day girls of the village prepare apong and food for the hunters. On the second day young men erect posts for sacrificing mithuns. On the third mithuns are killed. On the fourth the sacrificial meat is distributed to different clans, while on the fifth and sixth poor people of

the village are given the meat and the whole community enjoys the delicious mithun meat in a great feast with dancing and merry-making. This fact indicates the fine democratic spirit of the people, who think that anything good should not be enjoyed alone^e but should be equally shared with others. The seventh day is meant for performing ritual for the welfare of the mithuns by their owners. The eighth day is a taboo day for the whole village, while on the ninth all male members of the village rejoice in a grand feast in the moshup. In the lean months of the year when the stock of food is small, the Adis observe a festival called Yage. They go out in a community hunting, share the meat equally among themselves and returning to their village hang a piece of ginger along with a bunch of millet in front of their houses to frighten away evil spirits. As a sport fishing is equally favourite with the Adis and at the end of the agricultural season it assumes the appearance of a popular festival when persons of all ages and both sexes go out in gay batches for fishing; no ceremony attends the fishing expeditions which are looked upon as harmless minor events; yet lots are cast before the party sets out for fishing to see if the omens are favourable; if they are not, the trip is postponed.

Some other minor ceremonies, or rather rites, are performed by the Adis which are more of personal nature than communal. 'Ekkum Arang' celebrates the completion of a new house

or any new construction. "Amang Ekk" is a fertility rite with the offering of a pig. A victorious warrior celebrates his success by distributing pork among the mohup boys and the ceremony is known as Keming. Tale Potum is observed when by accident any part of the body of a man is injured. Offering of a pig is resorted to in order to secure the aid of the spirits. The injured man has also to perform the 'Lamroh' rite with the sacrifice of a red cock. If a woman develops disease after child-birth, a religious ceremony called 'Mimelambe Epak' is performed with the sacrifice of a grey hen. The ceremony called 'Perok Agam' is performed when an epidemic occurs among chickens, while 'Batum Yonmo' ceremony is observed in order to prevent epidemic among pigs. Again, ceremonies like 'Sikking Kedeng' and 'Epom Wio' are performed with the sacrifice of chickens to prevent stomach ailments and to find out a kidnapped person. 'Doni Mopung' is performed during the rainy season for sunshine. 'Pedong Mopung' is a ceremony against drought in the summer months. 'Gamsi Mopung' is a purificating rite when by accident a rice field is burnt down. 'Ekki Patar' is performed when any stranger or new-comer enters a village. 'Nipong' is a religious rite in cases of difficult delivery, in which a black dog is sacrificed. Similar other rites and ceremonies are performed by individual households on the occasions of child-birth, marriage and death.

Propitiatory and expiatory rites are performed to ward off premature death through disease and accident. But the natural death which comes to man at the end of the span of life allotted to him is not a calamity; it is boon. Stories are there which explain the appearance of this mysterious phenomenon. In the days of old there was no death and in order to keep food sufficient for the people death was sent to men so that their number might be uniform. From that day on, men have died. Men have accepted the fact but wondered as to what happens to men after death. They have come to the conclusion that man does not cease with death; he only changes his material life for the spiritual. There is a land beyond the grave and man continues his existence there in a subtle form which corresponds to a certain extent to the concept of soul. The land beyond the grave is but a shadowy replica of this material world. It is divided into several regions which are the domains of different spirits or *uyus*. The soul of a man after its separation from the body goes to the domain of that spirit who has been the instrument of his death. (28)

The Adis believe that after death, in the land of the soul they would enjoy the status that they had on earth and lead the same way of life and they also feel the same want for the things they owned during lifetime. It is therefore customary to dedicate the earthly possessions of a man when he dies. These

are placed either inside the grave or on the top of it and if it is not possible to part with such things, representative tokens are buried instead. In the funeral rites, animals are sacrificed in the belief that they go to their owners in their spirit-forms. A man must be supplied by his descendants with all his cherished possessions, trophies of war and chase, food and drink for his life after death. Unless this is done, his hungry soul will torment them.

The Adi funeral customs are based on this belief in a continued existence after death. Usually the burial takes place a few days after death. The gap is perhaps due to the idea of allowing relatives living far away to come and be present at the funeral. The body is wrapped in a sheet of cloth and then put into the grave which is lined with branches of trees and bamboo poles. Over the body planks are placed to form like a box. Cheap beads and necklaces and a brass vessel are buried along with the body. On the grave a hut-like structure is made in which rice and apong are kept. These are changed daily for a week and then left there. A fire is also made inside the hut which is continued for one year. Personal belongings of the deceased such as hats, weapons and trophies are hung on the structure and left there. (29)

From the day of death seven days are observed as taboo. Relatives of the deceased and those who carried the corpse do not

eat some particular food nor enter their houses. The funeral rites end with a feast to those who helped in the burial by killing a fowl, pig or mithun according to the financial ability of the heir. A portion of the sacrificial animal is offered to the soul of the dead man to whom the soul of the animal is requested to go. The funeral rites are performed with great care and responsibility. In case of non-performance, the offender is brought before the village council and fined, whether it is relating to the death of a child or a grown-up person. It is also believed that after death domestic animals too go ^{to} the land of souls and continue their existence there in shadowy forms. During lifetime, men depend on the world of shadowy souls and when they die they depend on the land of living for their proper sustenance.

* * *

The last thing to be mentioned in this connection is the great importance of dreams to the Adis. They think that a good or bad dream affects their daily life. The effect of a dream is psychological and the belief of the people in them is so deeply rooted that they take it for granted that they will be fulfilled. (30)
A study of the various dreams and their significance is quite interesting. If any person dreams of eating Jackfruit or banana or constructing a bridge or fighting another man he will succeed in killing an animal. If one dreams of being bitten by a snake or dog or bee, one will suffer illness. If a man dreams of a

house being dismantled or of being wrapped in white blanket or of being chased and killed in a battle, he will die either by drowning or in landslip. Dreaming of a snake coming near but not biting, or the sun and moon together, means future illness and death. The dream of abundant crop is an indication that cultivation will fail. Dream of a graveyard indicates that the dreamer will be rich. If anybody dreams of a man carrying a big load, then that person will have to pay a heavy fine. The dream of a fish being caught in trap indicates that there will be plenty of food; a bamboo water-pipe being laid also presages a good year for crops and sufficient food. Snowfall indicates that the house will be burnt; on the other hand, the dream of a burning house indicates that the sky will be clear and sun will shine. If one dreams of heavy rain and every thing covered with water, one will not be present beside a dying relation. If a man dreams of a ponung, he or his wife will die; the dream of landslide denotes that the dreamer will die in war or by falling from a tree. If one dreams of an animal being killed and of shouting, someone in the village will be badly injured with a deep cut. The dream of a wild cat catching a fowl or a vulture being shot indicates that a thief will be found out. A river in spate and a bridge being washed away indicates that Kebang will be unsuccessful, while the dream of a bridge remaining intact despite heavy rains, means that the Kebang will be successful. The

dream of stones being thrown away from the roadside or of a tooth being extracted indicates that mithuns and pigs of a man will die, while the dream of the toe or finger being cut off, means that his son or daughter will die. If one dreams of the loss of beads, one will recover from illness, whereas the dream of hair being pulled out indicates that one will fall ill and lose his beads and other valuable property. Lastly, if one dreams of weeding with a bamboo weeder or of a fencing being made, one will possess many fowls and mithuns. (31)

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The Adis have both individual or personal ceremonies and communal festivals which are quite well-graded and it is firmly believed by them that non-performance of these will bring upon them displeasure of the spirits. It is the communal festivals performed during harvesting or hunting seasons that offer occasions of entertainment to the whole tribe while individual ceremonies and rites have their importance in the family circle only. But whatever their nature or significance may be, festivals, ceremonies and various rites have struck a deep root in the mind of the Adis and they observe such occasions with great care and nicety. To the Adis the higher supernatural world, the spirits, the ceremonies and festivals, the death rites and dreams are very closely linked and necessarily follows and sup-

plement the other imperceptibly beyond man's knowledge. All these matters of the unseen and unknown world, with their suggested implications, are not special to the Adis alone but are universal and thus they make the Adis identified with the general psychology and superstition of all the peoples and tribes of the world in some way or other.

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2. B. C. Gohain : 'Agricultural Organisation Among the Abors' (Bulletin, Deptt. of Anthropology, III 2, 1954)
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4. Adi Agricultural Calendar:

Seasons	Months	Corresponding English Months.	Agricultural Operations.
Digin	Terram	January	Collection of firewood for the house; killing rats and squirrels and fishing; Harvesting of job's tear completed.
Digin	Buising	February	Collection of firewood, fishing and hunting.
Digin	Kombong	March	Clearance of forest for cultivation and preparation of land. Sowing of early paddy, maize, finger-millet, linseed, arum, foxtail millet and cotton.
Lobo	Galling	April	Clearance of patat continues; construction of fencing in cultivation fields.
Lobo	Kijiy	May	Sowing of highland paddy, maize, job's tear and finger-millet.

Contd.....

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Lobo	Diking	June	Weeding in cultivation fields.
Lobo	Lobo	July	Weeding completed; Harvesting of early crops starts.
Lobo	Ylo	August	Harvesting of foxtail millet starts, Harvesting of early crops completed.
Lobo	Tanno	September	Harvesting of foxtail millet, arum and maize completed.
Digin	Iyo	October	Harvesting of autumn highland paddy starts, Growing of winter vegetables starts.
Digin	Yite	November	Harvesting of Autumn crops completed.
Digin	Disang	December	Harvesting of winter highland paddy and Job's tear starts; Construction of house completed.

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27. M. N. Bordoldi : Our Festivals (Shillong, 1968).
28. S. Roy : Ibid., pp. 118-133.
29. S. Roy : Ibid.
30. T. K. Bhattacharyya : Myths of the Shimonas of the Upper
Siang (Shillong 1963), pp. XXXIII.
31. T. K. Bhattacharyya : Ibid.

A P P E N D I X

Some specimens of Adi folk literature:

(Collected from and translated by Oshong Ering, T. Rukbo, J. Riba, Mating Dai, Taling Tayong, Miss Ayam and Miss Nagen Irang.)

A. Incentations or Prayers:

1. Doying Ginjing e Are Ginjing e no takamem rune takam
noka amine no sibo Doying Ginjingem ginbilanka. Noka aminolok
Ngolu Siki Nane melang Doyi Bote ma imotontula Nolum Ngolu takame
Siki pombiem bibidung. Dalokke Siki Tapuem silo rebidung. Dalokke
Ane Gumina Sikin Gumin eteng gumin kangsbem serap bilanka.

[English rendering :- Protect us all oh Doying Ginging. All will
be looking up to you and to your name. We are calling upon the
god of fields also inviting him to the feast. To you we offer
the Pombi Aran offerings. Tapun too we perform in your honour
thereafter. Oh deity of the hearth and deity of fields - take us
unto your protecting care] Note : Recited at the time of Aran
or Pombi festival, preceding clearing of the field before culti-
vation.

2. Ane Donyi-e-kalangka !

Abo Polo-e-tallangka !

Ngo Lusi Lutummilo,

Pyosi Pyotumilo,

Bosi takame Kandaklangka,

Ana Donyi no siyumke yume wis

Aegge deklangka !

Donyi-a-kalangka !

English rendering: O, the Sun ! O, the ^oMon ! If I have told a lie, or, committed theft, let the world know and you, the setting Sun, take me along with you ! O, the truth and Justice, here I am ! 7 Note : Recited by a convicted person before his judgement starts by the Kebang.

3. Nogoluke erik anem ali aye takameem kine Nane no aipe ibilanka emle Ngolu Doni Aji takame nom Siki Mopunem punbidung. Noke Ngolu diobotemele kine Nane Nom Siki Mopunem punbidung.

English rendering: We the children of yours, are hereby offering the Mopun festival to you for better crops and all round prosperity. Oh, Doyibote (father of rain) and kine Nane (earth mother), the Mopun is offered to you for your honour and satisfaction 7.

Note : - Chanted during the performance of the Mopun festival, performed during the cutting of jungle for cultivation.

4. Donyi anea,
Pelo ebua;
Ngo Pyosi Lo Pyodak milo,
Tisin Ko tidak milo;

Silo ke sadakna donyi no,
Siyumke adakna polo no;
Takame Kabang Kanbeng dare
Sangga angge Daklangke.

English rendering: O the Donyi Polo - representatives of Truth and Justice; you be the witness if I have committed an offence; and O, the rising Sun and the Setting Moon, take me with you if I am telling a lie. Truth and Justice will prevail upon the humanity till the sun and the Moon exist.]

- B. Abe [i.e. Traditional Introductory speech before the start of a kabang held for the judgement of some matter] : -

Dolunga tumi beliem puilang Kujuka, Gamso beli em pulang Kujuka. Gonying rame maleng penem gamso, rame maleng penem gonyi beli em, Puilang Kujuka gamso beli em puilang Kujuka.

Tumyi erie menki yane lonmo rokpo e, Kok dong yane gonying beli em puilang, Kujuka gamso beli Empuilang Kujuka. Gonying rame maleng penem, gonying (sisum em godum sudokupe) gamso sisum em godum sudokupe. Piring atel lo godum sudoku pe, pokring atel lo godum sudoku pe. Doying botse deyung ganggina, siring so, tumi pangkuo kumdum, sudola gomung dasing em ekdum sudula. Kiren rame maleng duna sim, Kirem remput em pulang kupe. Sone rame laleng duna sim. Sone romui em puilang kupe.

English rendering: Oh ! Villagers and brethren, let us strengthen our customs and Kebang, let us improve our regulations; let us make the laws straight and equal for all. Let the leaders who can speak best stand up and speak out for our betterment; let them speak in a bold voice, unabashed and undaunted like a cock crowing. Let our laws be uniform; let our customs be the same for all. Let us not decide differently for different persons; let us be guided by reason, see that justice is done and a compromise reached that is acceptable to both the parties. Let us keep nothing pending; let us decide while the dispute is fresh, lest small disputes grow big and continue for a long time. Let the fine be levied reasonably; let it be commensurate with the guilt and be just. Poverty should have compassion and justice be tempered with mercy. We have met in this sacred place of justice; we have come together for a kebang and let us speak in one voice and decide on one verdict. Here are the iron pots and brass pots brought by the accuser and the accused; here stands the mithun. So let us decide and mete out justice so that all these go to him who is in the right 7

2. Some extracts from the Abangs or Myths of creation 7

(1) Keyum Kenmang Yayang Ko,

Kero Kamangs Yayang Ko;

Sedi dimyange myane Ko,
Melo lomyange myane Ko.

Keyum Kenmange Yaya namde,
Kero kamange yaya namde;
Sedi jisipe jyanya lenkai,
Keyum monapa repin-repyon
Lenkai.

Doni aji takam ngolu.
Donger olo takam ngolu;
Sedi gordunge ketulo;

Aji komjinge reye dung.
Olo dokpenge sisa dung.

English rendering: Keyum - the unknown of the unknown, and the unseen of the unseen; the unlimited of the unlimitedness, and the great of the greatness. The unknown of the unknown and the unseen of the unseen started throwing out ethereal vibration. The great Image then appeared and floated in the sea of ethereal friction. This process continued. The entire humanity are the children and players in the womb of great Sedi. Human beings are divine born and brought up in a divine Home -- the Earth 7.

Note:- Chanted during the recitation of the Abangs.

(2) Keyum kenmang Yayangko
Endo Dem
Kero Kamang Yayangko
endo dem
Keyum Sedi Dilingko,
Diling Litung Tuyeko,
Yuye Yepe Pedong Naneko,
Emla Angung Luru Lenkai.
Pedong Nane Aji Biri Dilene
Bikane
Ome Lingoko O Lingo Ko olen
Pakto
Nane Yoyle Yoya dem Amin
Bidung
Pulene Bikane Doni Kope Aji
Kope
Denger Kope Olo Kope
Lugere Luntoku.

English rendering: Conceived of the Nothing - unknown of
the unknown and unseen of the unseen - there sprang up Sedi,
and then he was transformed into Diling, Litung, Tuye, Yepe
and finally Pedong Nane. Pedong Nane issued five hundred sons

and five hundred daughters. Her last child was named Doni Aji or Daby Human.

(3)

Keyum Pedong
Nane de,
Nane tile
Bayi nade,
Nane Sangke
Kikane
Todi ditak,
Pilngo Ko Kibomkai
Deloge Rongema
Name diri aji diri
Olo piyo goklene bilenkai
Pedonge nane Ke
Aji diri dinam de,
Doni gite pobe so
Miyi takmin kep ine
Mima takse Kelobe
Lenkaku.

Gist in English: Keyum Pedong Nane or the infinite mother gave birth to all living beings after suffering excessive labour for long five years 7.

- (4) Keyum Kamang Yaya Namde,
Kero Kamang Yaya Namde,
Keyam Kope Mone Kope,
Mone Regin Ropyonlenkai,
Mone Jimi Jyanyalenkai.
- Sedi Kori Koyya De,
Among Regin Ropyon De,
Eling Regin Regyon Pe,
Sedi Gita Pobepe,
Doni Gite Pobepe Lankeku.
- Sidi Gite Pobe So,
Ngolu dogpang sisenge bidola,
Aji Komjing Reyinge bidola,
Doni Gite pobe so,
Doni Aunem Wangkule lajuka,
Polo lolat em Kapade lajuka.

English rendering: The unknown of the unknown and unseen of the unseen started throwing out a great ethereal vibration or friction. This then shattered the eternal silence and the vacuum was filled with waves of ethereal vibration. The dirt of Sedi became condensed and transformed into the earth. At the beginning the earth appeared in a condition in which the soil was like mud and granite and stones were soft. In course of time it

evolved into the present earth on which we live. The earth is the physical form of God and we are the dwellers of this heavenly home. So having been born in and inhabiting this heavenly home of ours let us see and enjoy the light of peace and prosperity. J

In the next two specimens from Abang the story predominates and the chanting is calculated to enhance the effect of the narration. Rhythm and symmetry do not count for much and it is the singsong narration that brings it within the domain of music. These songs are sung by men and young boys, and are rarely accompanied by dances.

These two abangs sung during Etter festival (on the evolution of mithun and cock) are given below. Both these songs are sung by men and inside their dormitories.

(5)

Evolution of mithun

DALI DALIE

DALOA DALOA YENG

KEUME DADIE DATE DE

DADIE KIJURI AGE

TAPUELEGUE PINDAPELAMEN PAKATO

TAPUNGUMAJE GUMNASIM

INKOE TAPUMBELISM PILENNE

DADI BATE BATE DADUNG EM
TUMI DADUNG EM LURUNG KAI
KUSME PEDANGE DABIE BISIKA
TAPUM BELIEM PITAKA
PEDANGE DABIE BISIKA BATSNE
DADI BATE
BATE TARANGEM
GAMU TARANGEM NETMATO
KELINE DISIEM BATE
TAPUM BILIEM PIKAI
BISIBATE KE BISIE DALUE TACGATE
IRMINGE LAINGE
KAMKINGE LAINGE DATKA
MEUME SEDIE
DILLING LIMIR SAMAKE
SABUE MISABUGANGE PUTETA
LIMIRE LIAKA
AGADANG BASINGE
SITAG TAMPING
BARAGA DEMPAKAI
TAKAPANG PURULA PARALA
BISI LAING KAMKING LAING DATKA
TELA IRKI LANGAR TETAR GELANG
TAMPING TALAK TALAM NAMS
TAMPING LANGAR TETAR KAKU

RTLE NAME

SABA MAKSUNG SENJUR KANE

MAKSUNG BELUNG

NEPUNG NADEN LIMIR MAKSUN

SENJJUR KANE

NET BELUNG NEPUNG NA DEN

TAPUM BELI LETAN NAME

TAPUM RET BETHANG LEGU

KEHA LIMIR SABA KENA

LIMIR MAME TAPEK GELA

MEUM RESING NUNNI KANE

NUNNI MEME TAPEK MINDA

LIMIR MIRMI KEPIN GELA

NUNNI IARING KEBANG MINDA

MEUM PEDANG DABI BISI BOI LETAN LIKAT

PUBA MEME TAPEK LENKAI

KEJO GINE RAPUM PUBA BURTUNG

SUPANG KEUM DHONI AJI NO

INKOPE AMIN BIDUNG PUEKIDI EMTA

TANI KEM ESA EMTAKU

Summary : Bis, son of Dabi and grandson of Pedong, created the white ant. When the insect started moving, he took out an eye from the Limir's body and went to the Yongmo's house. From this eye grew a tree with large leaves, which looked like the eyes

of a mithun. These eyes were then dipped in water and kept in a pot in the house of the Yongmo. There they became as clear as water. From a portion of Limir's leg grew another tree named Dugla. The Yongmo fixed this tree and it became the feet. The branches were a little curved and forked which formed the hoofs. The Pasu tree was fixed and became the sharp tongue. The Kamgang tree was cut and fixed so as to grow as a tail. From the body of Limir grew another tree which was called Takat. The tree was then fixed on the head and thus became the horns. He then found a bee-hive which was hanging from the branch of a tree. The Yongmo then fixed it in the animal and it looked like the hump.

Then Rapum, and Puba thought over the name of the animal and at last decided to call it eso or mithun. 7

(6) Evolution Cock

MEIM PEDON DUPUNG PUMU

PUMUKE PERI LIPIKA TELA

PUMU API GEMUL LENTUNG

DEM KEUM MINUR AJIME

PEDONG NANE DIBI DITA

ALA GALLANG GALATA

DELA PEDONG RUANG KADANG TELA

KINUR EUM AJI EUM SIND'EM

KINE TOMANG RAJANG BELA
MINUR BUM SINDA BME
MINUR BAYAB KINE BAYAB
MANJING BAYAB YABLENG DAGENG
KINE SIKENG DAJENG ATA
PEDONG BISI BABING KENA
BISI IAKKU SIGA IAGALANG
SIGA GAMAN KALA
MANJING SIKING DAJENG ATA
PEDANG MANEME MINUR LUPA IEGILA SUTA
NANE SUGI TAKIL SUGI PAPITAKU
MINUR DUDUNG KEBUNG LENKAI
TAKIL SUGI PAPI NANDEM
SINGING LABBE KENJ DELAG
MINUR DUDUNG KEBUNG DEGEM
PEDIM DAPUNG PUMU PERI LIPTK TELA
PUMU APH AJI APH GEMUL NAMEM
MINUR LIPTK GETKA ALA
APH REUM SINTA
PUMU APH GEMUL NAMEM
MINUR KANGKEN KANGA KIRAM
BISI BATE MENA APH LIBAM BAKKN LEHAT
BISI BATE APH KANGKEN KANGA TAKU
PUMU DIBI DH NAMKEAI

DEM KEUM BISI BATE AENA
APH BELI PITAKA EMATA
MSUM BATE BISI BATE DE
KALACH BELI PILAPEN
BISI DADUNG MIRUNG KANE
BISI LAING DATAK TELA
APH BANPI LETAN KAGNE
BISI BATE IRMIN LAING DATAK TELA
APH MIGA LALA LENKAI
IRKI TAPH TALAP KANEM
APH BAI LETAN TAKU
DELA IMPANG GAI LETAN TA
DELA SEDI MITTING ANGING KANEM
KEUM NEI BAIKA SEPU MURMU NA DEM
APH BAI LETAN LENADA
APH SEPU MURMU LENATA
DELA BISI KAJE BATE KENA
BISI REU KETTUNG LAGE
NEI BETUNG NEPUNG LENDUNG
KARAM LEKANG SEANG NADEM
API, BAI LETAN NAME
APH LEKANG SEANG LENKAI

Summary : At the place where the great river rises near the Ruang valley, Pedong Nene gave birth to a child, named Mûnur.

At night Minur had a bad dream. He then travelled through many villages and at last came to ^{the} place where the Yongmo had his workshop. He had a talk with Pedong, Manjing and Siking also came down to that spot and joined in that discussion about the dream. Pedong Nane did not believe Minur and said 'you are telling a lie'. At that Minur fled away. But he lurked near about and secretly watched the movements of Pedong Nane. He saw Pedong Nane concealing objects looking like eggs. When Pedong Nane had gone away he took one of those egg-like things. He could not recognise what it was; so he went to a famous Yongmo named Bisi. Bisi recognised the egg and said that as Bisi had been able to identify the egg, he was the proper person to prepare something out of it. Bisi then started giving it a shape. He first prepared the eyes by throwing hot iron into a pot of cold water.

In the same way he prepared the beaks. Next he made the feathers with the help of Sedi's hair. Bisi, a great craftsman, fashioned the legs with the leaves of Rada tree. In this way he created a full grown cock. 7

There are songs within this group which relate to the origin of death and also brings forth the importance of the Miri. This differs from other abangs in this that the girls also may join the choir and also dance.

(7)

AIE AT MAMANG GO DELO PE
IE SINJUNG AIE GO DELO PE
BAKE MEYIM DONI AJIME PE
DE DONI ANYI AJIME PE
GE MEYIM DOYING BOTELANG PE
DOYING ENA BARIE BOTOLANG PE
GE RIKAP KAPSI BOTELANG PE
IGIKAMANE TABE DE BOTELANG PE
MELA DONI MERIEM IRONE BOTELANG
DE DOYI RIKAPE KAPSILENI PE
DE TABE KANE SILING A PE
IE SASUN KAI PE
DE DOYI RIKAP TABEKE PE
MELO TABE KENA PEBUOKO PE
GE GORUNGE PEBAKA PE
TAPUP JRENG JENEDE LENG KAKU PE
DE TAPUMKENA GOMJOKO PE
IE BEJNE RUDO PE
GE GONGGANG KENA RAMTAGE BEYAGE DUNGAI PE
DENA MEYIM DONI AJIKING PE
DE TAPUMKENA PIRIE PE
DE MANGINE LANGKILANG
DONI MAMI MIRIKO PE
DE DONI KIRIEM IRSETOKU PE

GE MEYUM DONIA AJIDE PE
DONI TABEMA BENGGE KAKU PE
GE DOYI MIRI INTUNGEM DELO PE
DE DANA TABEM BENGKAMU PE
DE KEYUM DONI MAMI METENG PE
GE DONI MAMI MIRI METE PE
DE PEDONGE DAMIE PE
MIGI ANE AJIME PE
MOLA MILI AJI KEADE PE
GE IANWENE LENTOKU PE
MEYUM NA RIPUNKING PE
DE MILINANG RIPUNKING PE
BISIKENA GALSIK PE
DE GALNA KAPENA PE
DE DHONI MAMI MIRIME PE
DE GALSIMENAM NAMLANGKULA PE
DHONI METE TAIGA PE
DE ALAM TANEM ABAM KAKINE PE
DE DHONI PUNAM DUKKAKE PE
DE TAKE PUNEMA DUGLENKAI PE
GE TAKE PUNEMA DUGLENKAI PE
DELAK MAKA TANIKE SILIE PE
DE MILI KENA GAIN PE
DE MILIKENA GAIN REBINGE PE

Summary : Doying was the first Miri. His son was Rikap and Rikap's son was Kapsi. After the death of first Miri, the soul started searching some man into whom he could enter. During this transitional period all music and songs disappeared from the land. At last the soul found a place in Kapsi. From that time onwards all men started singing Doy's songs. Mete, an old woman gave them a kind of fruit, which was for the Miri only. A special gale was also given which the Miri should put on while singing. If men other than the Miri were to partake of that fruit, they would die. This taboo was broken and that is why people die now-a-days in large numbers 7.

(a)

Pedong Nane de
Nane the baye nade
Todi Tanggo ko
Ome Sangki em
O Sangki em
Kilen bomkai.

Pedong Nane/Aji Diri em
Dilen kane/Olo piiyo em
Gaklen Kane/Ome lingo ko
O lingo ko/Olfn to
Pedong Nane Ke/Nane Oyie oyang dem

Donii Aji Kope/Amin bidung em

Pulem Pakto.

Pedong Nane/Donii Aji Me;

Nane Dire em/Dilen toname,

Donii Aji de/Aji Kabinga Riri Lenkai.

Donii Aji Me/Sekoi Aji Ayang em

Kepa Biyen? / Aji Nilung em

Tuman Biyen?

English rendering: Pedong Nane, the Divine Mother, began to ~~xxxxx~~ conceive as a result of divinely union with the Divine Father, Vidum Bote, and the conception lasted for several ages. She then experienced pain and labour for a long period of five years. Ultimately the great Divine Mother gave birth to thousands of children. From her ten organs came out innumerable beings, animals, birds, fish and insects. Her last issues were two sons, Taro or Robo and Tani or Nilo, the latter being the youngest. After giving birth to Tani, or the first human being the parents retired into the world of divinity, leaving the baby to the material world. Being the youngest and a baby of very small size, Tani started crying helplessly. For what did he cry? For parents or protection? For food and water? Was this cry a divine voice? There was none to come to his rescue J.

Note: The passage forms part of the Taktor Abang, dealing with the birth and divine protection to man, his triumph over evils, his struggle for survival and finally the establishment of his supremacy on the earth.

- (9) Anyi Karpunge Mimun Lang,
Abing Karduge Yemeng Bingyl;
Birne Letiem Kabang Minsula,
Biro Lakpongem Kabing Minsula,
Engo Ginyingem Pemin Sikai,
Takar Ginboem Simin Sikai,
Engo Yomsie Didum Telokke,
Takar Janggoe Didum Telokke,
Engo Kituge Rukpak Lento,
Takar Kiruge Rukpak Lento.

Siking Koje Nane De,
Nane Ayenge Kasang Bikai,
Sedi Didenge Doying Sote,
Nane Posie Pomo Likto,
Engo Karduge Yama Meling,
Takar Karupunge Mimun me,
Doni Gite Pobe so,
Engo Rutumem Tumbi Kanman,
Takat Berungem Rubikaman.

Sadi Didonge Doying Bote,
Bote Mijinga Mingo Lenkne,
Doni Gite Pobe so Engo Dereko,
Takar Dereko Lerep Bitoku.

[English rendering: Long ago there lived a people called the Engo-Takar. Among them there lived a brother and a sister, called Karduk and Karpung respectively. Both were very handsome. In course of time they established sexual relationship. This being a strange and serious offence, they were expelled from the ethereal world. They also considered themselves to be sinners and roamed throughout the three worlds to find out a habitation for them but failed. They became aimless and haggard but the warmth of love and the rays of hope remained undiminished. At last the two poor souls in their deplorable condition came to the notice of Doying Bote, the god of wisdom and courage and King Nane, the goddess of peace and plenty. The kind goddess appealed to Doying Bote to think about the rescue of the unfortunate souls and to rehabilitate them on earth. At this, Doying Bote ordered the people of Doying Ang to construct a house or Dere in which Karduk and Karpung could be resettled. The order was carried out and these two persons were accommodated in the Dere 7.

Note : The passage forms part of one of the different versions of the Moshup Abang, which narrates the origin and development of the dormitory for A'ï youths known as Moshup or Bera.

(10) Koji Sirige Rali Sirige Rihato
Koji Bintunge Rali Bintunge
Yoyong gela

Gumgo Leine Nuyi Leenam Osot To
Nuyi Tagire Dirang Kei.
Doying Gelingé Mijo Bulu
Nuyi Tagire Dira Tokonam
Tilie Rikie Kadung Dula
Doli Mimara Kotok Dula
Nuyime Yirube Sujub Bomkai.

English rendering: The Gumgong, a gigantic wild bear was killed by Nuyi, the expert hunter. The bear was then carried by Nuyi with an ordinary string of jungle leaf. On the way home the string broke and the sharp edge of the teeth of Gumgong cut off the main artery of Nuyi's leg. Nuyi died of bleeding from that wound. As soon as Nuyi died the evil spirits who were thirsty and were in quest of blood for long, rushed to the spot and sucked the blood of Nuyi to their hearts' content. They relished it very much 7

Note: The passage occurs in the Takter Abang, narrating the myth about divine protection to man and his triumph over evils. In this part also the myth tells about man's grim struggle for existence.

- (11) Donie siringe dudi yokupe emla
 Gumin basie yimo kana
 Kayum Karia tagire dirpom lok
 Banji pit Kunge esing kope
 Nei belunge dubuk kinadem
- Gumin des nge bonding kite
 Gumin subume yayum dada.
- Keyum minunge karika
 Kari gonjonge sepyong gename
 Doyin lolonge empe to
 Nei lekue lesak kope
 Neyang dada-e pala nadem
 Gumin boyie leten to
 Gumin subume yayum dada.
- Keyum minunge karika
 Kari leyonge songgonage
 Siking Kitange takno kope
 Nei emure emar reprobem
 Nune lerume pandum kito

Gumin subuma yayum dada.
Keyum ninunge karika
Kari tagire dirpom te
Gina yayanga moba te
Kayum tatke kenyi kope
Kenyi rebe pante nadem
Gumin risonge gomokito
Gumin subuma yayum dada.
Keyum polunge sobo ke
Koying liboma pobe telo
Rebu tagire niktir sinam da
Doying elinge baring kope
Eling repenge teren nadem
Pado pobange pomana tula
Nune pabange tita likto
Gumin erime kangkim kai.

[English rendering : Kari, the first man born when the world was young, was an expert hunter and warrior gifted with spiritual power and energy. After his death sacred trees and creepers sprang up from his limbs and garments at the place of his burial. These are now known as Takmo, Tapit, Tatke Lesak and Talo. Gumin Soyin cut and brought them from the grave of Kari and put them in the moshup. But still it was not attractive and

Tani, the youngest son of Pedong Nane and Yidum Bote, was also not satisfied. At last, bamboo, which grew out of the broken horn of Polung Sobe (mithun) was brought. Gamin Soyin then made different kinds of beautiful festoons out of it, tied them around the moshup and thus decorated it. The house then looked colourful and charming and Tani became very happy at this. 7

Note : The passage, occurring in the Moshup Abang, gives an interesting account of how and when the materials for the decoration of Moshup were collected.

- (12) Konno deni labinge tumbo dakadm
 Engo Karduge mite bulu
 Donime iyie gipum dakla
 Siking Kinunge nuneme
 Nane gabe rappe bito.
- Engo Karduge yame bulu
 Donime musubem ibyil boto
 Takar kassenge minum bulu
 Donime resengem ibyil boto.
- Yidum Bote tumi tarome tomkane
 Doni lakponge garname
 Dona lammenge beser ne
 Keko lingkabe rapap dakla

Engo Kargenge geyi bulum
Geyi sienge bibo guakla
Doni ngine todi yem
Kayum minunge nui me
Soke buyie bibi dakla
Geyi popume tonbilangka
Dorong popume tonbilangka.

English rendering : From karduk and karpung, Tani learned how to maintain the Moshup - Rasheng most perfectly as also the various arts. Thus Moshup-Rasheng as well as the culture and arts of the Adis were introduced by Karduk and Karpung of the Engo-Takar land. Afterwards, Tani arranged a great feast in the Moshup and invited all the gods and spirits and beings under the patronage of Gumin Soyin. Yidum Bote, Tani's father, was very pleased. He also advised Tani that he must give offerings to Gumin Soyin from time to time as his guardian. Behind Him and in presence of Him, he must tell no lie and commit no sin. To commemorate the glory of Kari and Nuyi and to immortalize the great day of his own career, he should celebrate it annually for ever. /

Note : This passage from the Moshup Abang gives an idea of the beginning of the arts and cultural performances associated with the Moshup as also the annual feast held in the Moshup and participated by all the members.

D. Nitom [Or Love songs, sung by the young boys and girls who have fallen in love through the dormitory associations and plan for marriage in near future]

(1) Lele lele tamang arume miname,

Mulu sirmie okayem.

Polo lolada Kisado,

Go deloyang.

Tamang arume nineke,

Migmi pelibe pelopde,

Libo yarie Kisado,

Go deloyang.

Ingkopeyi latbonga,
Titonga bidakne,
Ingopeyi yarie,
Lalyire bidakne,
Go deloyang.
Sekoyi nulungs,
Mubu sine nilungs,
Tumane boyene,
Go deloyang.

English rendering : O my friend, when my mind bends on you,
you look like the moonlight. The frequent casting of your
eyelids appears like the sky-light of summer. Or, why does
the moon bloom and what does the light of the sky indicate?
Who will sing lullaby and soften my heart? _7

Note: Such a song appreciating the physical beauty of the girl,
removes the usual shyness of the virgins and thereby encourages
them to reply in the same traditional style.

(2) Oge-ge ngoke arume Kalime,
Migmike poduko,
Kikanga bitonem,
Nermike letie,
Siginga runako,
Nelonge lakponge,
Somjome runako,

Oge-ga.

Ngokena gitelo,

Alope dokpange,

Sisabosi duamil,

Ajipe Komjinga,

Rayibosi duamil,

Lekope balunga,

Nayikope balunga,

Oge-ga.

English rendering : When I look at my friend, I find him handsome and lovable. Oh if we had been born and brought up in the same village, we would have developed into a single life, like two plants attached together 7

Note: This reply of the girl inspires the boy to sing more stories of love, thereby to advance his case by inspiring more passion in the girl. He will then sing:

(3) Ane gole annai:
 ane yo-anna
 Ngoke jale gadda,
 Ane-yo-anna
 Ajom jale gadda,
 Ane-yo-anna,
 Kayum jale gaddai,

Ngunjiko bege dokpae,

Ane-yo-anna,

Leken jago dokpae,

Ane-yo-anna,

Sisi yoe kupia,

Hegen jane mekala,

Ane-yo-anna,

Sirum ruge diri sim,

Ane-yo-anna,

Diri ruge nesire,

Sirgo yoe lajuka.

[Gist : O, good-looking and beautiful friend, we may not be reborn and enjoy a pleasant, youthful life like this. So, considering that, let us enjoy this evening to our complete total satisfaction.]

Note: The girl, listening to such intimate invitation from the boy, will naturally feel more attracted towards him, and will, therefore, sing out in romantic effusion :-

(4)

Tatpo tatpo

Babingke nitoma,

Tatop tatpo.

Tatpo tatpo

Mime Ke neiyé.

Tatpo tatpo
Tatpo tatpo
Neyanga ngolu,
Tatpo tatpo
Tatpo tatpo
Nyanna ma pisako,
Tatpo tatpo
Tatpo tatpo
Gummema likpe,
Tatpo tatpo.

[Gist: O, my dear friend, your songs are extremely sweet, absorbing, and infatuating. They are so intensely attractive and intimate that my heart is fully leaning towards you and I can not think of anything else but you. So I accept your invitation 7.

(5) GE LARILE DAME ABULE LA
GE LAR LE DAME A ULE LA
GE MITIGE MAMIE ABULE LA
GE NITENA BALUA ABULE LA
GE TADIE MIMIE ABULE LA
GE NITENA NALU ABULE LA
GE TADANGEM TAKKUS ABULE LA
GE TABAGE BANAPE ABULE LA
GE MITIGE NINE ABULE LA

GE NIYANG GE SINNA ABULE LA
GE TARANG EM NALUE ABULE LA :
GE KEDENG NA SIME ABULE LA
GE TANDANE N GOLUS ABULE LA
GE KEDENGA SIME ABULE LA
GE LARINE DAME ABULE LA
GE LARINE DAME ABULE LA
GE LINE II NANIE ABULE LA
GE TADAEM NANIE ABULE LA
GE LULIEM KENMANG ABULE LA
GE TADAEM BANKAE ABULE LA
GE TADAEM BANKAE ABULE LA
GE SEYANGU KENMANG ABULE LA
GE NITENA BULUA MIDAN GE ABULE LA
GE DALINGMAPEKA ABULE LA
GE LARIN GE DAME ABULE LA

Summary: O my young and old friends, you will all sing and perform your dance. But I, the youngest of you all will have many songs in my mind which I do not know how to express in words.

O my senior friends, you all will sing during the festival; unfortunately I will not be able to sing as I do not know the words. You should have rehearsed before, so that I could have opportunity to learn them and to join you in dancing

and singing_7.

Moshup life is rich in love and it would have been surprising if such a musical people as the Adis are would have had no expression for it in songs. Actually, there is a large number of such songs, but they are difficult to get at, because they are sung in seclusion and privacy. There is many a love-lorn swain who sings amorous melodies to his sweet-heart behind a granary or in a secluded corner of the rasheng. These he will rarely sing in public. Such an outpour of heart is meant solely for the ear of the beloved. There are also compositions in dialogue form where both pour out the yearnings of their heart to each other. One such is given below.

(6) DOBO GOGNAM

DE YAME DE SEKO ADA SISANG BOSU DAGALO

EKE DEKE YAME YEM ADA SISANG BOSU

DAGALO ADAI

DE MIMOM DE SEKO ADA SISANG BOSU

DAGALO EKE DEKE MIMOM DEM

ADA SISANG BOSU DAGA LO

ADAI

LOME PEBO SUDUAMA YUMTUNG KO

LOME PEBO SU DUAMANG ADAI

GILE IK PENG BOSU DAGAMA MITIGE GILE

IKPENG BOSU DAGAMA ADAI

BOMPE TEYI DUA ALO BUIDUNG KE BOMPE :

TEYI DUA ALO ADAI

MUILO MIYAN SUDJAMA, YAME DE

MUILO MIYANSU DUAMA ADAI

MUILO MIYAN SUDJA MA MIMIM DE

MUILO MIYANSU DUAMA ADAI

TAYI GAM SI YAI BOMI ARIME

RUMNE ME TAYI GAM SI YAI

LOBO LOYIRU NAKJAI I SIN KELOBO

LOYI RUNA KUAI ADAI

ISIN GOP NGORU NAKJAI BUIDUNGKE

ISIN GOPNGORU NAKJAI ADAI

APUI BOM BOSU DUAMA MIMUME

APUI BOM BOSU DUAMA MIMUME

APUI BOM BOSU DUAMA ADAI

APUI BOM BOSU DUAMA GAME YE

APUI BOM BOSU DUAMA ADAI

GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA MIMIM DEM :

GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA ADAI

GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA YOMANCE

GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA ADAI

GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA YAME DEM

GINNYING SIBO SU DUAMA ADAI

SNEDANG BYARTAN KI DUAMA

BOMI LEBING RUNNE ME SHEDANG BYAR TANKI
DUAMA ADAI
SHEDANG BYARTAN DO AMA BOMI LEBINGE
RUNNE NGOM SHEDANG BYARTAN DUAMA
ADAI
DOLO DOMAN GE DUAPE MINAM NOM
DOLO DOMAN GE DUAPE ADAI

[Summary:-

Among the boys there, who
is he who matches me in
age and status? Oh !
could he be mine !

Oh ! what a joy it would
be if we could sit
together at night and I
could have him close.

I like him for his age
and beauty.

How I wish he would like
me - oh, how it could be done !
It would be nice if his
heart inclines the way as
mine.

Among the girls there,
who is she who matches me
in age and status. How
could I win her !

Oh ! what a joy it would
be if our houses were
close and we could always
be near each other.

She is quite my match.

Oh ! My friends, just tell
me how I could win her.
It would be nice if her
heart and mine grow one
and the same.]

E. Ponung Song: [i.e. song accompanying dance]

- (1) Mopin-ripin nag-la-ju
Lo-si lo-re bom la ju
Memen memen men-na,
Asi abirr okum-to
Nadu tuter go-ju
Di-ko bok-do men-dim mem-be
Asi abirr okum-to
mopin mopin ma-la
Losi lora bom-in-la-ju.
Rugum rugum ado-be
Asi abirr okum-to
Asi abirr okum to.
Gom-te nyrk-te ga-i-be,
Menji menji ke-be?
Losi lori bom-la ju.
Nipin puk-ter go ju,
Ye-go du-go la-ga-be !
Losi lori bom-la ju.
Ajer smar apuka-e ?
Mopin popirr rek la ju
Pok-tar ka-ma-be pok-ju-la-ju
Losi lori bumen-la ju.

[English rendering : Oh brothers, we have all gathered here

with a very joyful heart and let us heartily welcome the merry Mopin. We pray for the health and wealth of all Brothers, young and old; we call the Mopin most cordially. Brothers, young and old, let us perform the Mopin dance round and round; it is a very merry day for us all and we shall spend the whole day in fun and frolic. Happy be the celebration. We join it all with a glad heart. O brothers, young and old join us in a merry company. Let the rhythms of the butterfly animate us and we shall flit and flutter and dance and sing the whole day. /

Note: Sung by boys and girls in accompaniment with dance during the mopin festival, celebrated in honour of Mopin, the goddess of rich crops and all-round prosperity. After the song and dance a community feast follows.

- (2) Elang e eiang yakka delang
Aba deiga rangem yakka delang
De lamas rangem yakka delang
De kekena rangem yakka delang
De meume unie yakka delang
De darine mals yakka delang
De darike santum yakka delang
De eruna dem yakka delang
De meume deing e yakka delang
De kaje Bette yakka delang

Dena Daing Bate tumia yakka delang
De gibi dagden yakka delang
De meume pekiange yakka delang
De abiang pekiange yakka delang
De babu eyaba ya a delang
De kayaba ke kerie yakka delang
Ia ebige nama yakka delang
Ie kine ke degua yakka delang
Ie irang ke bela yakka delang
Ie kari ke pejeng yakka delang
Ie cejenge nama yakka delang
Ie kilung ke rugling yakka delang
Ie rugtang bulu yakka delang
Ie debake tatkin yakka delang
De bali bulu yanna delang
De bane darime yakka delang
De dabibam Kala yakka delang
De anike santum yakka delang
De erungna dem yakka delang
De meume na atum yakka delang
De tabi mena yakka delang
Ia cename muqing yakka delang
Ia gidanni lanke yakka delang
Ia balina bulu ya a delang
E gina upe ya a delang

Meume na atue ya a delang

Ge tabimena ya a delang

Ge tabi e dabisme ya a delang

[Summary: In ancient times Doying Bote saw that the paddy the people grew in the field was destroyed by insects that looked like lice. These insects were trying to go under the ground. They found that those numerous insects were white ants. Meume and others talked over it and with the help of Kine Nane found an egg. From that egg came out a cock. The cock was ordered by Kine Nane to kill all the white ants. In this way the insects were destroyed and paddy was saved 7.

Note : Sung by the Miri along with girls of the village during the Solung (harvest) festival. This Ponung song describes how by heavenly grace the growing paddy was saved from pests in the past.

(3) Gao gatato tanmang
 Gao dilu lebi tanmang
 Gao rumma bulua tanmang
 Gao rumme bulue tanmang
 Gao lingum ekuem tanmang
 Gao lingum ekuem tanmang
 Gao lingum ekuem tanmang
 Gao lingum emue tanmang
 Gao a bidung tanmang

Gao lingum gabi tanmang

Gao labliding tanmang

Gao metabulus tanmang

Gao dibang tanmang

Gao saman take tanmang

Goa elma nida tanmang

Goa dalig damin tanmang

Goa anjonako tanmang

Goa Jiabgi eme tanmang

Gao gaisa tanmang

Goa gaisa tanmang

Goa tadatoku e tanmang

Goa gene iare tanmang.

English rendering : O my friends with beautiful voices, it pains me and shames me that my voice is not sweet and it is difficult for me to sing. I fear there is something wrong with my voice. I request you all to teach me the tune and the words of the beautiful song you all are singing. But O my friends, you are neither lending your ears to my request nor are you trying to bring me up to your standard. As I would like very much to join you, I request you again to teach me the melody 7.

Note : Such song is usually sung on very light occasions such

as the welcoming of guests, when the girls take the lead, compose extempore songs suiting the occasion, and sing and dance to the tune.

8. Yo Yo Gaganan or Lullabies: / Sung by girls with their younger brother or sister on their back rocking and jerking their bodies rhythmically and singing slowly, so that the child will fall asleep 7.

Yoyolo O peyolo oi
O yoyo gage O peyo gage oi
O ingko Koi O epuk mujir O gayir dune Oi
Ngokke so O mimi ka O lamku so O kelu so
O asope O dak langka oi
O ngokke sim o ani sim O toni sim
O ingko mibo O padangei O lutune oi
O ingko mibo O padangei O metung bulling
O ditune oi.
O ingko mibo a padangei O megap buidong
O sutune oi
O ngokke sim O ani sim O toni sim O metung
Bulling O dina demi oi
O ngokke sim O megap buidong a sona dema oi
O ngokke me O yayime O pobisue Ku oi
O ngokke me O tete me O yoyongma O yiyime;
O pobisuyaku oi

O yoyo lo opeyo lo o gayolo oi
O ingko mibo O padangei O lutene oi
O milo ko milo O yayi ke or raling site o
Tetunglo
O temin gemo pe oi
O mime ko milo of mamike o rikbilo
O bitulo of bimin gemo pe oi
O mimi bulukke of mongko taodde of kottulo
O kotmin gemope oi
O yoyolo opeyolo oyoyo gage of peyo gage oi
O ngokke simo ani sim o toni sim
O aji ti tue olilene sim o olo kom pange
O rangga na sim oi
O ngokke na o ani no o toni no
O apuk rangage o beyo mapeka oi
O ayin majir oge yire of mapeka oi
O ayin buine of adem do yika
O apuk buine o adem doyika oi.

[English rendering: Oh ! hush baby, do not cry. I rock you on my back; you are my younger love; do not be angry with me. Stay quiet and rest silent on this loving back. Does any unknown face frighten you? Does anyone come to beat you? Oh ! do not fear, I will beat him with this stick. Oh ! You are a boy and you will succeed your father in the work on the field when you grow up.

(In the case of a girl) Oh : You are ^a girl and when you ^{grow} up,
you will help your mother in the field and your elder sisters
in fetching fuel and water. We will all work together when
you grow up 7.
