

**Society, Culture and Ecological  
adaptation among three tribes  
of Arunachal Pradesh**

**JAYANTA SARKAR**

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लेखक के सम्मानार्थ  
Author's Complimentary.



ANTHROPOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA  
MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCE DEVELOPMENT  
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**JAYANTA SARKAR**

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# Introduction

Under the Project 'Society and Culture among the people of Himalayan border area: Structure and change', sponsored by the Anthropological Survey of India, a study of the People of 'border area' of North-Eastern Frontier was taken by the North East India Regional Office of this Survey in 1972. The main aim of this Project is to get a total picture of the least known groups living in the border area and their degree of social change due to contact with other groups. This study also aims to find out the nature of adaptation of these people in different ecological settings.

## *Border Area*

For the Present Project, the 'Border Area' of the North Eastern Region has been defined as 'the stretch of land lying between the Himalayan International boundary on the North East and line running almost parallel to this boundary just where the Himalayan foot hills meet the plain'.

## *Unit of Study*

For the present study villages located in three different ecological settings were taken as the unit. This was done to get a picture of the variation in social and cultural pattern in the different ecological settings of the border area. Accordingly two villages, one from the foot hills, another from the high hills (6500' above the sea level) were selected. The third village situated in Roing administrative circle is mainly populated by the immigrants from Damroh and nearby villages of Siang district which are located about 4000' to 5000' above the sea level. This village was selected with an idea to get a picture of the nature of adjustment the people have made after coming down from the high hills.

## *How the People were approached*

During the field work I liked to stay within the villages which incidentally were mono-ethnic. In the initial stage of my work, in all the three villages, I preferred to take the services of interpreter provided either by the local administration or by the villagers. These interpreters proved to be very much helpful in establishing rapport.

In the initial stage I faced the problem of language. The people generally converse with the outsiders in a dialect which is locally known as 'Nefamese'. This I could follow as it has similarity with the Assamese, but I could not speak. In course of my field work I learnt the dialect which enabled me to conversate directly with the villagers. The villagers of foot hills were very much inquisitive about the nature of work I was carrying out. I approached the Gaon Buda (village headman) first in all the three villages, who in turn introduced me to all the leading personalities of the villages so that every one could come to know about my purpose of staying in the village. The tribal elites of foot hills were convinced, with little difficulty, about the purpose of my visit, to others I had to explain again and again that 'I am going to write a book on their life and culture'. To this reply the latter suggested me to take the help of the well-to-do persons who according to them know better than others. With the help of interpreter I explained them that 'they can say the history no doubt, but they may not have a very good knowledge of all the people living in the village. That is why I am visiting all the persons'. My repeated visit and participation in the village work removed the barrier of mental communication in the villages located in the lower and middle altitude with less difficulty. But the people of the village located in the high hill were very much suspicious and never allowed to collect information without putting several questions to me. Even when a few young boys became my friend and came forward to help me, they had to give several satisfactory replies to the queries put by the others. Ultimately they accepted me as 'harmless writer of their stories, culture, events, etc'.

### *Objectives*

In the present volume, while giving ethnographic account of the people living in three villages I tried to conceive each village as a part of 'larger whole'. The nature of contact each village had in past and is having at present with other villages was also examined.

The following pages give a detailed account of the three groups living in three villages namely, Momong, Bolung and Pangoon, inhabited by the Khamti, Padam and Kaman Mishmi.

### *The Khamti*

The Khamties are one of the tribes of Lohit district of Arunachal Pradesh. The 1961 census records them as 2,513 heads concentrating mainly on the bank of Nansoom (Tengapani) river in

the Chawkham circle. They belong to the great Tai group. The Tai are now mainly concentrated in the Indo-Chinese peninsula. The present habitat of the Tai people extends from Assam in the west to Kwangsi and Hainam in the east and from the interior of *Yun-nan* in the north to the most extremity of Thailand in the south. The different branches of the Tai are generally known by the local name. George Scott, an authority on the Shans, gives an extensive list of Tai communities as known by their local names, such as *Tai, Htai, Pai-i, Moi, Mung, Tho or Do Hkamti* with a very much greater number of local names, assumed by themselves or given them by their neighbours, such as *Lao, Law, Hkun, Lu, Tai-long, Tai-noi, Tai-ho, Taiman, Taimao, Taihke, Tai-toi, Pu-tai, Pu-nong (Nung), Pu-man, pu-ju, Pu-chei, pu-en, pu-yloi, pu-sui, Pa, Shu Han or Hua-pai-i, Pai-jen, Yu-jen, Pu-man, Pai, Hei or Hwa, Tu-Tao, Nung or Lung-jen, Sho-jen Hei or Pai Shajen, Minchia, Shui-Chia, Chungchia*, and many more still purely local (Scott 1900 : 187-8).

The Khamties who have settled down in the Arunachal Pradesh immigrated to this part of India from Mung-Khamti or Borkhamti of Burma. The actual meaning of 'Khamti' is the 'land of gold'. Mung Khamti or 'Borkhamti' was first visited by Captain Wilcox from whose account we get an idea of that area. He found the Khamties of Borkhamti as an isolated people and the area as a very extensive district inhabited by Singpho tribes intervening between them and the other place where the Shan language is spoken. Moreover the country they occupied was not peopled solely by Khamties, but also by Muluks, Khalongs, Kumengs and others.

Leach also has mentioned about Borkhamti. He writes "The Shan state of Hkamti Long (Borkhamti) is supposed to have been established about A.D. 750, as a military outpost of *Nanchao* in the course of three sided hostilities in which both the Chinese and the Tibetans were involved. The Shan of Khamti long are today few and decadent but the area of marshy grass land hereabouts suggests that in the past there may have been very large areas of paddy and a large population to match" (Leach 1954 : 250).

Any outsider having the idea of the tribals of other parts of India will be surprised to see the Khamties in their original settings. T. T. Cooper says "To speak of the Khamties as a tribe is to do them little justice, for there is that about the word tribe which conveys the idea of wildness and want of culture, very far from forming a characteristic of the Khamties, for from some of their social laws even civilised nations might take a lesson". (Cooper 1873 : 145). They are a tribe professing the Hinayana Buddhism.

They have their script and they maintain chronicles which are known as *Chyatuie*. They have their law books, called *Thamasat*. The *Chaofa* is the head of the village who is supposed to give his judgement according to the existing laws. In several other ways the characteristics of tribe are not met with among the Khamties. They are not living on the hill nor they had ever that type of habitat in their original homeland. Their habitats are located on the bank of river *Irrawady*. They do not practise shifting cultivation and the system of irrigation is suggestive of better production.

Each Khamti village has its own village council which is generally headed by the *Chaofa*, if the person belongs to the royal lineage or clan, otherwise the head of the village for all purposes is the *Gaon Buda*. There is clear cut instruction regarding the duties of each officials of the council.

They speak a language which has 'keen affinity with the language of the Shans of Burma, China, Thailand, Cambodiya, Vietnam, Laos and Lawang Prabang'.

#### *Creation of the Khamti and their immigration*

According to Khamti mythology two persons came down from the heaven to Moongthean and Moongti. Their names were Khunllu and Khunllai, Khunllu was in Moongthen, where as Khunllai lived in Moongti. Khunllai had only one daughter and no other issue. When the daughter grew up Khunllai wanted to get her married, but she refused to marry. Khunllai could not tolerate her adamant. So he tied her on a boat and allowed the boat to be driven by the current of the river. The boat reached near a marble-stone mountain, which the Khamties call as *Noikafu*. The owner of this mountain was a white tiger who actually was God. The name of this tiger was *Chew Fuh*, who instead of eating the girl took her to the cave.

As a result of their co-habitation three sons were born. The *Chew Fuh* used to keep himself away from the children, so that they do not get afraid. Till the eldest son became 12 years old and the middle and youngest sons became 11 and 9 years old respectively, they did not see the face of their father. After attaining these ages, they started asking the mother about their father. The mother told them the entire story of her past life and also told about the white tiger. The children suggested their mother to leave the tiger and to return to her father's kingdom along with them. But mother did not agree, instead she suggested the sons to go to her



father's country and live there. As the identity of their relationships with the Khunllai she gave her ring and the necklace.

The three brothers went to Khunllai and narrated the whole story of their mother and showed the king the ring and necklace. Khunllai recognised them as his grand sons. The latter then asked for land to start their habitat. Khunllai instead of giving them land provided them with three things. The eldest brother got a drum, the middle got a sword and the youngest one was given one crane. Then all the three sons were told that the place where the drum would start beating automatically, the eldest son should stop and should announce there that a new king has come here to start his kingdom. Similarly the middle son told to stop at the place where the sword would automatically drop on the earth. He was asked to announce there about the arrival of new king and beginning of a new dynasty. The youngest son was asked to stop at the place where the crane would start shouting.

All the three brothers after a prayer, started with their drum, sword and crane. While on march at one place the drum started beating automatically. According to the grandfather's instruction, he stopped there and announced about the arrival of a new king. The people of that area accepted him as king and wanted to know his name. The eldest brother introduced himself as Chao Hu Seng Mong Kong, meaning the Emperor of drum's country.

After another five days march the crane of the youngest brother started shouting. The people of that area, like the people of two other areas mentioned earlier, came to him and asked his name and ultimately accepted him as their king. The youngest brother introduced himself as Chao Hu Seng Mong Yang ; i.e., the Emperor of the Crane's country.

The first emperor had seven daughters. The *Ke Kang* (headman) of a village Moong Kong had seven sons. The youngest one was known as Chaoting Nyu. This boy knew the language of all the animals and birds. His own people took him as lunatic and tried to kill him in a river. But the boy started talking with the fish and was saved by the fishes. After one week his people found him alive. Next time they put him within a drum and kept the drum on the top of a tree. The boy established friendship with the birds. The birds used to give him fruits. So he survived there also. His people then decided to bury him. The emperor Chao Moong Kong came to know about this boy. He sent his people to save the boy. The Emperor's men took the boy out from the earth and presented him before the emperor. The emperor was

very much impressed by the boy and wanted to make him the youngest daughter's husband. But the ministers did not like this idea. So they suggested the emperor that before the marriage is settled the boy should be asked a few questions. The emperor accepted the suggestion. The boy was asked the questions and he answered to them satisfactorily. The emperor was happy, but his chief minister wanted to have another test, which the boy passed successfully with the help of his power of understanding the languages of insects. The king then got his youngest daughter married with this boy. Being asked the boy introduced himself as 'Choating Nyu' of 'Tai' tribe. The emperor then gave him the following three things :

1. Golden Kettle
2. Golden Cooker
3. Golden Oven.

The boy was renamed on receipt of these three things as ChaoFa Lung King Kham ; means a king having golden oven.

This Lung King Kham had four sons. The name of the third one was 'Sam King Kham Kafa'. The people of Khamti of Burma came to *Lung King Kham* and requested him to send this son to 'Moong Khamti' as the King of that area. But Lung King Kham sent the eldest son Kham Name Chan Wai Mannyu first and then the second son Tha Moong Matong Luyk Khoon. But these two could not rule well. So the people took Saam King Kham Kafa as their king.

Saam King Kafa had three sons. After a few years, these three brothers observed that no one recognises them as the sons of the King. So they consulted among themselves and decided to go to the emperor for some soldiers. The first brother, Chao Aai Lung King Kham took thirty persons. But on the way the man died. After one year when the first brother did not return the youngest brother Chao Saam Lung King Kham went to Moong Kong with fifteen persons. Chao Moong Kong; the emperor, asked his identity. Chao Saam Lung King then told that his eldest brother came to see him (emperor). He also requested the emperor to provide him with some soldiers. The emperor asked him whether the latter has got any elder brother? The boy lied and told that he has no elder brother. Then the emperor gave him one medal and soldier. Chao Saam Lung King Kham was declared as King. He then asked to be at Moong Kong for one year and one separate throne was arranged for him. On the other side, the second brother of Chao

Saam Lung King Kham waited for about one year and started for Moong Kong taking twenty five persons with him. He arrived in the assembly hall of the emperor at a time when all officials were sitting there. Chao Saam Lung King Kham seeing his elder brother stood up to pay respect to his elder brother forgetting about what he told earlier to the emperor. The emperor was surprised at the scene and asked Chao Saam Lung King Kham to explain about the person. Both the brothers recognised each other. The emperor became angry upon the younger brother. He then gave a sword to the elder brother to kill the younger brother which the former could not do instead of repeated order. The emperor realised the elder brother's love and affection and understood that the elder brother is very much gentle and emotional. The emperor then presented the elder brother one marble stone idol of Lord Buddha and named the person Frataka i.e., the custodian of the idol. Being asked by the emperor, Frataka told that his elder brother, who died on the way a few years back, has two sons. The emperor announced that these two sons would get all the revenues of the central place lying in between Moong Khamti and their present habitat. Frataka and his younger brother then returned to their original habitat. The younger brother became the king as per Frataka's desire.

Frataka's younger brother had two sons namely, (a) Chao Mangla and (b) Chao Mangli. These two brothers decided to become the king in the presence of their father. The younger of these two, killed his father for which the situation of the kingdom became worst. The people lastly accepted him as the king and named him as Chao Kham Po.

Frataka became afraid of this new king and decided to leave the place for ever. Accordingly he told Chao Kham Po to keep the four main gates of the palace open so that he could go out with his belongings through any gate in which Chao Kham Po had no objection.

Before his departure Frataka announced that the place where he is going, would be devoid of slavery system, so if any one likes to come could accompany him. On the seventh day at noon the gates were opened and almost all the people started coming out to go with Frataka. Chao Kham Po thought if this situation continue, his kingdom would become thinly populated. So, he ordered to shut the gates before the scheduled time. Those who could come out of the gates did not forget to bring the Buddha image with them. There was a person by name Chao Sing Hu Nyuwan under Chao Kham

Po, who had a daughter's son. Nobody knew about his father. So, he sent his grandson with Frataka. While on march, people from nearby villages started joining this party which ultimately increased the strength of the party to a great extent. They were joining the party with the hope that, in Frataka's dynasty all men would get better status. The party was marching towards Lohit district of the present Arunachal Pradesh. They first reached at Kham Hu Pong, the present Vijaynagar in the Tirap district of Arunachal Pradesh. The ration of the party was exhausted by this time. So they temporarily settled down there for about one year. The news of their settlement went to the Bisa Gam, a Singpho King. The latter sent about thirty persons to remove these people. The men of Bisa Gam, in a stormy night, planned to attack Frataka. Incidentally, the guard on duty, on that very night was the grandson of Chao Sing Hu Nyuan. He killed all those persons, except one. On the next morning the queen found all those dead bodies and could understand that the guard has saved their lives. Frataka was so pleased with the boy that he offered a feast to his fellowmen and announced that he has adopted the boy as his own son and named him Chao Noi Ai Lung King Kham On.

After sometimes they again started coming down towards Arunachal and reached near present 'Na Dihing'. They conquered all the places whichever they came across on the way to 'Na Dihing'. Ultimately they reached at 'Noi Cheenam', the present Manabhum forest range. At that time the tribes like Saringya, Koia, Dewri, were living there. Frataka fought with them for seven days but could not win the fight. During this fight they came to Nam Fang Yuk, near the present Tengapani river. There they prayed to the Lord Buddha and asked the lord to give them some indication by which they would know whether this place would suit them or not. If the place suits, as an indication the taste of the river water would be sour for a few hours. After the worship, seven persons tasted the water and to their surprise they found it sour. They were encouraged by it and fought again and defeated the local people. As the river's water became sour, Frataka named this river as *Namchoom* (sour river) and also changed his own *Phan* (Clan) from Lumkin and became Namchoom. Frataka moved downward and reached Saikhawa ghat. During this period Sadiya Khowa Gohain was ruling Sadiya. Frataka first approached him and asked him to provide with land so that Frataka could establish a new settlement. Sadiya Khowa could not agree with the proposal. So Frataka all on a sudden attacked Sadiya and killed the Gohain and con-

quered the place. People of that area started addressing Frataka as *Gohain*, after the ex-ruler Sadiya Khowa Gohain. Frataka had two sons, (a) Chao Moong Yun Lung and (b) Chao Moong Yun Wan.

Being eldest son of the father, Chao Moong Yun Lung succeeded Frataka. Chao Moong Yun Lung had four sons namely (a) Chao Saa Lu, (b) Chao Lung Fat, (c) Chao Kein and (d) Chao Chit Su. Chao Moong Yun Lung was also known by another two names (a) Chao Fa—Plung Lu, after the name of his son and (b) Chao Fa Kong Moong *i.e.*, king.

British came during his time to Sadiya and took permission for both settlement and starting business. But the king was not happy with the activities of Britishers specially regarding their arms and ammunition. He was always suspicious and finally he, along with his brother-in-law attacked Colonel White the political agent. While on fight, Chao Fa Plunglu and his brother-in-law got bullet injury but the Chao Fa did not surrender. Ultimately he laid down his life in the battle field. After his death Chao Salu became the Chief. He made a treaty with the British administrators that there would be no further war. Chao Salu used to take the taxes from all the tribes of his dynasty.

After Chao Salu, Chao Lung Fat became the Chao Fa. He had quarrel with the chief of the Mutuck. The latter took the help of the British and derecognised him as Chao Fa. Chao Lung Fat outsted Colonel White by attacking him in the meeting in January 1839. Then the situation of Sadiya became worst. The Khamties divided in several groups, one group hide in the Mishma hills, another group went to the Dibang valley, some other took shelter in "Abor Hills". The Britishers were searching them everywhere but could not catch any one. Later on, they announced that no revenge would be taken against the Khamti. In the year 1843 the Khamties started coming out of their hidence in group. The Britishers made a treaty with the Khamties that they were now fully empowered to rule their own area and also entitled to collect taxes, but they should have to deposit once in a year, a portion of the annual collection of the taxes to the British administrator. It was also agreed upon that no weapons could be made by the Khamties, they would stop preparing salt.

Chao Kein had a son by name Chao Mangthi and Chao Lung Fat had two sons ; (a) Chao Noi Saam and (b) Chao Noi Sa. Chao Mangthi settled near present Jona area of Lohit district. Chao Noi Saa also came with him. At present Chawkham, Manfai, Man Sai

and Mucha groups were living. They started a new settlement, Ngtaw, Ngpong, Upong, Kumkong, Lakchai clans of these groups were all of the same rank. They were facing the problem of getting a chief for their village. They decided to go to Chao Mangthi for offering him the honour of their Chief. Accordingly they approached Chao Mangthi who obliged them by sending Chao Noi Saam and Chao Noi Saa. Chao Noi Saam by virtue of his age became the chief at Chawkham and requested Chaw Mangthi to come near his chieftaincy.

Chao Mangthi settled down at about five to six km west of Chawkham on the Teyeng river bank. The place was full of Mango tree. The Khamti word for Mango is Momong, hence the name of the village became Momong. During his chieftainship the Britishers had a good relation with Chao Mangthi. The Britishers used to consult Chao Mangthi first, for solution of any problem related to the Khamti group. When Chao Mangthi became old, he started sending Chao Noi Saam to discuss with the British administrators. The eldest son of Chao Noi Saam, Chao Na was getting his schooling at Dibrugarh. As such Chao Noi Saam used to consult with his eldest son in such cases. During this period the Britishers asked for help from the Khamti chief to fight against the Adi or "Abor Hills" (Now Siang district). Chao Mangthi as usual asked Chao Noi Saam to help the British who in response sent his eldest son Chao Na for the same. Chao Na defeated Adis and while returning, did not meet Chao Mangthi. The latter felt offended. From this period the British rulers started contacting Chao Na directly forgetting Chao Mangthi. Chao Mangthi felt dishonoured at this and left Momong for good and went to Borkhamti in Burma. Chao Mangthi had a brother, Chao Pet, by name. He also accompanied Chao Mangthi.

After Chao Mangthi, Chao Fa Hoop became the chief of the village, who was succeeded by Chao Fa Hung Kung. After Chao Fa Hung Kung Chao Fa Koi became the chief who was succeeded by Chao Fa Mucha and after the latter's death Chao King Wee became the Chief. After Chao King Wee the present chief. Chao Fa Sipu became the Chao Fa of the village. Incidentally, he is now the chief of all the Khamties of Lohit district.

### *The Padam in recent past*

The Padams were known to outsiders as *Abor*, the meaning of which is 'barbarous' and 'independent' or 'unruly' or 'savage'. The word

'bori' in Assamese means dependent, the negative indicator 'a' is prefixed to 'bori' giving its meaning as 'independent' or 'unruly'. This word has been applied by the plains people of this area to identify all the Hill peoples since a long time. But in recent past this word was being used to identify the Padams, Miniyangs and Gallongs who now-a-days call themselves as Adi. The term Adi means the 'Hill people'.

The main concentration of the Adis is in the Siang district of Arunachal Pradesh. As Roy has pointed out (1960:7) the land of the Adis covers over 8,000 sq. miles and their habitation are concentrated on both banks of the Siang and the Yamme rivers, extending in the north upto the border of India and Tibet and extends as far as Pasighat and few families below in the south.

### *Original migration*

Roy in his book 'The Aspects of Padam Miniyang Culture' has mentioned about the original migration of Padams (Roy 1960:15). He says 'it is said that the Padams came from the north and were originally the inhabitants of Bomi, a place near Ramsing. They started migrating and passed through Sira Pateng, Dempui, Nugan, Ringang, Vilive, Pegu, Sillulak, Tanyek Puigo. From Taaek Puigo, all the clans of the Padams other than the Legos migrated to a place called Ngling. The Lego went to Milan land and finally to Domroh. The Irang clan of the Padams also left the main body and went to Jokan and finally to Domroh. The main body of the Padams went to a place called Anatko in the Komkar's land and from there to Kesing and then joined with the *Irangs* and *Legos* at Domroh. The Padam area now start from the Sidip on the left of the Yamne, covers the whole of the region on the side and extends as far as the Siku river in the south and the Dambuk village in the south-east. The Northern most Padam village by the side of the Yamne is Domroh, the next two villages towards the south being Padu and Silli. Bordak is the last Padam village in the higher region of the Adi Hills. On the eastern side the Padam village are Dambuk, Meka and Rayeng on the bank of the river Sissiri and are under the jurisdiction of the Lohit Frontier Division (Present Lohit district).

In Roing area, recently a number of Padam villages have come up, the inhabitants of which are the immigrants from Dambuk, Domroh (approx. 4000'), Milan (approx. 4259') and several other

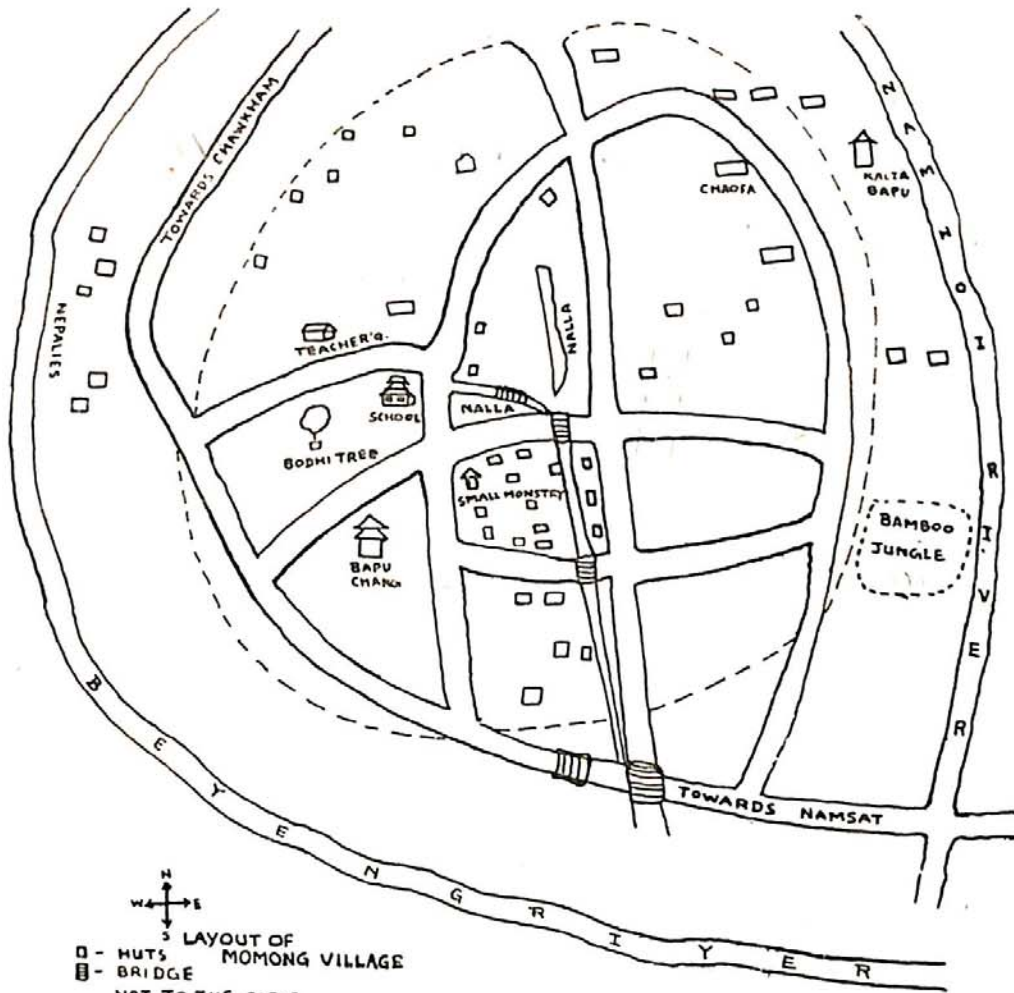
villages. These villages are located on the road sides between Roing to Chapkhwa near Sadiya. These are :

1. Rayang
2. Bolung
3. Jia
4. Kangkong
5. Parbuk

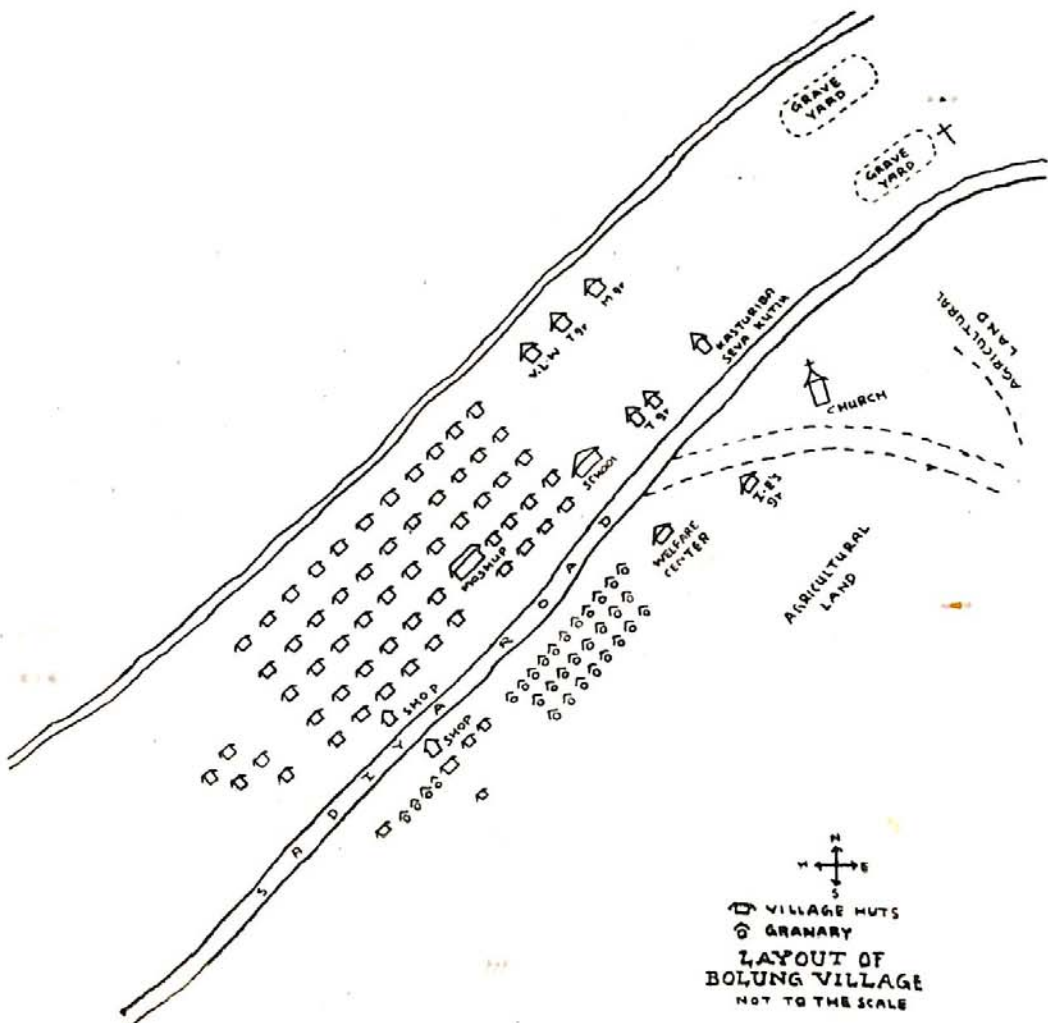
### *The Kaman Mishmi*

The Kaman Mishmi are a least known tribe inhabiting in the land stretching to the east from the Du river upto the international border. They are commonly known to the outsiders as Miju Mishmis. The Kaman Mishmi are believed to have immigrated from Khamti Long in North Burma along the valley of Kallung or Ghallum. In course of migration they are said to have settled for some time in a place called Thangnag close to the confluence of the Lohit and the Kallung rivers.

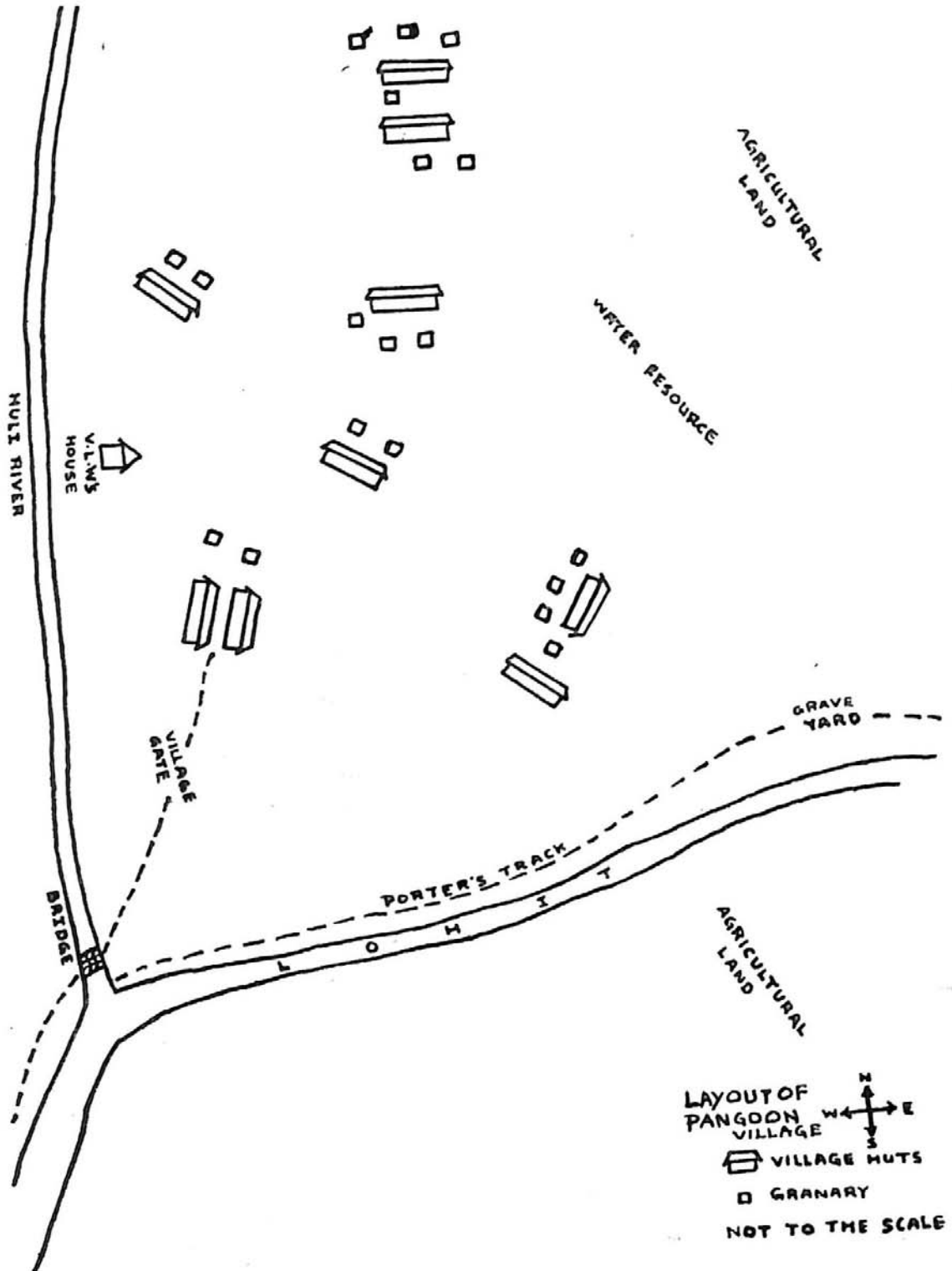




N  
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 LAYOUT OF  
 MOMONG VILLAGE  
 □ - HUTS  
 ▤ - BRIDGE  
 NOT TO THE SCALE.



N  
 W —+— E  
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 VILLAGE HUTS  
 ○ GRANARY  
 LAYOUT OF  
 BOLUNG VILLAGE  
 NOT TO THE SCALE



## The Villages

### *Village Momong*

The present village located on the north bank of the river Teyeng is not the original Momong village established by Chao Mangthi. It was established after the great earthquake of Assam in the year 1950. Prior to that, the village was on the southern bank of the river. At the time of the earthquake, the old village was engulfed by the river Teyeng.

Village Momong is situated at a distance of 5 km. west from the circle Headquarter Chawkham. The village is connected with Tinsukia and Chawkham by a pitch road. A few years ago, in 1962-63 there was no such communication facilities with the town like Tinsukia. Even now-a-days the communication gets disrupted at several places on account of the presence of several big and small rivers. From Dum Duma when a person goes towards Chawkham in the north east from Jona, he gets a number of small Khamti village on both sides of the road. After crossing the river Namchoom, more commonly known as 'Tengapani' to the outsiders, one enters into the village area of Momong, which is supposed to be one of the oldest Khamti settlements in Lohit district. While going towards Chawkham *i.e.*, towards east one can see the village on the south. After Chawkham, the circle Headquarter, Momong is the biggest Khamti village in Lohit district.

The village is situated in the foothills, about 500' high from the sea level. Tezu, the headquarter of Lohit district is located at a distance of about 27 km. in the north. There is no direct road communication of this village with the district Headquarters, Tezu. One has to go to Chawkham first where he finds a small river, named Teyeng. From Chawkham again he is to cross a river called Beyeng by ferry. After crossing this river, the person gets another river, named Kamlang within a short distance which can be crossed by boat. After Kamlang two channels of Lohit river come on the way. Then the person is at the place commonly known as "27 miles". From this place one can reach Tezu, without getting any hurdle in between. Similarly, the connection of the other side

of the village with Dum Duma is interrupted by a number of rivers. During summer and winter these connecting roads remain open but from the month of April to August the communications generally disrupt and practically the area remains cut off from rest of the country. The road connecting the village with Dum Duma was opened in 1963. Before that the villagers used to go to Sadiya by boat which was the only means of communication at that time.

Village 'Momong' has a total population of 414 of which 372 are Khamties and 42 are non Khamties. The Khamties are living on the southern part of the road while the non-Khamties, most of whom are Nepalis, have settled down on the northern part of the road. The village is surrounded by two small rivers. River Namhoes flows from the north towards south and meets the river Namchoom, whereas the river Teyeng flows on the south-west of the village. There are five main roads inside the village. In total, there are 70 households of which 61 belong to the Khamties and 9 are of the non-Khamties (6 belong to the Nepalis, 2 to Behari and one to an Assamese teacher). Apart from the residential houses there is a guest house near the monastery where the outsiders stay. This they call as *Charap*. The monastery and the village school are situated side by side and are located just on the southern part of the pitch road.

### *Immigration to Momong*

Apart from the earlier migration from *Borkhamti* to the different parts of the present Arunachal Pradesh, frequent migration, change in the habitation from one village to another takes place.

Whenever a family faces difficulties in earning its livelihood in a particular village, it shifts to another village where it hopes to get more products of paddy or it gets the assurance of an easy going life. In such cases, the particular person concerned comes first to the head of the village for seeking permission to stay in his village and also to provide him with some land for cultivation. The village head, if gets the consent of the village officials permits the man to construct a hut and allots him some land on condition.

In the village under study eleven families have come from different Khamti villages within a period of 13 years and more or less settled down here. On the other hand, six families by this period, have emigrated from this village.

## Composition of Population

### *Age and sex composition*

The age and sex composition of the village population shows that, 51.34% of the total Khamti population is formed by the members of 0-15 years age group (Table 1) which is higher than the all India picture *i.e.*, 40.23% (census : 1961). Again 23.65% of the total population of the village is formed by the members of the age group of 16-30 years. Table 1 also shows a decrease in Khamti population above the age of 50 years.

Table 1: Age and Sex composition at Momong

Age group in years	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
Up to 5	49	13.2	37	10.0	86	23.12
6 — 10	27	7.2	30	8.1	57	15.32
11 — 15	24	6.4	24	6.4	48	12.90
16 — 20	12	3.2	17	4.6	29	7.79
21 — 25	21	5.6	13	3.5	34	9.14
26 — 30	14	3.8	11	2.9	25	6.72
31 — 35	8	2.1	9	2.4	17	4.57
36 — 40	12	3.2	7	1.9	19	5.11
41 — 45	5	1.3	7	1.9	12	3.22
46 — 50	9	2.4	9	2.4	18	4.84
51 — 55	3	0.8	4	1.1	7	1.88
56 — 60	5	1.3	5	1.3	10	2.69
61 — 65	3	0.8	2	0.5	3	1.34
66 — 70	1	0.3	1	0.3	2	0.54
71 & above	2	0.5	1	0.3	3	0.81
<b>Total</b>	<b>195</b>	<b>52.4</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>47.6</b>	<b>372</b>	<b>99.99</b>

Table 1A : Age and Sex composition at Bolung

Age groups in years	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
UP to 5	69	10.5	78	11.8	147	22.34
6 — 10	52	7.9	64	9.7	116	17.63
11 — 15	33	5.0	41	6.2	74	11.25
16 — 20	25	3.8	24	3.6	49	7.45
21 — 25	20	3.0	22	3.3	42	6.38
26 — 30	34	5.2	36	5.5	70	10.64
31 — 35	18	2.7	15	2.3	33	5.01
36 — 40	21	3.2	20	3.0	41	6.23
41 — 45	14	2.1	14	2.1	28	4.25
46 — 50	13	1.9	9	1.4	22	3.34
51 — 55	7	1.1	13	1.9	20	3.04
56 — 60	7	1.1	5	0.8	12	1.82
61 — 65	1	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.30
66 — 70	—	—	—	—	—	—
71 & above	1	0.1	1	0.1	2	0.30
<b>Total</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>47.8</b>	<b>343</b>	<b>52.1</b>	<b>658</b>	<b>99.98</b>

Table 1B : Age and Sex composition at Pangoon

Age groups in years	Male	%	Female	%	Total	%
0 — 5	6	5.5	10	9.2	16	14.68
6 — 10	5	4.6	10	9.2	15	13.76
11 — 15	5	4.6	2	1.8	7	6.42
16 — 20	4	3.7	2	1.8	6	5.50
21 — 25	3	2.8	5	4.6	8	7.34
26 — 30	3	2.8	9	8.2	12	11.01
31 — 35	4	3.7	6	5.5	10	9.17
36 — 40	7	6.4	5	4.6	12	11.01
41 — 45	3	2.8	1	0.9	4	3.67
46 — 50	2	1.8	5	4.6	7	6.42
51 — 55	1	0.9	3	1.8	4	3.67
56 — 60	2	1.8	2	1.8	4	3.67
61 — 65	1	0.9	3	2.8	4	3.67
66 — 70	—	—	—	—	—	—
71 & above	—	—	—	—	—	—
<b>Total</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>42.2</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>57.8</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>99.99</b>

### Marital condition

The Khamties of Momong do not prefer early marriage (below 15 years). The details of the marital condition have been shown in Table 2. Table 2 shows a sharp decrease in the unmarried males and females from the 16-20 years age group.

Table 2: Marital condition at Momong

Age group in years	Unmarried				Married				Widow/Widower				Total		
	M %	F %	T %	T %	M %	F %	T %	T %	M %	F %	M %	T %	M %	F %	T %
0 — 5	49 (13.2)	37 (10.00)	86 (23.1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	49 (13.2)	37 (10.0)	86 (23.12)
6 — 10	27 (7.2)	30 (8.1)	57 (15.3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	27 (7.2)	30 (8.1)	77 (15.32)
11 — 15	22 (5.9)	22 (5.9)	44 (11.8)	2 (0.5)	2 (0.5)	4 (1.1)	—	—	—	—	—	—	24 (6.4)	24 (6.4)	48 (12.90)
16 — 20	11 (2.9)	8 (2.1)	19 (5.0)	1 (0.3)	9 (2.4)	10 (2.7)	—	—	—	—	—	—	12 (3.2)	17 (4.6)	29 (7.79)
21 — 25	1 (2.7)	—	10 (2.7)	10 (2.7)	13 (3.5)	23 (6.2)	1 (0.3)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.3)	21 (5.6)	13 (3.5)	34 (9.14)
26 — 30	2 (0.5)	1 (0.3)	3 (0.8)	12 (3.2)	10 (2.7)	22 (5.9)	—	—	—	—	—	—	14 (3.8)	11 (2.9)	25 (6.72)
31 — 35	2 (0.5)	—	2 (0.5)	6 (1.6)	8 (2.1)	14 (3.8)	1 (0.3)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.3)	8 (2.1)	9 (2.4)	17 (4.57)
36 — 40	1 (0.3)	—	1 (0.3)	10 (2.7)	6 (1.6)	16 (4.3)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	1 (0.3)	2 (0.5)	2 (0.5)	12 (3.2)	7 (1.9)	19 (6.11)

Contd.

Table 2: Marital condition at Momong (contd.)

Age group in years	Unmarried				Married				Widow/Widower				Total			
	M	F	T	%	M	F	T	%	M	F	T	%	M	F	T	%
	%	%	%		%	%	%		%	%	%		%	%	%	
41 — 45	—	—	—	—	5	7	12	—	—	—	—	—	5	7	12	(1.3) (1.9) (3.22)
46 — 50	—	—	—	—	8	6	14	—	1	3	4	—	9	9	18	(2.1) (1.6) (3.8) (1.1) (2.4) (4.84)
51 — 55	—	1	1	—	2	3	5	—	1	—	1	—	3	4	7	(0.3) (0.8) (1.3) (0.3) (0.8) (1.1) (1.88)
56 — 60	—	—	—	—	5	3	8	—	—	2	2	—	5	5	10	(1.3) (0.8) (2.1) (0.5) (1.3) (2.69)
61 — 65	—	—	—	—	3	1	4	—	—	1	1	—	3	2	5	(0.8) (0.3) (1.1) (0.3) (0.8) (1.34)
66 — 70	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	2	(0.3) (0.3) (0.3) (0.3) (0.3) (0.54)
71 & above	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	1	1	—	2	1	3	(0.5) (0.3) (0.3) (0.3) (0.5) (0.81)
<b>Total</b>	<b>124</b>	<b>99</b>	<b>223</b>		<b>67</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>135</b>		<b>4</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>14</b>		<b>195</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>372</b>	



Table 2A: Marital condition at Bolung

Age group in years	Unmarried			Married			Widow/Widower			Separated			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
0 — 5	69 (10.5)	78 (11.8)	147 (22.3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	69 (10.5)	78 (11.8)	147 (22.34)
6 — 10	52 (7.9)	64 (9.7)	116 (17.6)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	52 (7.9)	64 (9.7)	116 (17.63)
11 — 15	33 (5.0)	39 (5.9)	72 (10.9)	—	2 (0.3)	2 (0.3)	—	—	—	—	—	—	33 (5.0)	41 (6.2)	74 (11.25)
16 — 20	22 (3.3)	15 (2.3)	37 (5.6)	3 (0.4)	6 (0.9)	9 (1.3)	—	—	—	—	3 (0.4)	—	25 (3.8)	24 (3.6)	49 (7.45)
21 — 25	5 (0.8)	1 (0.1)	6 (0.9)	15 (2.3)	19 (2.9)	34 (5.2)	—	—	—	—	2 (0.3)	—	20 (3.0)	22 (3.3)	42 (6.38)
26 — 30	5 (0.8)	—	5 (0.8)	28 (4.2)	34 (5.2)	62 (9.4)	—	—	—	—	2 (0.3)	—	34 (5.2)	36 (5.5)	70 (10.64)
31 — 35	3 (0.4)	—	3 (0.4)	12 (1.8)	13 (1.9)	25 (3.7)	2 (0.3)	1 (0.1)	3 (0.4)	1 (0.1)	1 (0.1)	—	18 (2.7)	15 (2.3)	33 (5.01)
36 — 40	—	—	—	21 (3.2)	18 (2.7)	39 (5.9)	—	2 (0.3)	2 (0.3)	—	—	—	21 (3.2)	20 (3.0)	41 (6.23)

Contd.

Table 2A: Marital condition at Bolung (contd.)

Age group in years	Unmarried				Married				Widow/Widower				Separated				Total		
	M	F	T		M	F	T		M	F	T		M	F	T		M	F	T
41 — 45	—	—	—	—	14	12	26	—	—	2	2	(0.3)	—	—	—	—	14	14	28
					(2.1)	(1.8)	(3.9)			(0.3)	(0.3)						(2.1)	(2.1)	(4.25)
46 — 50	—	—	—	—	10	6	16	3	3	6	6	(0.9)	—	—	—	—	13	9	22
					(1.5)	(0.9)	(2.4)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.9)						(1.9)	(1.4)	(3.34)
51 — 55	—	—	—	—	5	8	13	2	5	7	7	(1.1)	—	—	—	—	7	13	20
					(0.8)	(1.2)	(1.9)	(0.3)	(0.8)	(0.8)	(1.1)						(1.1)	(1.9)	(3.04)
56 — 60	—	—	—	—	6	2	8	1	3	4	4	(0.6)	—	—	—	—	7	5	12
					(0.9)	(0.3)	(1.2)	(0.1)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.6)						(1.1)	(0.8)	(1.82)
61 — 65	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	2	(0.3)	—	—	—	—	1	1	2
								(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.3)						(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.3)
66 — 70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
71 & above	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	2	1	1	2
													(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.3)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.1)	(0.3)
<b>Total</b>	<b>189</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>386</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>234</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>315</b>	<b>343</b>	<b>658</b>				

Table 2B: Marital condition at Pangoon

Age group in years	Unmarried		Married		Re-married		Widowed		Separated		Total			
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
0 — 5	6 (5.5)	10 (9.2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6 (5.5)	10 (9.2)	16 (14.68)	
6 — 10	5 (4.6)	10 (9.2)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5 (4.6)	10 (9.2)	15 (13.76)	
11 — 15	5 (4.6)	2 (1.8)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5 (4.6)	2 (1.8)	7 (6.42)	
16 — 20	3 (2.8)	1 (0.9)	4 (3.7)	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	2 (1.8)	—	—	—	—	4 (3.7)	2 (1.8)	6 (5.50)	
21 — 25	2 (1.8)	—	2 (1.8)	1 (0.9)	5 (4.6)	6 (5.5)	—	—	—	—	—	3 (2.8)	5 (4.6)	8 (7.34)
26 — 30	—	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	3 (2.8)	8 (7.3)	11 (10.1)	—	—	—	—	3 (2.8)	9 (8.2)	12 (11.01)	
31 — 35	1 (0.9)	—	1 (0.9)	3 (2.8)	4 (3.7)	7 (6.4)	—	—	2 (1.8)	—	—	4 (3.7)	6 (5.5)	10 (9.17)
36 — 40	—	—	—	4 (3.7)	4 (3.7)	8 (7.3)	2 (1.8)	1 (0.9)	—	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	5 (4.6)	12 (11.01)	

Contd.

Table 2B: Marital condition at Pangoon (contd.)

Age group in years	Unmarried			Married			Re-married			Widowed			Separated			Total		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
41 - 45	—	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	—	1 (0.9)	2 (1.8)	—	2 (1.8)	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 (2.8)	1 (0.9)	4 (3.67)
46 - 50	—	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	2 (1.8)	3 (2.8)	—	1 (0.9)	2 (1.8)	—	2 (1.8)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.8)	5 (4.6)	7 (6.42)
51 - 55	—	—	—	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	2 (1.8)	—	—	—	—	2 (1.8)	—	—	—	—	1 (0.9)	3 (2.8)	4 (3.67)
56 - 60	—	—	—	1 (0.9)	—	1 (0.9)	1 (0.9)	—	1 (0.9)	2 (1.8)	—	2 (1.8)	—	—	—	2 (1.8)	2 (1.8)	4 (3.67)
61 - 65	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1 (0.9)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3 (2.8)	4 (3.67)
66 - 70	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
71 & above	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	23	25	48	16	25	41	6	1	7	12	12	1	1	—	46	63	109	

*Literacy composition*

The analysis of literacy composition of the population of the age group 6 years and above in the village shows that out of 285 persons 119 persons are literate. There is a school in the village which was established on First March in the year 1948 by the Government of Assam. It was then a Lower Primary School upto Class III. From 1959 it was upgraded to a Junior Basic Training School and again in 1973 it was elevated to Primary School having classes up to V.

Apart from the education the children are getting in the schools, some of them also go to the *Bapuchang* (Monastery) where they learn their culture, religion and teachings of Buddha. They learn all these from the books written in their scripts. The Khamties have the following consonants which are called as *totreng*.

Ka	Kha	Nga	Ja	Sa	Ngya
Ta	Tha	Na	Pa	Fa	Ma
Ya	Ra	La	Wa	Ha	

According to Grierson "The Khamti alphabet, which is a variety of the Shan Alphabet, which, in its, was borrowed in historic time from the Burmese, contains thirty-three letters. Of these, sixteen are vowels and seventeen are consonants. It is not so complete as the older Ahom Alphabet". (Grierson 1904 : 141).

*Village Bolung*

Village Bolung is located in the Dibang valley subdivision of Lohit district. The circle Headquarters for the village is Roing, which is situated at a distance of 16 km. in North-west of the village. The approximate altitude of the village from the sea level is about 1500'. While going from Sadiya to Roing, after 30 km. the village can be seen. Majority of the houses are located on the North of the road. It is a village having as many as 114 households of Padam tribal group and a few other huts belonging to the employees of Arunachal Administration. In the north of the village flows the Jia river, while the south is bounded by a small stream. In the North-east is situated the Padam Jia village, whereas in the South-west, there is very big village of the Padam known as Parbuk.

The village is a newly established one, most of the inhabitants of which have immigrated from Dambuk and Damroh village of Lohit and Siang district respectively. Originally from Damroh village these people came down to Dambuk area driving the Idu Mishmis and established a few villages of which Bolung is one.

During the great earthquake of Assam in the year 1950 the original Bolung village was washed away by the Dibang river. At that time they came further about 6-7 miles down towards Sadiya and settled in the south of the present village. Then in 1951, the work of construction of a road from Sadiya to Roing started. One of the villagers came forward to work as *Thikadar* (Petty contractor). When the road was under construction, these families came nearer to the road and established the present Bolung village. The following persons first came to the present village site and established the new settlement in the year 1953.

- |                   |                |
|-------------------|----------------|
| 1. Tagare Gao     | 5. Atet Pertin |
| 2. Akoot Pertin   | 6. Kar Pertin  |
| 3. Kammyuk Parmey | 7. Yabo Pertin |
| 4. Madey Tayeng   | 8. Tarung Gao  |

### *Immigration to Bolung*

The Padams from Siang district migrated to present Dambuk village in the Lohit district around 1893. At present good many number of Padam families have started migrating to different places in Dibang valley of Lohit district, in search of better cultivable land. The present Bolung village is also a settlement which is mainly formed by the persons of Dambuk and Damroh village. An enquiry into the birth place of the Padams of Bolung was made to get a picture of the different villages from where these people have come. This enquiry reveals that of the total male and female population 174 and 188 persons were born outside Bolung. As Bolung is only about 24 years old, naturally most of the persons who born outside Bolung belong to the age group of above 24 to 25 years. Of course there are a few persons who have emigrated into Bolung during this period from the different places. The enquiry as stated, reveals that most of these persons hail from Dambuk village, which is about 95/96 years old. Beresford writes the village 'Dambuk, was established only in 1878' (reproduced from Elwin). The settler of Dambuk were originally the settler of 'Damlo Padam' (Damroh). Next to Dambuk, Damroh is the village, which has been registered as the original village of 49 males and 38 females. Damroh, located in Siang district is supposed to be one of the old villages of the Padams in Siang district. This as Ray says, is the northern most Padam village at an altitude of about 4000' located by the side of the Yumne river where the Padams ultimately settled down.

After the establishment of the Bolung village several families started coming down to this village in the attraction of wet cultivation. The following table shows the number of families came to the village or near the village since 1947.

Table 3: Immigration of families at Bolung

Years	No. of families
1947 — '50	18
1951 — '55	10
1956 — '60	17
1961 — '65	29
1966 — '70	24
1971 — '73	16
TOTAL	114

The 18 families who came prior to 1950, did not settle at present Bolung. They constructed a temporary settlement at a distance of about 6 km. from the present Bolung and later, after the great earthquake, came to the present Bolung. After 1962 a large number of people came down. Table 4 gives in further details about the number of families who have come from different villages.

Table 4: Immigration of families at Bolung from different villages

Villages	No. of families	Percentage
Dambuk	59	51.75
Damroh	34	28.82
Meka	6	5.26
Milan	3	2.63
Mebu	1	0.88
Jomlo	1	0.88
Lunko	1	0.88
Santipur	1	0.88
Pashighat	3	2.63
Dalbing	1	0.88
Angu	1	0.88
Sapkong	1	0.88
Rayeng	1	0.88
Along	1	0.88
TOTAL	114	100.01

#### Settlement Pattern

The houses are more or less arranged in a row on the eastern side of the road. There are four rows of houses, the fronts face the road

side, whereas the back face towards the east. On the other side of the road located only three houses, of which one is 'Assam-type' and two others traditional types. These face the road side. On this side of the road *i.e.*, west to the road are situated the granaries at two places. Most of the granaries are located opposite to the present school, just near the entrance of the village, which coming from Sadiya. Not a single granary has been found on the eastern side of the road.

At the centre of the village, there is a long hut, open on all sides. This is the moshup of the village. There is a Primary School, one welfare centre and one small hut occupied by the employee of Kashturiva Seva Mondol. Apart from these, there are quarters for three school teachers and one for the Junior Engineer, on the west of the road is situated a newly constructed church. The agricultural land is situated on the west of the village.

### Composition of Population

#### *Age and sex composition*

The age and sex composition of the village population shows that 22.34% of the total Padam population is formed by the members of the age group 0-5 years. Next to this, the persons of 6-10 years age group form 17.63% of the total population. Table 1A shows a gradual decrease in the population in the higher age groups.

#### *Marital condition*

The details of the marital condition of the people of the village have been shown in Table 2A. The table shows a sharp decrease in the unmarried males and females from 16-20 years age group.

#### *Literacy composition*

The analysis of literacy composition of the population of the persons, excluding those come within the age of 5 years, shows that out of 511 persons 168 persons are literate. There is a Primary School in the village, which was established in the year 1965. Upto 1971, the medium of instruction was Assamese. From March 1972, the medium of instruction was changed to English.

#### *Village Pangoon*

The Village is situated in the northeast of Tezu, the district Head quarters, at a distance of about 125 km. This is located in the



Hayuliang circle at a distance of about 25 km. from Hayuliang. The village is located in the middle of hill and is entirely surrounded by different trees which do not allow any one to see the village from the bottom of the hill. The river Lohit is flowing below the hill from the north-east. Another small tributary river is coming down from the north and meeting the river Lohit just below this hill. The altitude of these mountain varies from 6000' to 17000' and their peaks remain covered with snow, specially during winter. The only porter track, connecting Hayuliang-Hawai-Walong passes from the bottom of this hill. On the small tributary river, there is a small hanging bridge, in absence of which the village will be completely cut off from the surface communication with Hayuliang. One small steep track goes upward from the common porter track which ultimately leads to the village Pangoon. This is located on the north of the Lohit river. There are nine (9) houses in the village, which can be considered as one of the biggest village of Kaman Mishmis in Hayuliang circle in particular and in Lohit district in general.

The nearest town is the Headquarters of the district and the nearest administrative centre is Hayuliang. The nearest Railway station from the village is Talap, located in Dibrugarh district of Assam, at a distance of about 250 km.

Till recent past, upto 1968, even Hayuliang was connected with Tezu by a foot track. In 1968 a Jeepable road was opened from Tezu to Hayuliang covering a distance of 100 km. Below the hill, on the bank of the small river, there is a halting stage for the persons going towards Hawai or Walong. This is known as Yaton halting stage.

Settlement History of the village and the early migration of the inhabitants of the village :

All the members of the village belong to one lineage of *Kri* clan. These members claim their consanguineal relation with the Singphos. They claim themselves as the descendants of Phandaon and Phallong who were the soldier under the Singpho chief somewhere near Chawkham of Lohit district. These two persons were punished by the Singpho Chief, so they ran away from the army and first stayed at Manchee for some times near the present Kamlang valley. While living at Kamlang valley they went to Tawaigong from where brought the seeds of paddy at the Kamlang valley. The Kamlang valley was not a suitable place for paddy cultivation for which they again went to Tawaigong area. These two persons settled down at Tawaigong and married a woman of that area. The woman was taken from Taraon (Digaru) Mishmi group inhabiting that place.

Phandaon and Phallong killed the Taraon woman's father and went to a place near the present Daopani area and settled at Kripani side. They had been there for about 8 to 9 years and used to grow maize and paddy from one plot to another plot. In course of such shifting cultivation they came to Kriside. Accidentally, there the Taraon people saw the paddy and suspected about the presence of someone. So they went inside the jungle and found their sister and brothers-in-law. By that time Phandaon and Phallong produced 8 male children. After seeing the children the Taraon people could not take the revenge and forgave the brothers-in-law.

After attaining adulthood these grown-up male members emigrated to different places and took names after the area or place where they settled. The following table shows the name of the area or place where they emigrated and the name of the their recognition.

Table 5: Places of migration of Phandaon's children

Area/Places of Settlement	Recognised name/clan
1. Krong side	Krong clan.
2. Tawseet Pani	Tawseet.
3. One could not settle anywhere and became nomadic in nature that is why they are known as <i>Chikro</i> .	
4. Kalang Khrai	Kalang.
5. Kriatong Side	Kriatong.
6. Manglai area	Manglai.
7. Kri Masoo Place	Kri Masoo
8. Reteet Settlement	Reeteet.
9. One went near Dao Pani	Kring Dang.
10. One came to Lailoo and settled near the present Pangoon village and got married at Mennin Mai and settled at his father-in-law's village.	Dangwat.

The person who ultimately settled near Pangoon village had one male child by name Hooisa. Hooisa had one son by name Tayem who came to Kanthoelang village near the present Pangoon village.

Tayem in course of time cleared the forest of the present Pangoon village area and started his shifting cultivation there. Tayem married to three Tayang girls to whom two sons were born. Their names were Breyana and Tagriso. Ultimately Tayem settled down at the present Pangoon village. Tagriso had several wives. His last

wife gave birth to a child who was named as Doulamkri. Doulam's son is still living in the village Pangoon.

### *Composition of population*

The village is inhabited by the members of *Kri* clan. There are nine (9) houses in total in which 23 families are living. The total population of the village is 112 of which 109 are the Kaman Mishmis. The rest three persons are Mizos who belong to a single family of village level worker. Incidentally he was the only outsider living in the village for about eight (8) months. Of the 109 Kaman Mishmis, 46 are males whereas 63 are females. The age group composition of these Kaman Mishmis is shown in Table 1B.

### *Marital condition*

The marital condition of the villagers has been shown in Table 2B. The cases of marriages having more than one wives have been included in a single column of 'more than one marriage'.

There are two male members above the age 35 years who are still unmarried, because they could not get necessary bride price for marriage.

### *Literacy composition*

Literacy among the villagers is practically nil. Before 1962, there was one Lower Primary School in Yatong area, where these villagers could go. But from 1962 the school was kept closed which could not be started again. There are 7 persons who can write their name, otherwise all are illiterate. Of these seven persons one read upto class IX, who was a village level worker for some time. Another boy read upto class VII at Hayuliang and is now working as Home Guard. The villagers also do not desire to have a school near their village for the education of their children. In this regards the Padams of Dibang valley are very particular. Almost all the Padam villages have started schools in their villages and send their children regularly. The Khamties, though have schools in their villages are not so much interested like the Padams.