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CENSUS OF INDIA

VOLUME III

ASSAM

PART VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS
12. MAWNAI

N. PHILIP

of the Assam Civil Service
Deputy Director of Census Operations, Assam

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Census of India 1961

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS, ASSAM

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

(All the Publications of the State will bear the Vol. No. III)

Part I—A	—	General Report	
Part I—B	—	Report on Vital Statistics	
Part I—C	—	Subsidiary Tables	
Part II—A	—	General Population Tables	
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STATE GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS

11 District Census Handbooks

Depending on the size, there may be sub-parts to some of the parts. In addition, Village Survey Monographs are published separately for each village.

Census of India 1961
Volume III Part-VI

VILLAGE SURVEY MONOGRAPHS—ASSAM

Sl. No.	Names of Village	Police Station	District	Type of Village	
1	2	3	4		5
1.	Titaguri (Jonagaon)	Kokrjhar	Goalpara	Tribal	Bodo-Kachari
2.	South Salmara	South Salmara	,,	Predominantly	Muslims (Sunnis)
3.	Khara	Dudhnai	,,	Preedominantly Tribal	Kachari, Rabha & Koch
4.	Katanipara	Kamalpur	Kamrup	Single Community	Kumar
5.	Nasatra	Barpeta	,,		Multi-Ethnic
6.	Batasipur	Dhekiajuli	Darrang		Multi-Ethnic
7.	Dhepakgaon	Majuli	Sibsagar	Tribal	Miri
8.	Kumargaon	Jorhat	,,		Multi-Ethnic
9.	Japisajia	Sibsagar	,,	Single Community	Ahom
10.	Fulertal	Lakhipur	Cachar	Tribal	Hmar
11.	Resubakrapara	Tura	Garo Hills	Tribal	Garo
*12.	Mawnai	Shillong	United Khasi & Jaintia Hills	Tribal	Khasi
13.	Modymmai	Jowai	,,	Tribal	Pnar
14.	Laisong	Haflong	United Mikir & North Cachar Hills	Tribal	Zemi Naga
15.	Gonjung	Haflong	,,	Tribal	Dimasa (Kachari)
16.	Phongjangre	Baithalangso	Baithalangso	Tribal	Mikir
17.	Durtlang	Aijal	Mizo Hills	Tribal	Mizo
18.	Lawngtlai	Lungleh	,,	Tribal	Pawi-Lakher

*Present publication

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PREFACE

Dr. S. K. Chatterjee in his book "KIRATA-JANA-KRITI : The Indo Mongoloids" observes, the Khasis of Assam (253,000 Census of 1931) require a special notice. They form an island of Mon-Khmer (Austric or Austro-Asiatic) speakers within the original Bodo area. They are by race Indo-Mongoloid, but their language is different.

Mawnai with which this monograph deals is a village which represents this tribe, the Khasis. It serves as a "Kaleidoscope" of a village life or, in other words, it takes one back to the village. It is wrong to think that the village life and for that matter the life of the community as a whole has remaind the same. Many changes have crept in among the Khasis, in course of time, since the days what Lt. Col. Gurdon has observed in his book "The Khasis". For example, the type of Khasi houses mentioned by him and which were found till the twenties of this century can hardly be found out nowadays. Insofar as customs and manners are concerned, the tribe have been able to retain intact despite changes in religion and other ways of life. The sociological aspects of the tribe cannot but suggest that by and large they could adapt themselves to some changes without much stress and strain and that they have been able to hold their own against enormous inroads into their way of life.

The survey of this village was preliminary conducted by Late Shri A. B. Pugh, Investigator of this office, accompanied by Shri S. K. Dutta, photographer of this office during 23-10-63 to 2-11-63. Later on, Shri Pugh and Shri K. S. Lyngdoh, Investigators of this office made a joint survey of this village during 18-11-64 to 1-12-64. The original frame of this monograph was done by Shri Pugh. Shri E. H. Pakyntein, Ex-Superintendent of Census Operations as well as Shri F. B. Lyngdoh, Ex-Deputy Superintendent of Census Operations has rendered valuable assistance. Shri N. Bhattacharjee, Tabulation Officer, supervised the printing work. Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Deputy Registrar General, (Social Studies) Delhi deserves special mention who made many valuable suggestions and comments in improving the draft before the monograph is sent for printing.

NEWMAN PHILIP

FOREWORD

Apart from laying the foundations of demography in this subcontinent, a hundred years of the Indian Census has also produced 'elaborate and scholarly accounts of the variegated phenomena of Indian life-sometimes with no statistics attached, but usually with just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to their conclusions.' In a country, largely illiterate, where statistical or numerical comprehension of even such a simple thing as age was liable to be inaccurate, an understanding of the social structure was essential. It was more necessary to attain a broad understanding of what was happening around oneself than to wrap oneself up in 'statistical ingenuity' or 'mathematical manipulation.' This explains why the Indian Census came to be interested in 'many by-paths' and 'nearly every branch of scholarship, from anthropology and sociology to geography and religion.'

In the last few decades the Census has increasingly turned its efforts to the presentation of village statistics. This suits the temper of the times as well as our political and economic structure. For even as we have a great deal of centralization on the one hand and decentralization on the other, my colleagues thought it would be a welcome continuation of the Census tradition to try to invest the dry bones of village statistics with flesh-and-blood accounts of social structure and social change. It was accordingly decided to select a few villages in every State for special study, where personal observation would be brought to bear on the interpretation of statistics to find out how much of a village was static and yet changing and how fast the winds of change were blowing and from where.

Randomness of selection was, therefore, eschewed. There was no intention to build up a picture for the whole State in quantitative terms on the basis of villages selected statistically at random. The selection was avowedly purposive ; the object being as much to find out what was happening and how fast to those villages which had fewer reasons to choose change and more to remain lodged in the past as to discover how the more 'normal' types of villages were changing. They were to be primarily type studies which, by virtue of their number and distribution, would also give the reader a 'feel' of what was going on and some kind of a map of the country.

A brief account of the tests of selection will help to explain. A minimum of thirty-five villages was to be chosen with great care to represent adequately geographical, occupational and even ethnic diversity. Of this minimum of thirty-five, the distribution was to be as follows :

(a) At least eight villages were to be so selected that each of them would contain one dominant community with one predominating occupation, e. g ., fishermen, forest workers, jhum cultivators, potters, weavers, salt-makers, quarry workers, etc. A village should have a minimum population of 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(b) At least seven villages were to be of numerically prominent Scheduled Tribes of the State. Each village could represent a particular tribe. The minimum population should be 400, the optimum being between 500 and 700.

(c) The third group of villages should

each be of fair size, of an old and settled character and contain variegated occupations and be, if possible, multi-ethnic in composition. By fair size was meant a population of 500-700 persons or more. The village should mainly depend on agriculture and be sufficiently away from the major sources of modern communication such as the district administrative headquarters and business centres. It should be roughly a day's journey from the above places. The villages were to be selected with an eye to variation in terms of size, proximity to city and other means of modern communication, nearness to hills, jungles and major rivers. Thus there was to be a regional distribution throughout the State of this category of villages. If, however, a particular district contained significant ecological variations within its area, more than one village in the district might be selected to study the special adjustments to them.

It is a unique feature of these village surveys that they rapidly outgrew their original terms of reference, as my colleagues warmed up to their work. This proved for them an absorbing voyage of discovery and their infectious enthusiasm compelled me to enlarge the inquiry's scope again and again. It was just as well cautiously to feel one's way about at first and then venture further afield, and although it accounts to some extent for a certain unevenness in the quality and coverage of the monographs, it served to compensate the purely honorary and extra-mural rigours of the task. For, the Survey, along with its many ancillaries like the survey of fairs and festivals, of small and rural industry and others, was an 'extra', over and above the crushing load of the 1961 Census.

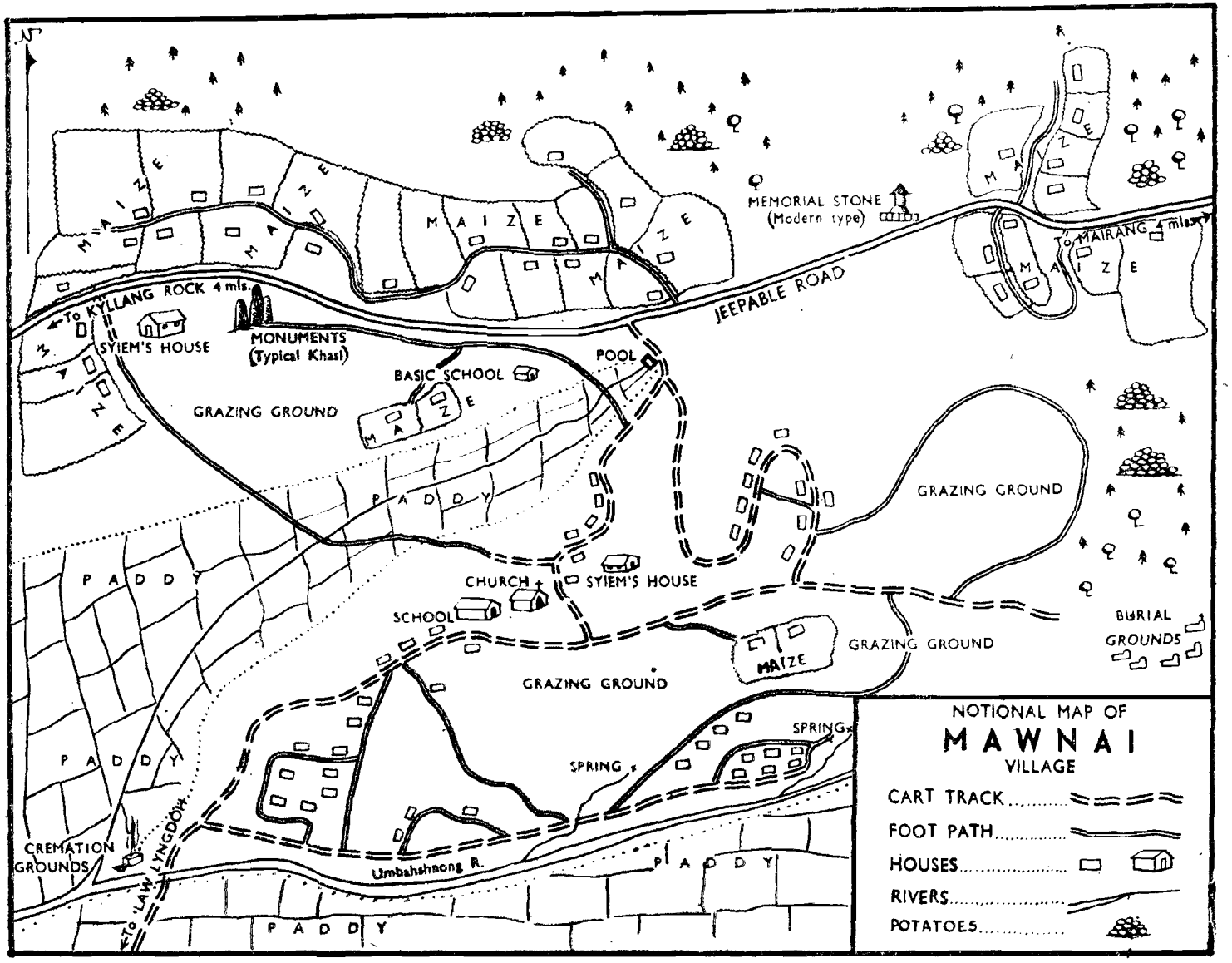
It might be of interest to recount briefly the stages by which the Survey enlarged its scope. At the first Census Conference in September, 1959, the Survey set itself the task of what might be called a record *in situ* of material traits, like settlement patterns of the village ; house types ; diet ; dress, ornaments and footwear ; furniture and storing vessels ; common means of transport of goods and passengers ; domestication of animals and birds ; markets attended ; worship of deities ; festivals and fairs. There were to be recordings, of course, of cultural and social traits and occupational mobility. This was followed up in March, 1960, by two specimen schedules, one for each household, the other for the village as a whole, which apart from spelling out the mode of inquiry suggested in the September, 1959 conference, introduced groups of questions aimed at sensing changes in attitude and behaviour in such fields as marriage, inheritance, movable and immovable property, industry, indebtedness, education, community life and collective activity, social disabilities, forums of appeal over disputes, village leadership, and organisation of cultural life. It was now plainly the intention to provide adequate statistical support to empirical 'feel', to approach qualitative change through statistical quantities. It had been difficult to give thought to the importance of 'just enough statistics to give empirical underpinning to conclusion', at a time when my colleagues were straining themselves to the utmost for the success of the main Census operations, but once the census count itself was left behind in March, 1961, a series of three regional seminars in Trivandrum (May 1961), Darjeeling and Srinagar (June 1961) restored their attention to this field and the importance of tracing social change through a number of well-devised statistical tables was once again recognised. This itself presupposed a fresh survey of villages already done ; but it was worth the trouble in view of the possibilities that a close analysis of statistics offered, and also because the 'consanguinity' schedule remained to be canvassed. By November, 1961, however, more was expected of these surveys than ever before. There was dissatisfaction on the one hand with too many general statements and a growing desire on the other to draw conclusions from statistics, to regard social and economic data as interrelated processes, and finally to examine the social and economic processes set in motion through land reforms and other

laws, legislative and administrative measures, technological and cultural change. Finally, a study camp was organised in the last week of December, 1961, when the whole field was carefully gone through over again and a programme worked out closely knitting the various aims of the Survey together. The Social Studies Section of the Census Commission rendered assistance to State Superintendents by way of scrutiny and technical comment on the frame of Survey and presentation of results.

The gradual unfolding of the aims of the Survey prevented my colleagues from adopting as many villages as they had originally intended to. But I believe that what may have been lost in quantity has been more than made up for in quality. This is, perhaps for the first time that such a Survey has been conducted in any country, and that purely as a labour of love. It has succeeded in attaining what it set out to achieve ; to construct a map of village India's social structure. One hopes that the volumes of this Survey will help to retain for the Indian Census its title to 'the most fruitful single source of information about the Country'. Apart from other features, it will perhaps be conceded that the Survey has set up a new Census standard in pictorial graphic documentation. The schedules finally adopted for this monograph have been printed in an appendix.

New Delhi,
July 30, 1964.

Asok Mitra
Registrar General,
India.


N
MAIZE
MEMORIAL STONE
(Modern type)
To MAIRANG 4 mls.
JEEPABLE ROAD
To KYLLANG ROCK 4 mls.
SYIEM'S HOUSE
MONUMENTS
(Typical Khasi)
BASIC SCHOOL
POOL
GRAZING GROUND
PADDY
CHURCH
SYIEM'S HOUSE
SCHOOL
MAIZE
BURIAL GROUNDS
SPRING
CREMATION GROUNDS
To LAW LYNGDOH
Umbahshnong R.
NOTIONAL MAP OF
MAWNAI
VILLAGE
CART TRACK
FOOT PATH
HOUSES
RIVERS
POTATOES

CHAPTER I

THE VILLAGE

Introducing the Village :

Mawnai is a Khasi village in the United Khasi & Jaintia Hills Autonomous District. It is inhabited by the Khasis which are one of the Scheduled Tribes of the State. Sometimes the term 'Khasis' is used as the name for all the people living in the District and sometimes it is used as the name of the people living only in the Shillong Sub-division or the western part of the District while "Jaintia" is used for those living in the eastern part or Jowai Sub-division. Within the Shillong Sub-division itself the people may further be divided into four groups according to the regions in which they live. According to this classification the people living in the southern steep slopes are known as the Wars, those who live on the western low hills are known as the Lyngngams, those who live in the gentle slopes of the northern part of the sub-division are known as the Bhois and those living in the central plateau are known as the Khynriams. The people living in the central plateaus are also known as the Khasis proper. Mawnai is situated in the western part of the central plateaus. Therefore, judging from all the above classifications, its inhabitants are Khasis. The points of difference between the sub groups are of minor importance while there are many strong points of argument to show that all of them belong to one and the same community which is quite different from the neighbouring communities beyond the boundaries of the District.

Grounds for selection :

The study of the village will reflect the life of the Khasis to which group of people the inhabitants of the village belong. Further, the village is very far from the boundaries of the District. That is, the people are very far from other communities living beyond the boundaries of the District. It is, therefore, assumed that the impact of other cultures is less on this section of the community. Here some idea will be given about the Syiem and Syiemships, the most important traditional administrative institutions in the district because Mawnai falls within the jurisdiction of the Nongkhlaw Syiemship (State). But it is not correct to think that the village and its inhabitants are left in isolation. It is one of the villages which fall within the Mairang Community Development Block (now Tribal Development Block Stage II) which was established in the year 1956 with its headquarters at a place, only 3 miles from the village. In 1958 the Sheep Rearing Department of the Government also opened a Sheep Rearing Experimental Farm at a place only one mile from the village. Guidance is, therefore, provided for the villagers in some fields of their activities. Like most of the present

Khasi villages, the population of Mawnai is mixed, of Christians and non-Christians i.e. those who are still in the old Khasi religion. The study of the village therefore will also reflect the picture of the life of the Khasi Christians and non-Christians and the relation between the two groups.

Location with reference to important places :

In the region of latitude 25°35′ north and the longitude 91°37′ east, the village is situated within the Shillong Sub-division of the U.K & J. Hills District. Shillong; the subdivisional headquarters which is also the headquarters of the U. K. & J. Hills District and the State of Assam, is about 30 miles away from the village. Apart from its being the Headquarters, Shillong is also the nearest place from the village where there are the Telegraph office, colleges, cinema halls, public libraries and many other amenities. Mairang, a village about three miles from Mawnai, is the present headquarters of the Nongkhlaw Syiemship. It is also the nearest place from the village where the middle and the high schools, the post office, the hospital and the market place are to be found. The headquarters of the Mairang Development Block as pointed out before is only 3 miles from the village Mawnai. The village is connected with Shillong by a motorable road which runs through the Block headquarters, Mairang and Mawngap. The road from Shillong to Mawngap is a metalled one. This section of the road is an old one, old in the sense that it was built since the British period. The section of the road between Mawngap and Mairang is non metallic and it was opened after Independence. Thus, it was sometimes after Independence that the importance of Mawngap as the trading centre of the area was taken by Mairang and other places. The section of the road between Mairang and the village is only a fair weather jeepable one, part of which was constructed by the villagers themselves under the supervision of the Block.

Physical aspects

The Khasi-Jaintia Hills District along with the Garo Hills on the west and the Mikir & North Cachar Hills on the east form a single mountain terrain with a width of 80 miles and a length about three times its breadth. The terrain is a watershed between the Brahmaputra Valley on the north and the Surma Valley on the south. In the southern part of the district the land just beyond the East Pakistan Border springs immediately to a height of about 4000 feet above the mean sea level. The climate is sharper in the southern part of the Shillong Subdivision than in that of the Jowai Subdivision. On the north, the land ascends gently from the plains of the Brahmaputra valley towards the centre of the district. The central part of the district is the highest portion of the whole terrain. It is between 4000 feet and 6000 feet above the sea level. As the climate towards the central plateau is sharper in the south and gentle in the North, the plateau is also nearer to the southern than to the northern borders and plains. Since the central plateau is the highest part of the terrain the lands in the eastern and western part of the District also slope down gradually towards the borders.

Mawnai village is situated in the middle part of the plateau. But the surface of the plateau also is very much broken up. The works of the natural agents of denudation such as the rainfall and the swift running streams on them are well marked. The picture of the ranges on the plateau formed by hills after hills and separated by deep valleys is a common sight in the area. Some of the peaks tower higher than the others which surround them. The highest amongst them is the Shillong Peak, 6441 feet (1,961 m) above the mean sea level. But in connection with Mawnai, the most important is a giant and almost solid red granite with an elevation of 400 feet above the mean level of the

surrounding hills. The peak is known to the local people as 'U Lum Kyllang' but to others it is known as 'The Kyllang Rock.' The Rock is only 3 miles west of the village. The inhabited part of the village is on the slope of hillocks and ranges. The highest part of the village is on the side of the southern range which runs from east to west. This part of the village is separated from the other sections by a small strip of flat land through which a streamlet flows from east to west. Some of the remaining portions of the village are on the sides of two hillocks which are on the right banks of the stream while others are on the northern lower range. The physical aspects of the inhabited part of the village may be described as consisting of the slopes of two ranges facing towards a long strip of flat bottomed valley which separates them, where a small stream flows from east to west. The valley is broader in the east than in the west. In the eastern part of the valley and on the right bank of the stream, there are two high grounds. Of these, the one in the east is much higher than that on the west.

Climate & Rainfall

It has been pointed out that the village is situated at the Latitude 25° 35′ North. Therefore it is only 2° 5′ north of the Tropic of Cancer. So even though the village is in the Temperate region it is expected to have a high annual temperature. But the village is on the plateau and its elevation is approximately between 5250 feet and 5500 feet above the sea level. As far as the temperature is concerned, the village has a much lower temperature in comparison with villages in the plains, even though they are situated in the same altitude.

The village is also situated in one of the main paths of the South West Monsoon. This coupled with the topographical condition, are responsible for the fairly high amount of the annual rainfall in the area. The normal annual rainfall received in the area where the village is situated is between 250 cms. to 400 cms. As there is no rain gauge station in the village, it is difficult to give the exact quantity of rainfall it receives. To give some idea about the rainfall in the area the records of measurement taken in the four nearest places to the village i.e. Mawphlang, Shillong, Upper Shillong and Mawsynram are furnished below :-

Table No. 1.1

Rainfall recorded at the Rain-Gauge Stations adjacent to Mawnai.

MEMOIRS OF THE INDIA METEOROLOGICAL DEPARTMENT

VOL. XXXI, PART III

MONTHLY AND ANNUAL NORMALS OF RAINFALL AND OF RAINY DAYS (based on records from 1901—1950).

RAINFALL NORMAL, ASSAM

In Millimetres.

Station	Geo. Co-ordinates		Jan.	Feb.	March	April	May	June	July	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.	Annual
	Lat.	Long													
Shillong	25.34	91.53	14.0	29.2	56.4	46.1	295.4	475.7	358.9	342.7	302.3	188.2	31.3	6.1	2153.3
Upp. Shillong	25.34	91.54	12.5	27.2	52.6	138.9	283.7	541.3	442.7	377.2	314.5	195.1	35.3	4.1	2425.1
Mawphlang	25.27	91.46	15.0	26.7	57.4	120.4	329.4	856.0	716.5	540.0	374.1	222.8	44.5	6.9	3309.7
Mawsynram	25.18	91.35	5.6	31.7	132.1	515.9	1331.5	2810.8	2497.6	2341.9	1531.4	178.3	29.0	0.0	11405.8

MAWNAI

The position and heights of Mawnai and the above mentioned Rain-gauge Stations with the distances of the latter from the village are furnished in the table below.

Table No. 1.2

Positions, altitudes and distances of the Rain-Gauge Stations with reference to Mawnai.

Name of the Village	East Long	North Latitude	Altitude (Approx)	Distance
Mawnai	91°36′12″	25°35′22″	5,284 feet	—
Upp. Shillong	91°51′19″	25°31′52″	5,202 feet	29 miles
Shillong	91°53′26″	25°34′22″	4,908 feet	34 miles
Mawphlang	91°45′32″	25°27′06″	6,138 feet	21 miles
Mawsynram	91°35′10″	25°17′54″	4,598 feet	41 miles

During the months of November, December, January and February, the temperature is very low. Generally no rain falls during the period although the sun in the evening is always hidden by the clouds. As a rule, all this moisture settles down on the surface of the land during the early hours of the night and converts into frost which looks like a white carpet in the morning. During the months of March and April, a strong wind blows from the south-west direction. Sometimes rain falls during the period and it is accompanied by storms of hail, thunder and lightning. The rainy season sets in immediately after it, and continues, almost without intermission, until the middle of October. Though very wet and cloudy, the period is much warmer than winter. The short period between the rainy and the dry season is perhaps the best season of the year. It is neither too hot nor too cold, rainfall decreases day by day and the sky also becomes brighter and brighter.

Flora and Fauna

Nearly all the surrounding areas of the residential part of the village are occupied by pine forests and bushes of dwarf, deciduous trees. A small deciduous timber forest is found only in the eastern corner of the southern range. Even though pine trees (pinus khasia), locally known as "dieng kseh" grow profusely, the trees are too small and not as fine as those found in other parts of the district. The most important trees found in the above mentioned deciduous timber forests are oak (casuarina), chestnuts (costanea sativa) and birches (setula). The local terms of the above trees are 'dieng sning', 'dieng sohot' and 'dieng bylliat' respectively. Few plots cleared for cultivation are seen here and there near or within the forest. Most of these are no longer used. Such plots are occupied by the Lantana bushes locally known as 'ki law sohpangkhlieh'. Lantana is also found in the pine forests. The deciduous forest is very dense especially where there are thick undergrowths of thorns (ki diengshiah), creepers (ki jyrmi), tall grass (u traw) and ferns (ki tyrkhang). The forest in the area are for a variety of wild flowers and orchids. Among the flowers the white grass flower (utiew lakud), the yellow grass flower with deep red spots (u tiew kupjain khor) and the wild violet flower (u tiew knup mawiang) are the most important. The most common orchids are the yellow one (u tiew khlein masi) and the blue one (u tiew khmat mi aw). Besides, the forests are also adorned with a certain red flower tree (u tiew jami-iang) and a sweet scented plant (u tiew lapongnai). Very little trees are found in the inhabited

part of the village. Most of them like pears, plums, peaches and lemons are grown by the people themselves for the fruits, and bamboo for fencing material. As most of the compounds are converted into vegetable gardens, the interest of the people is to clear their compound and hence to cut down all the unimportant trees.

Only small animals and birds such as foxes, squirrels, rabbits, quails, black birds and wild fowls are found in the surrounding areas of the village. The absence of deep jungle and dense forests and the wanton killings of birds and animals are responsible for the absence of big games in the area.

Size of the village

Mawnai, like other surrounding villages, has no definite boundaries. So it is impossible to describe the exact size of the village in terms of area. As the village has no definite boundary, an idea about the inhabited area of the village is roughly calculated at about 250 acres by adding together all the homestead lands, the area of the important public places, the village commons and some of the paddy fields which are situated in between the different sections of the village. Perhaps it will be out of place to discuss here about the total area of the cultivable lands used by the villagers in the neighbouring area outside the village. But it is necessary to bear in mind that the 250 acres mentioned above does not include all the cultivable land used by the people.

The popular way of determining the size of the village or the area is by comparing its population and the number of households with other neighbouring villages. The population and household figures of some of the neighbouring villages of Mawnai are given below :

Table No. 1.3

The number of households and population of Mawnai and its neighbouring villages.

Name of village	Distance from Mawnai	Direction	No. of households	No. of houses	Population	Males	Females
Mawnai			217	204	955	462	493
Mairang (Mission)	½ mile	East	134	112	582	286	296
Mairang Bah	3 miles	West	34	34	142	73	69
Nongkhlaw	8 miles	North	73	66	307	149	158
Mawshut	½ mile	North	100	97	477	249	228
Langter	4 miles	South	64	66	384	193	191
Nongrmai	3 miles	North	67	65	290	155	135
Mawblei	7 miles	North	91	88	440	235	205
Laitdomkseh	5 miles	North	40	40	204	107	97

Source : Census of India, 1961.

From the above figures it appears as if Mawnai is the largest village in the area. In this connection it may be pointed out that 207 houses are in the inhabited part of the village. Of these, 204 are residential houses and 3 are public buildings. The remaining ten houses belong to the Sheep Rearing Experimental Farm which is about one mile west of the village.

Communication & residential pattern.

The road to the village not being motorable throughout the year, it can be reached at all times only on foot. Save for a short cut which avoids the Mawshut village, the footpath is more or less identical with the fair weather road. The buses of the Shillong–Mairang Syndicate, a private com-

pany, run regularly between Shillong and Mairang. Uptil now the only route to approach Gauhati, the nearest railway station, is through Shillong. After the establishment of the Community Development Block an attempt was made to connect some of the villages west of Mairang with it by constructing a road which runs through Mawnai. The road is constructed by the people from the area under the supervision of the Block. Even though the road has been opened for light vehicular traffic during dry months, no one can say yet that the road is complete.

The road as pointed out above runs through the village from east to west, but only few houses are situated by its side. In the village, the houses are concentrated in four places. The portion on the northern range is known as 'Nongkseh'. This is the largest portion of the village. The portion on the eastern hill is known as 'Ka Lum Syiem', that on the slope of the southern range is known as 'Nongrim' and the portion on the low hill more or less in the middle of the village is known as 'Ka Pyndengjarain'. All the households on these portions of the village are connected with the road by small footpaths.

Important public places

There are two schools in the village, the Lower Primary School and the Junior Basic School. Of these two schools, the former is the older. It was established about 26 years ago under the supervision and financial assistance of the Presbyterian Church. The school is now under the control of the District Council. The Junior Basic School is a new school established about 5 years ago by the Education Department of the Government. Another important public building is the Presbyterian Church which was first established about 102 years ago. The Church is attended by all the Christian people of the village and belongs to the Presbyterian Church of Assam.

The Lower Primary School and the Church are very near to each other. Both of them are constructed on the western slope of the eastern hill. The Basic School is constructed on the eastern slope of the hill which is in the middle of the village.

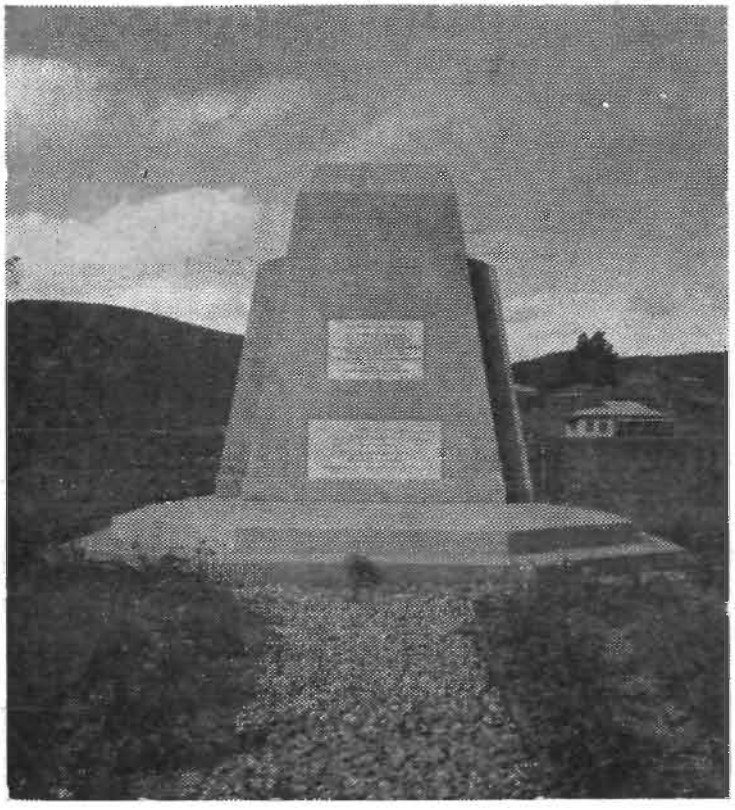
At the foot of the eastern hill, near the stream is a small flat land which the children use as the play ground.

The burial ground used by the christians to bury their dead and the cremation ground where the non-christians burn theirs are close to each other. Both of them are in the south eastern corner of the village or at a little distance south west from the inhabited part of the village.

It has been pointed out before that at a distance of one mile from the village on the west there is an Experimental Farm of the Sheep Rearing Department of the Government. The farm was established in the year 1958.

Monuments & historical relics

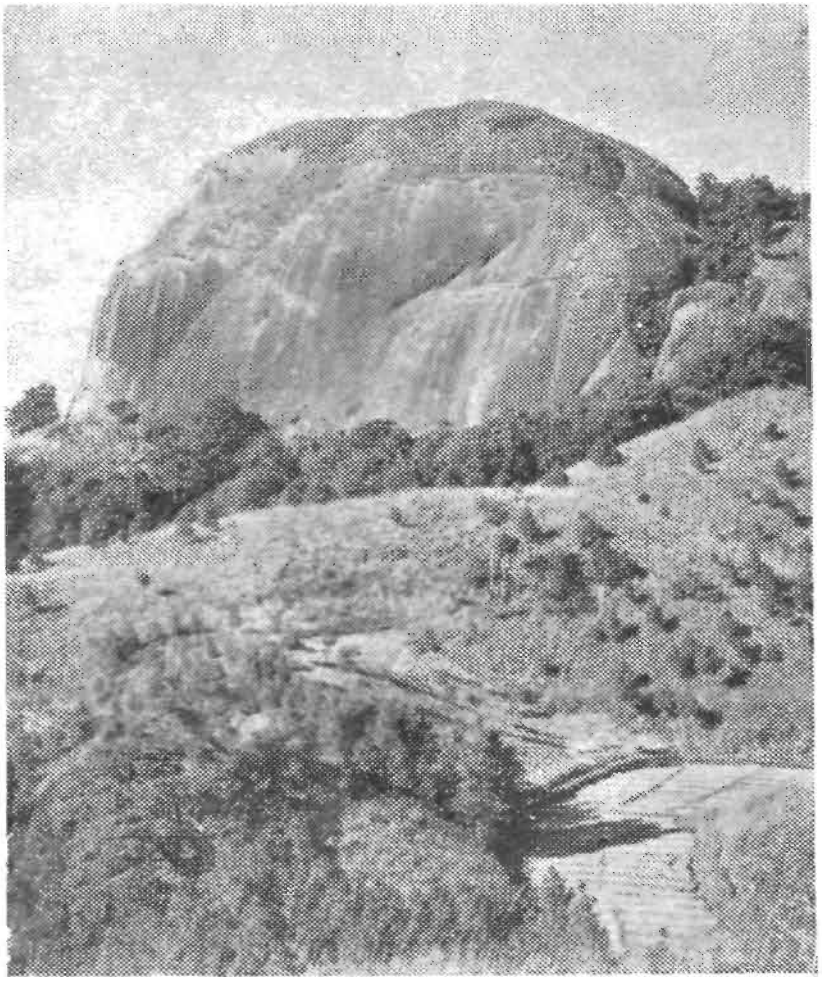
A few monuments are seen in the village. Most of them are monoliths erected many centuries ago. The monoliths in the district consist of big slabs of stones, hewn gneiss granite or sandstone with no inscriptions. The Khasis call them 'mawbynna'. The first part of the word, 'maw', is the term by which a stone is called while the second part 'bynna' sounds as if it is related to the word 'pynbna' meaning 'proclaim or declare'. The stones are no doubt erected to commemorate certain important events or the achievement of certain important persons. But as these stones mark the events of the remote past and have no inscriptions on them, it is impossible to find the exact reasons for which they were erected. The monolith found in the eastern part of Mawnai is a single stone, with a height of about 7 feet and a circumference at its base of about 3½ feet. The stone is almost round and taper gradually to the top. In



The Memorial stone of Tirot Singh



A group of monoliths found in the village



A distant view of the Kyllang Rock

the middle part of the village almost on the top of the low hill, there used to be three monoliths standing side by side and a table stone in front of them. Of the standing stones, the one in the middle was the highest. Since the group is very near to one of the houses, the earth around the stones was removed during the construction of the house, so the stones are no longer in proper order. Another group of monoliths in the village is at the base of the low hill by the side of the stream south west from the position of the last group. In this group there are nine stones and all of them are still standing. The stones are five to seven feet high, two foot wide and one foot thick. The stones are arranged in three rows, one about seven feet from the other and the spaces between the stones are also about 5 foot wide. All the middle stones in the rows are in a line. So are also the stones on the sides. The monoliths in this village are smaller in comparison with those found in other parts of the district. Only few cases in which the stones stand alone are found in the district. Therefore the first type of monoliths found in the village is a rare one, so is also the arrangement of stones in the last case.

The only monument in the village is a square structure with a pointed top. The base of the structure is about 8 foot square while the height is about 15 feet. There is no inscription on the monument to tell what it stands for. However, the fact that the stones by which it is constructed have perfect geometrical shapes and smooth surfaces suggests that it was built after the art of masonry had been brought to the land by the Britishers.

Sources of water supply.

It has been pointed out that a small stream runs through the village from east to west. Like other streamlets in this area the water of this stream is very clear and clean, but as there are many natural springs in the area, the people prefer to use the latter for drinking and cooking purposes. The water from the stream is used only for washing purposes.

At the base of the eastern hill there are four springs ; one on the north, two on the west and another one on the south. These springs along with another at the foot of the northern range serve the eastern part of the village. Out of these springs three are reported to be perennial while the rest dry up during the dry season. All three perennial springs are at the base of the eastern hill, one each in the north, west and south. The spring on the slope of the southern range serves as the source of water supply for the households in that section of the village. This spring is serviceable throughout the year. The western part of the village is served by another two springs which are at the foot of the northern range. But it is said that both these springs dry up during the dry season.

Till recently there has been no problem as regards water supply in the village. The stream is always there and acts as the last resort. However, as the population increases it is difficult to keep the stream clean and to get enough water from the springs.

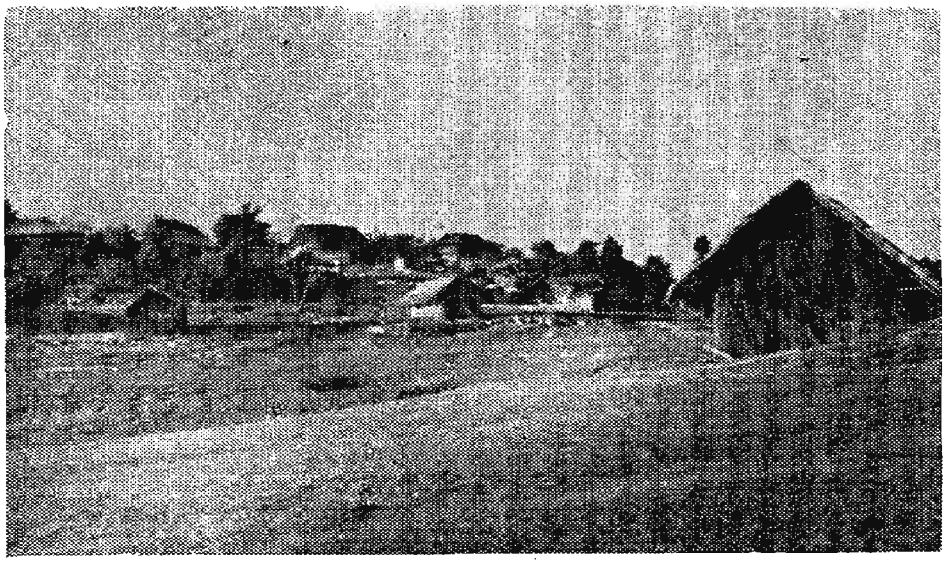
History of the village.

According to the villagers, Mawnai is one of the oldest villages in the area. Their forefathers, according to them, came from the north west, that is from the area beyond the Kyllang Rock. They moved eastward in order to avoid the strong wind which blows across the area once a year. This wind is a terror to the people living in the area and its course is always from the south-west. It has been pointed out that on the southern part of the village is a range which runs from east to west. This range is higher than any other ground in the village. The range, therefore, acts as the great wall to protect the northern part from this wind. The place is an ideal one and so it attracts

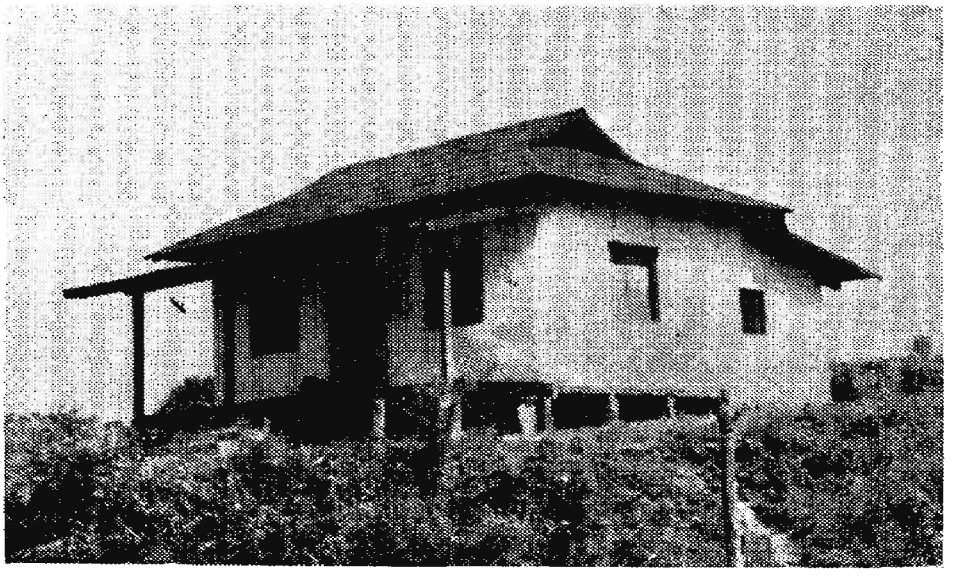
the people. The first batch of settlers built their houses on the northern slope of the range. Hence this part of the village is known as 'Nongrim' (lit. old settlement). These settlers selected a clan to act as their priests. The clan is known as 'Lyngdoh Mawnai' (lit. Mawnai priests) and for a long time the village had been under their control.

About four centuries ago a family belonging to the Syiem (Chief) clan of Jaintia Hills left their land in the east and came to this area through Kamrup. According to the traditions, the father of this family, U Sajar Nangli, was one of the Elders of the Nartiang Syiemship. His wife, belonging to the chief clan, died after having two children, a boy and a girl, from him. The girl, ka Shaphlong, was a very beautiful girl. When the young Syiem of Nartiang saw her he wanted to take her as his wife. The young chief was brought up at his headquarters at Jaintiapur, a newly conquered plain area, most of the inhabitants of which are not Khasis. Thus even though the young chief was a Khasi, he knew very little about the Khasi custom according to which it is a taboo to marry a girl belonging to his own clan. His attraction to the girl was so great that none could convince him to drop the idea. Instead, he even tried to take away the girl from her father by force. It was not so easy for U Sajar Nangli to stand against the chief, so in order to prevent any violation against the time honoured customs, he decided to leave the land together with his children. Being an influential man he was accompanied by a large number of friends and relatives. When his children reached the neighbourhood of Mawnai and the Lyngdohs (members of the priestly clan) of this area knew that they belonged to the Syiem's clan, they were invited by the Lyngdohs to become their chiefs. Thus U Shajer, the son of U Sajar Nangli, became the first chief over all the jurisdiction of the Lyngdohs which were then joined together and known as 'ka Hima Nongkhlaw' (Nongkhlaw Syiemship).

Mawnai became one of the important villages in the Nongkhlaw Syiemship. Since the formation of the Syiemship three villages have been used by the ruling clan as head quarters in different periods. While Mairang is at present the headquarters of the syiemship, Nongkhlaw was the original one and so the syiemship has been named after it. This village is about 8 miles north of Mawnai. Twice in the 19th century and once in the 20th century, Mawnai was the headquarters of the syiemship. The village for the first time became the headquarters when U Borsing was elected 'Syiem' by the elders and the ministers of the syiemship in 1856. He belonged to the family of the Syiem clan which was invited two generations ago by the Lyngdohs to stay in the village. The syiem family built their house on the eastern hill and therefore the hill has been known as 'Lum Syiem' (lit. chief's hills). There had been seventeen rulers of the Nongkhlaw syiemship. Before u Borsing syiem, there had been twelve rulers and the present chief, U Kedro Sing Syiem is the eighteenth in the line of the syiemship. The syiemship reached its zenith during the reign of U Konraising Syiem (1800-1814) and U Tirotsing Syiem (1814-1834), the eighth and the ninth rulers respectively. It is said that during their tenure the syiemship extended from the boundaries of the Kamrup District to those of the Sylhet District (now in East Pakistan). The story of the civil war fought at Mawmluh, a village under the syiemship, during the reign of U Konraising Syiem is famous for two things. Firstly, it was a fight which arose from a breach of the word of honour in connection with the external trade of the syiemship, which shows how much the Khasis value the word of honour. Secondly, it reminds of the age in which iron industry, trade and commerce flourished in the syiemship. It was during the last years of U Tirotsing Syiem's reign that the British came to these hills. The intention of the East India Company was to connect the Brahmaputra and the Surma valleys by a footpath across the hills through the



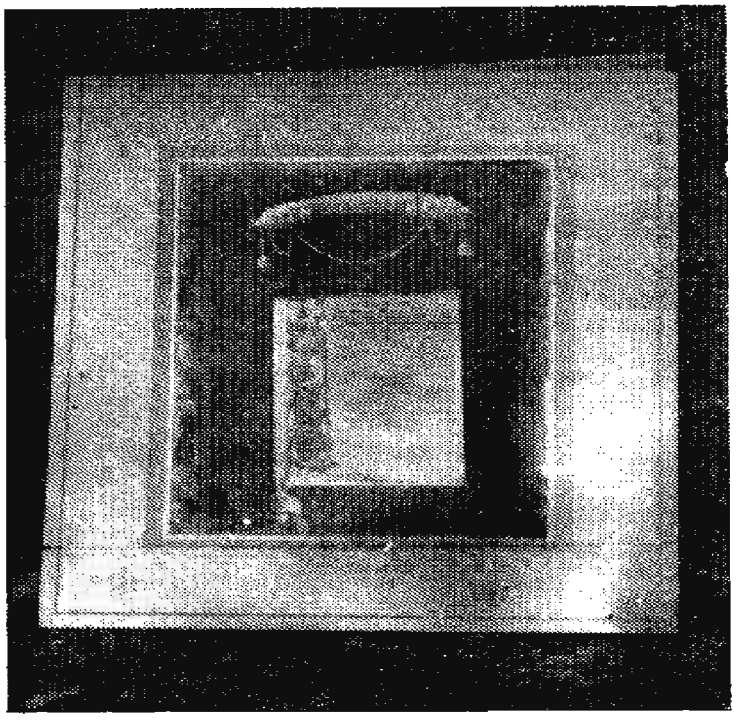
A part view of the village



An ultra-modern house devoid of lavish furnishings



Portrait of Raja Bidor Sing of Nongkhlaw who lived during the Ist. quarter of the present century



An ivory case, the ends inlaid with Silver, used to keep important public documents by Khasi Chiefs

Nongkhlaw and other Khasi syiemships. An agreement was made between the British and the Khasi chiefs. However, when the work was started some conflicts arose and the war broke out between the British and the Khasis led by their chiefs. U Tirotsing Syiem himself took the leading part in this struggle which lasted for about three years. The Khasis were defeated and U Tirotsing was taken prisoner to Dacca. It is said that when U Tirotsing was offered to return to his syiemship and rule it under the British, this proud chief gave this reply—"It is better to die as a commoner than to reign as a slave king." U Tirotsing Syiem died at Dacca in 1834. Mawnai area is one of the main theatres of the struggle. The event, however, brought the Khasi people of the area to a closer contact with the British.

Mawnai, as can be seen above, became one of the headquarters of the syiemship after the coming of the British to these hills. But the village had been established much earlier than that and the chief clan had been invited by the Lyngdohs to live in the village a few generations before the event. Two chiefs ruled the syiemship from the village in the later part of the 19th century and one in the first half of the 20th century.

Legend concerning the village

Something has been said earlier about the first settlers of the village. They came from the north-western direction to get protection from the annual storms which used to visit their former place. According to the villagers, the group was led by a person known as U Synnai. It was he who chose the new place for them. To mark the new village, U Synnai erected a few stones and put one big table stone in a place which was supposed to be the centre of the village. It is said that all religious functions in connection with the establishment of a new village was performed on this slab of stone. It is regretted that none of the villagers at present can give any account of the religious ceremonies during that great event. However, the place and the stones are so important to them that whenever people talk about the new settlement, they just refer to the stones. The stones are known as 'ki maw U Synnai' which literally means 'the stones of U Synnai.' In course of time the village became known simply as 'Maw-nai' (maw—stones, while 'nai' comes from the name 'Synnai'). At present none of the erected stones stand although the table stone is still in its original position. Unfortunately, no one can tell the number of stones erected near the table stone. This place is on the side of the southern range. At present this part of the village is known as 'Ka Nongbah' (the Capital). In this connection it may be pointed out that the portion of the village in which the chiefs live, that is, the eastern hill, is known as 'the Lum Syiem' (the syiem's hill). The part of the village on the lower hill in the middle is known as 'ka Pyndeng Jarain' meaning the low hill in which a certain wild herb locally known as 'u jarain' is grown, and that part of the village on the northern range is known as 'ka kseh Mawnai' (the pine trees of Mawnai).

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

Ethnic composition and language

It has been pointed out that Mawnai is a Khasi village. The United Khasi Jaintia Hills where the Khasis live is one of the four Autonomous Districts of Assam. The Garo Hills District where the majority of the Garos live is the western border of the district while the Mikir Hills where the Mikirs live and the North Cachar Hills where the Dimasa Kacharis constitute a major section of the inhabitants form the eastern border. All these neighbouring tribes, namely the Garos, the Mikirs and the Dimasa Kacharis belong to the Bodo family both by ethnic group and language. But the Khasis are quite different from all of them. By race, they are Indo-Mongoloids like their tribal neighbours, but they speak the Austric language. At this juncture it may be pointed out that no tribe or caste in the State, save the Khasis, speak this language. The uncommon combination of the two characteristics is the greatest problem in determining the origin of the tribe. Generally it is easy for a tribe to adopt a new language but here it appears as if the language is original while the people itself has changed. None of the neighbours speak the Austric language ; the nearest people who speak it are the Mundari speakers of Chhotanagpur, the Mons of Lower Burma and the Khmers of Cambodia and Thailand. It is possible that a group of originally Austro Asiatic speaking people first occupied these hills and intermarriage with their neighbours took place from time to time. According to the Khasi customs the offsprings usually belong to the mother's clan, even though the father is a non-Khasi. In case a Khasi young man marries a non-Khasi woman, the offsprings are bound to take their father's title by their mother's customs but that is not possible according to the Khasi custom. But such cases are solved by opening of new clans in the Khasi society. The names of such clans usually bear the word 'dkhar' or 'khar', the term by which the plains people are known to the Khasis, as the prefix. Thus in mixed marriage cases, other communities are generally absorbed by the Khasis. The offsprings are generally considered as Khasis and follow the Khasi customs. In course of time, the Indo-Mongoloid blood runs thick in their veins and even speak the Austric language and follow the customs which are quite different from those followed by other Indo-Mongoloid people around them.

The Khasis have their own theory* about their origin. This theory is provided by one legend under the title "U Lum Sohpet Bneng." Just near the Umiam Hydel Project, there is a hill known as u Lum

* Source : KA NIAM KHASI by Dr. H. Lyngdoh in the Introduction Part, page 5, published in 1937.

Sohpet Bneng (the navel of Heaven) and the Khasis believe that originally this hill connected heaven and earth. On the side of heaven, there were seven huts where men lived. Due to man's sin heaven was latterly separated from earth and so man was left to himself. By this folklore, the Khasis claim themselves to be of divine origin.

The classification of the Khasi tongue as one of the Austric languages is based on the Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India as well as the section 'Language of the Khasis' written by Lieutenant Colonel P. K. T. Gurdon I. C. S., (Second Edition, 1914, pp. 200-219). Gurdon himself based his report on the findings of earlier writers such as Mr. J. R. Logan, the Editor of "The Journal of the Indian Archipelago", Prof. Ernst Kuln of Munich and Peter W. Schmidt of Vienna.

Within the district, that is, among the Khasis, people living in different parts have their own dialects. Based on the dialects, the community is generally divided into five groups, namely the Khasis of the central plateau, the Pnars or Jaintias in the east, the Wars in the south, the Lyngngams in the west and the Bhois in the north. But this classification is too broad. It seems as if there are as many dialects as there are villages in the district. The differences between the dialects can even vary according to the distances from village to village. But all can speak and understand Khasi. Khasi is converted into a standard literary form, based on the language of the Sohra village (Cherrapunji). Mawnai village falls in the Khasi speaking area, but the dialect used locally is not totally identical with that used by the people of Sohra. The tongue may be considered as the blurred patois from the standard Khasi language.

Until the year 1829 the people of Mawnai as well as other Khasis living in the neighbouring area had a very little contact with other communities living beyond the boundaries of the district. In the above mentioned year there was an incidence which brought about many changes in the life of the people. It has been pointed out that in this period the British came to the hills and the people were subdued by them. When the uprising of the Khasis was subdued the British officers were placed to take charge of the affairs in the area. But the people were not taxed ; they were left to manage their own affairs only in their own way. The British officers were to interfere only when there were major disputes or serious crimes. The event however was followed by a closer contact of the people with their neighbours and the British. The isolated way of life till then followed by the people came to an end. The most important change after the event is the coming of the Christian missionaries and the conversion of the natives into Christianity. According to the Census Report of 1891 (vol. 1, page 75) there were 197,904 souls in the district. The number of people speaking the Khasi language in that year was 178,630 but the population of the tribe was only 117,891 (vol 1, Page 257). The difference between the figures of the persons speaking the language and those of the tribe is due to omission of the native Christians while counting the people of the tribe. This shows that there were about 60,000 native Christians in 1891. The people appear to be more receptive to Christianity. Comparing the records of 1881 and 1891 Census it seems as if a rapid change took place during the decade. The number of Christians during the decade had risen from (Vide Report Vol. I, Part II, Chapter III, page 89) 1,895 to 6,941. Mawnai is no doubt one of the villages having an earlier contact with the British and hence with Christianity, but even now it is not a Christian village. The population of the village is at present split into two sections, the Christians and the non-Christians. However Christianity is followed by education and again by many changes and improvements in the

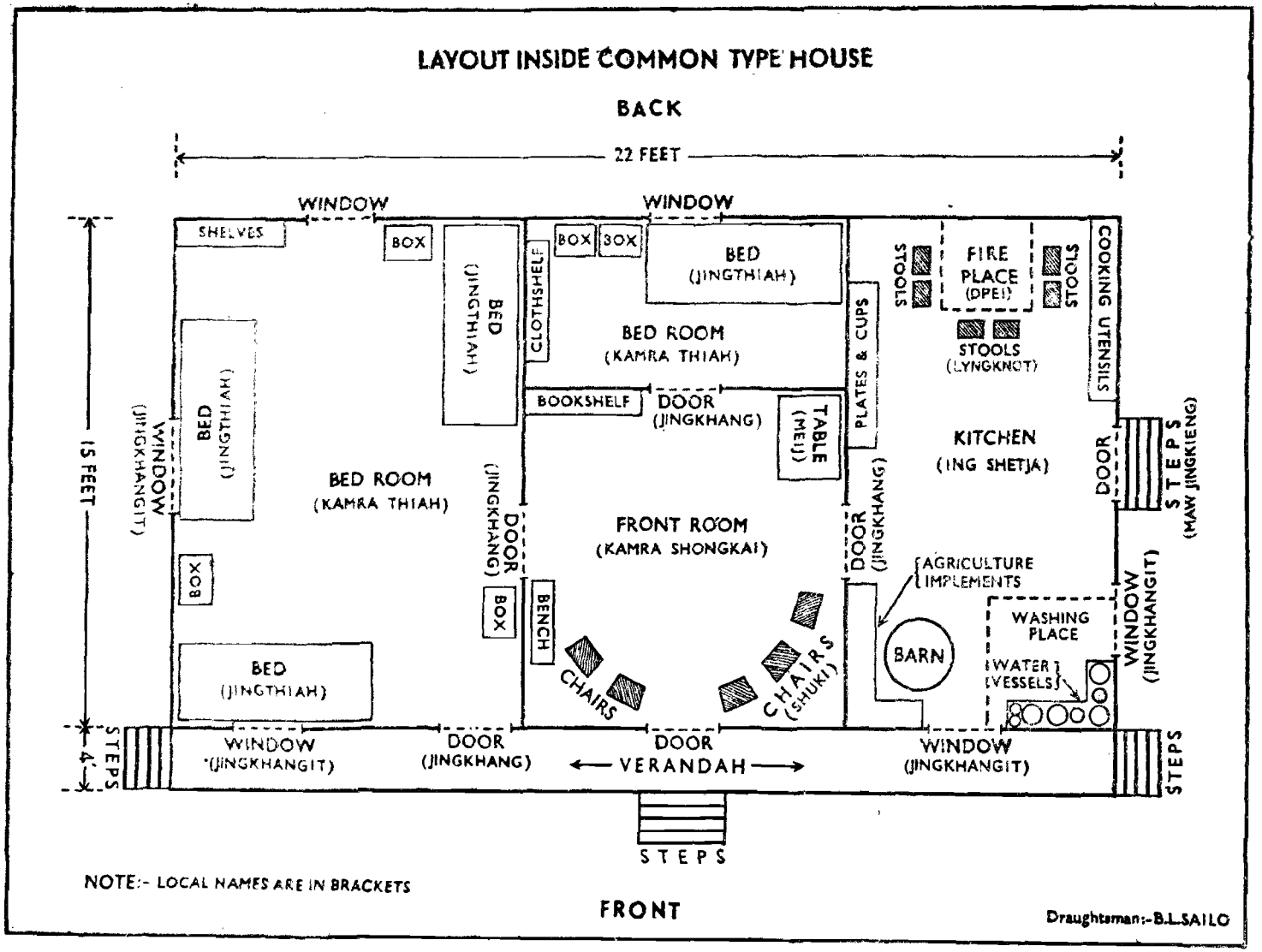
standard of living among the Christians as well as the non-Christians. While history shows that certain parts of the Nongkhlaw syiemship were industrial areas, Mawnai, once the capital of the syiemship, is only the settlement of agriculturists. The people remain in their traditional occupation although there are certain changes in their method of operations. Mawnai at present is one of the leading producers of potato which is grown not only for consumption but also for export. The fact is that potato was brought by the British after the first quarter of the 19th century. It is therefore clear that something has been added in the people's traditional occupation.

Types of houses

Most of the houses in the village are constructed in accordance with the people's tastes. There is a great variation which ranges from the old Khasi type to the modern types found in Shillong and other important towns of the district. Each dwelling structure with a compound and in some cases cattle sheds is occupied by each household irrespective of the number of members and the income. The old type of houses are oval-shaped. The foundation as well as the roof are oval-shaped. These buildings are usually raised on the plinths, some two to three feet above the ground. The house is usually divided into three rooms—a porch, a centre room and a sleeping room. The floor of the centre room and the sleeping room are covered with planks which are supported by strong timbers and the plinths so the floors of these rooms are much higher than that of the porch. The walls of such buildings in this area are generally made of wooden planks. The roofs are covered with thatch obtained from the neighbouring forest. In such houses there is only one door in front and a window or a small opening on one side. The fireplace made of earth and stones is always in the middle of the centre floor. Only few houses of this description were found in the village during the time of survey. Most of the houses are much improved. Thatch as the only roofing material and wooden planks as the walling materials are in most houses replaced by flattened kerosene oil tins, plain sheets and corrugated iron sheets. In other cases while wooden planks are still used as materials for the walls, they are coated from outside either with thatch or any of the above imported materials. Nearly half of the houses in the village are no longer of the traditional type. In comparison with the traditional type these houses are taller, having wide walls and more and better ventilation facilities. The buildings are also divided into many rooms. These houses are constructed according to what is known as the Assam type of houses. In short, they are more comfortable to live in than the traditional ones. The shape, size and division of these houses may vary from one to another. The tables showing houses by number of rooms with number of members are given in the tables 2 and 3 in the appendix.

Parts of houses and uses

In the old Khasi types the porch is used as the store room in which the inmates keep their agricultural tools and implements and firewood. The centre room serves as the kitchen as well as the sitting room. Two sides of the building are usually separated from the centre to serve as sleeping compartments while part of the remaining sides is used as the washing place where water containers are kept and the remaining wall in this side is converted into a shelf for arranging the utensils. The hearth of the room in these houses, as we have seen, is in the middle of the room. It is an open one with no arrangement for the smoke to leave the room. Above the hearth is a swinging frame where articles are put to be dried up such as firewood, crops, dry fish and cane or bamboo articles. The improved Assam type of houses are usually divided into two or more rooms ; one is used as a kitchen and others are used as sleeping


LAYOUT INSIDE COMMON TYPE HOUSE
BACK
22 FEET
WINDOW
WINDOW
SHELVES
BOX
BED (JINGTHIAH)
CLOTHSHELF
BOX
BOX
BED (JINGTHIAH)
STOOLS
FIRE PLACE (DPEI)
STOOLS
COOKING UTENSILS
BED (JINGTHIAH)
BED ROOM (KAMRA THIAH)
STOOLS (LYNGKNOT)
PLATES & CUPS
BOOKSHELF
DOOR (JINGKHANG)
TABLE (MEJI)
KITCHEN (ING SHETJA)
DOOR
STEPS (MAW JINGKIENG)
WINDOW (JINGKHANGIT)
BED ROOM (KAMRA THIAH)
DOOR (JINGKHANG)
FRONT ROOM (KAMRA SHONGKAI)
DOOR (JINGKHANG)
AGRICULTURE IMPLEMENTS
BOX
BOX
BENCH
WASHING PLACE
WATER VESSELS
BARN
WINDOW (JINGKHANGIT)
BED (JINGTHIAH)
CHAIRS
CHAIRS (SHUKI)
15 FEET
4'
STEPS
WINDOW (JINGKHANGIT)
DOOR (JINGKHANG)
DOOR
VERANDAH
WINDOW (JINGKHANGIT)
STEPS
STEPS
NOTE:- LOCAL NAMES ARE IN BRACKETS
FRONT
Draughtsman:-B.L.SAILO

compartments. In some cases where the people can afford, one sitting room is kept separately.

In addition to the above, the centre room is also furnished with short wooden stools (lyngknot) and higher cane or bamboo stools (mula). The sleeping compartments are always provided with wooden bedsteads and boxes where clothes are kept. In the modern type the arrangement of kitchen is more or less like that of the centre room of the old Khasi type. In some of these types of houses a separate room is attached where water containers are kept and washing is performed. The other rooms are furnished with wooden bedsteads, boxes both steel and wooden and wooden almirahs. Other things like benches, stools, tables and chairs are properly arranged side by side with bedsteads and the above mentioned items. However, wherever the people could afford, the latter items are arranged in a separate room. In this connection it may be pointed out that the people of Mawnai as well as other Khasis prefer to entertain their friends in the kitchen even in cases where a separate sitting room is provided. In this case the sitting room is meant only for strangers.

It has been pointed out that each house is attached with a compound. Generally houses are more or less in the front part of the compound or in other words in that part of the compound near the road or the village footpath. In most cases a small space is left between the road and the building which serves as a playground for small children of the family and their friends. It is also used as the place where paddy is dried up in big bamboo mats. The chickenshed and the pig-sty are always at the back of the building. The pig-sty consists of a small shed and open space fenced by strong wooden poles or planks. The cowshed is also behind the building at the far end of the compound. The remaining part of the compound is used as the kitchen garden where fruit trees, maize and other vegetables are grown. On the average, the houses of the people are cleaner than might have been expected. It is a general feeling among the Khasi women to be proud of tidiness, cleanliness and neatness of their houses. They therefore take good care to clean their houses and compounds and to arrange the houses properly. It does not take a long time for the people to realise that the old Khasi type of houses are uncomfortable and unhygienic. Therefore most of them replaced the old buildings by modern types. Even in the case of the existing Khasi type of houses, improvements such as construction of more windows and doors are common.

Both in the old Khasi and modern Assam type of houses the people take care to provide each married couple with a separate sleeping compartment. The table showing the houses by number of rooms and types of households is given below :-

Table 2.1

Houses by number of rooms and types of households :

Total No. of households in the village..217.
Total No. of households surveyed..72

Caste/tribe/ community	Total No. of households	No. of rooms (Total)	No. of rooms in the households	Types of families living in the households			
				Simple	Intermediate	Joint	Others
Khasi (Tribal)	72	260	One room	1	1	—	—
			Two rooms	10	—	—	—
			Three rooms	26	2	1	—
			Four rooms	17	—	—	—
			Five rooms	—	3	1	—
			Six rooms	4	2	1	—
			Seven rooms	2	1	—	—
			More than seven rooms	—	—	—	—
			TOTAL :	60	9	3	—

Dress and ornaments :

At present all Khasi males use the western style of dress. Their shirts, coats, long pants and vests and underwear are tailor-made and the materials are mill products bought from distant markets. Footwears are used by many male villagers. In the field a man puts on a shirt, a long or short pant but seldom puts on his coat. The coat is used only when the man goes to market or church or when he visits his friends in another village. In the cold season he also wraps the upper part of his body with a big piece of thick cloth locally known as 'ka ryndia'. Some elderly males tie a piece of long thin cloth round the head which is locally known as 'ka jainspong'. Younger males prefer to put on a woollen cap (ka tupia) during the cold season.

The changes in dress among the women are much slower than the changes among men. The chemise or undervest is used next to the skin. Over them they use frock and blouse. All these are no doubt new clothes which the people have used after the influence of the foreigners coming to the land in the middle of the 19th century. But over these clothes they use others which are their traditional dress. First of all, over the frock and blouse they wear the traditional 'jainsem', a piece of cloth about 4 to 5 yards long and one yard broad. The materials by which this part of the dress is made are of various types. Two of these types are very common and old too. One is colourful silk cloth with cross borders of beautiful designs and combination of bright coloured threads. This cloth is known as 'dhara'. The next type is of the same size and design but not as beautiful as the 'dhara'. It is made of muga silk and it is no doubt the 'muka'. This part of dress is locally known as 'ka jainsem'. This part of the dress is used by the women who is not doing any manual work. It is therefore used when a woman visits her friends or relatives, goes to church or attends any function. Besides, unlike the other items already mentioned above, this part of the dress is used only by the grown-ups. If they are at work the 'jainsem' is replaced by the 'jainkyrshah', a piece of cloth $1\frac{1}{2}$ yard long and 1 yd broad. This piece of cloth is usually made of cheap cotton materials. The two corners of one end are tied together at the right shoulder and the middle part of the end passes through the left side under the left arm around the body. The other end of the cloth hangs closely round the body to the ankles of the legs. The 'jainsem' is also worn in the same way as the 'jainkyrshah'. Both the ends of the 'jainsem' are measured as the length of the 'jainkyrshah'. The corners of each of the two ends are tied together, one on the right shoulder and the other on the left. The folded end of the cloth having the knot on the right shoulder passes below the left arm and the folded end of the cloth having the knot on the left shoulder passes below the left arm. The middle part of the cloth between the two folded ends passes through the upper part of the body from behind taking the shape of a loose bag. This part is known as the 'jympun'. The two loose ends of the cloth hang loosely round the body to the ankles of the leg like 'jainkyrshah'. The head is covered with a piece of cloth, 'tapmohkhlieh', 2 yards by 1 yard. The middle part of the cloth covering the head and hung loosely behind it is placed over the head. Then the two corners of one end are pulled below the chin crossing each other there and then brought to the back where it is fastened. The cloth therefore covers the head, the neck and the upper part of the body but leaves the face uncovered. Yet another cloth is used to cover the body. This is known as 'ka jainkup' a piece of thick cloth, 2 yards by $1\frac{1}{2}$ yards. The two corners of one end of this cloth are tied together on the chest. Thus the cloth covers the back and the sides of the body and hangs down up to the ankles of the leg, leaving the head, the leg and the shoulders but covers nearly all the

remaining part of the body. Like the 'jainsem', the 'tapmohkhlieh' and the 'jainkup' are never used when the person is at work. Both the 'tapmohkhlieh' and 'jainkup' are generally woollen mill materials.

At present all males cut their hair short but women wear it long. The females comb their hair properly backward and make a knot out of it at the back of head. The knot is known as 'ka pain-khyllong'. Like all tribals, the Khasis of Mawnai both male and female are fond of ornaments. It is said that all ornaments such as earrings, necklace, finger rings and bracelets were used by both males and females in the past. At present however the only common ornaments used by males are finger rings but females use all or any of them especially when they attend important functions. The list of ornaments commonly used by the people are given below :—

Finger ring—Used by both male and female. The rings are generally made of gold decorated with stones. However in some cases the rings are made of copper or silver. Like all ornaments, rings can be used by all but some of them are engagement or marriage rings. Rings are locally known as 'ki sati.'

Earring—Earrings are of two types, the 'sohshkor' and 'lyngkyrdeng'. The 'sohshkor' is an ear ornament worn from the hole made in the lobes of the ears, while 'lyngkyrdeng' is fastened in the hole at the lobes of the ear and another hole made at the top portion of the ear. The 'sohshkor' is more common than the 'lyngkyrdeng.' 'Lyngkyrdengs' are used by grown up well-to-do persons. Both the ornaments are made of gold and generally used only by females.

Necklace—There are two types of necklaces, "u kpieng" (lit : the necklace) and 'u kynjri' (lit : the tassel or the chain). The former is an alternate arrangement of a number of red coral beads and round gold plated balls of lac. The latter is made of gold and sometimes decorated with stones. Necklaces are used only by females.

Bracelet—Bracelets locally known as 'khadu' are made of gold and used only by females.

Like earrings and finger rings, the other ornaments are used only when the people want to be at their best while attending any important function. In this connection it may be pointed out that the people of Mawnai like other Khasi people have a special dress when they take part in a dance.

Food and drink

Rice is the main food of the people. Generally they take it two times a day. However when they are working in the field some rice is taken by them in the field at midday. The two main meals are taken early in the morning and late in the evening. Most of the villagers are cultivators so the nature of the work itself suggests that they must have a good amount of manual strength. During the working season the workers generally take their first meal early in the morning before going to the field. This meal is always taken along with tea. Sometimes tea is taken before and sometimes after meal. During midday some food is necessary after their hard morning work. This is also taken with tea as in the case of the first meal. After working for another five or six hours in the field during the evening, they return home where a third meal is taken by them.

The first and the third meals are prepared at home just before meal time. The midday meal generally prepared along with the morning meal is packed in a vessel or wrapped inside some leaves and taken to the field. The meal is locally

known as 'ka jasong' (lit : wrapped food). But sometimes the villagers prepare it in the field. In this case rice and cooking vessels are taken to the field Rice which is the main food in high altitudes is taken with curry prepared from meat, generally pork, beef, chicken, fishes either fresh or dried, vegetables and eggs.

The preparation of food is very simple. Generally meat is simply boiled with water and vegetables and some salt, onion and chillies are added. Sometimes mustard oil or other animal fats are used for preparing curry. The people use very little amount and limited kinds of spices in preparing their curry. Dal is used but not as frequently as taken by peoples in the plains. Sometimes the people prepare fish fry simply by roasting over the fire. Likewise meat which is kept dry over the fire or smoked meat is simply roasted. Vegetables are not so common an item in their diet and seldom will they take them raw. However there are many kinds of wild herbs taken by them. Large quantities of local fruits such as lemons, pears, plums and peaches are taken specially by the children.

Tea is the main drink taken by all the villagers. It is taken with sugar but some of them take it with milk while others do without milk. Maize is one of the solid foods taken with tea. It is taken in two ways. During the maize growing seasons, maize is ground first into powder, then it is mixed up with sugar and a little water ; the paste is then wrapped in plantain leaves and the bundles are boiled in water. The maize cakes are then ready to be taken by the people. Other things taken along with tea are potato, sweet potato and yam. Sometimes different types of cakes prepared from powdered rice are also taken along with tea.

According to traditions rice beer is the only kind of strong drink taken by the people. But in the last two generations the habit of drinking spirits has crept in and is on the increase. However it has been found that among the Christians of the village drinking of spirits is not so common. Most of the non-Christians take it almost regularly after their daily work.

Another important food consumed by the people and is also the most important item by which they entertain their friends is betelnut (u kwai) which consits of a little piece of betelnut, a little betel-leaf (tympew) and a little lime (ka shun). Only few villagers smoke tobacco. They use their home-made pipe and the local tobacco.

Beliefs and practices concerning birth

The coming of a child in the family is regarded by the people of Mawnai as well as other Khasis, both Christians and non-Christians, as God's blessing to the family. As regards this subject, two pictures are found in the village since it is a mixed Christian and non-Christian village. Among the beliefs and practices of the present non-Christians there are many evidences of influences by other communities but some traces of originality are still there. The most common greeting by which the couple are greeted when they first start their married life is, to put it in their own language, "ba phin iaroi iapar parum pareh" meaning "that you will prosper in great numbers". The saying shows how high the people value their children. This attitude is accompanied by special care taken for the prospective mother by other members of the family. The prospective mothers are always relieved of all hard manual duties. But the most important thing is the affection shown by the other members of the family towards her. During the period of pregnancy the mother, the father and the other members are subjected to various kinds of restrictions. The prospective mother, for example, is not allowed to join a funeral procession ; she is not allowed to go to the house where the dead body of a person who

died by accident is kept, and she is not allowed to take bath in the river. The father is not allowed to kill any animal, bird or fish. He is not allowed to burn any iron in fire, to complete any sewing work, to cross any river or to touch the dead body of any person. Two weeks before the birth of the child no family member is allowed to join any funeral procession, to cross any river, and in some cases, even to leave the village.

Delivery usually takes place in the house in which the prospective mother lives, but in some cases when the couple are the only grown up persons in the household, the prospective mother may decide to have her childbirth in her mother's house. The delivery cases are usually attended by grown-up and experienced women. Generally, the helpers are the relatives of the prospective mother but sometimes experienced women from the village are also called to attend the case. These women have no special training but they gain their knowledge from experience, the payment for service rendered by them depending on the nature of the case and the attachment of the woman to the family.

As soon as a woman feels the pangs of childbirth, she is confined to her bed till the delivery takes place. After the child is born the navel is cut off by the helper with a sharpened piece of split bamboo after which it is ligated with a cotton string. Among the non-Christians, the after-birth is then collected in an earthen pot and taken by the father of the child or in his absence by any near male relative to a nearby forest where the pot is placed between the branches of the trees. When the father comes back to the house, some of the members of the family help him to wash his feet or, in some cases, his whole body, with water. At home the child is also washed by warm water. The naming ceremony of the child usually takes place in the morning of the next day. The practice observed by Christians is that after 3 to 6 months generally, the child is taken to the church for the christening ceremony and later on, entertainment is held in the house of the parents where all the relatives and friends are invited.

A child is usually suckened by its mother until it is eight or ten months old. However, in most cases babies of four month's age are also given some masticated or well-grounded banana, while those of two or three months are fed with cooked rice water.

At the very outset it has been pointed out that the people of Mawnai as other Khasis highly value their children. The use of contraceptives and abortion is rather unthinkable among them. Besides, these are new things to them. Some of them go to the extent of saying that they prefer to have children without father than to take to any of the above methods. Further it is against the Khasi custom for any man not to claim his child even though he is at liberty to decide whether he should take the mother of the child as his wife or not. Barrenness is regarded as a natural phenomenon which shows that either of the couple are not meant for each other. The great longing for children, it is said, always leads to the dissolution of such marriages. Further, it is said, that there are cases where, after remarriage, both the divorced male and female get children from other partners.

While almost all practices followed by the Christians are the same as those followed by the non-Christians, none of the beliefs and practices arising from the beliefs of the former are entertained by the latter.

Beliefs and practices connected with marriage.

The beliefs and practices connected with marriage may be divided into two sections, the section dealing with the social aspect of marriage and the section

dealing with the religious aspect of marriage. As far as social aspect is concerned, there are practically not much differences between the practices of the Christian and the non-Christians. But the religious functions in connection with marriage among the Christians are different from those of the non-Christians.

Marriage contracts followed by the people of Mawnai as well as other Khasis are purely 'Love marriage'. The boy and the girl of the marriageable age are allowed to choose their life time partners. But before the contract reaches the final stage, the boy and the girl must seek the consent of their respective families Their maternal uncles, as the representatives of the two clans and their fathers are to look after this matter and their most important duty is to see that the match will involve no 'sang' or taboo according to the time honoured custom of the land. Among the Christians, church elders are also invited to attend the function. The age of marriage is not fixed but it appears as if the preferable age for females is between 17 and 24 years and that for males between 20 and 28 years.

According to the custom of the Khasis which is followed by both the Christians and the non-Christians, the clans are strictly exogamous. No man is allowed to take a woman from his own clan as his wife. Such a thing is regarded as the worst social crime. Even in an inter-clan relationship, there are certain restrictions for the marriage suit. A man cannot take as his wife, any daughter of his father's brothers, further he is not allowed to marry his father's sister or his father's brother's granddaughter. If there is any relation between two clans by a previous marriage contract, the only relation a man can marry is his mother's brother's daughter or his father's sister's daughter. Even such marriages are avoided when the father of the girl (if he is the maternal uncle of the boy) is still alive. There is some kind of sororate among the Khasis. According to their custom a man may marry his wife's younger sister after the death of his wife. Here also the contract is met at only by the free choice of both the man and the woman. In this connection it may be pointed out that to marry the wife's elder sister even after the wife's death is a taboo. It is also a taboo for a man to take his elder or younger brother's wife as his wife after the death of his brother. In case a man marries his deceased wife's sister, he can do so after the expiry of one year from the wife's death. Both polygamy and polyandry do not exist among the people. Among the people of Mawnai both male and female can marry again after the death of their first partner. In this case also the expiry of at least one year from the partner's death is observed.

It has been pointed out earlier that one of the reasons which leads to divorce is barrenness. However, divorce may also occur for other variety of reasons. Generally, divorce takes place only when both the parties are convinced that they cannot live together amicably and both agree to do so. But sometimes either the husband or the wife do not agree to a divorce. In this case the matter is brought to the notice of the village elder. If the causes shown by the party who asked for the divorce are genuine, the divorce is granted by the elders. On the other hand if the reasons are not genuine the elders try to compromise but if the party asking for the divorce is still pressing the elders assess a compensation locally known as 'ka bai mynrain khmat' (payment for the shame brought) or 'ka thnem'. However to divorce a woman during pregnancy is according to the Khasi law a serious crime and such an act is condemned by the society. Persons who have been divorced are at liberty to marry other persons but they cannot remarry one another afterwards. Adultery is strongly condemned by the society and according to the old Khasi law a man or a woman finding his or her partner committing the crime can legally kill then and there both the persons involved. When the boy is on

more or less easy terms of intimacy with the girl, he breaks the news to his parents. His mother in turn informs her brother or the maternal uncle of the boy. The uncle convenes a meeting of all the near relatives belonging to the clan who along with the boy's father consider the matter and give their decision. If they agree with his choice, the boy's parents send a man, usually unconnected with the family, to arrange the matter with the family of the bride. The maternal uncle of the girl likewise convenes a meeting of the near relatives belonging to the clan and the girl's father. Here investigation is made whether or not the contract will lead to any "sang" or taboo. If not, they fix the date for the marriage. All these formalities are observed by both the Christians and the non-Christians. Among the non-Christians all ceremonies take place in the girl's house. On the marriage day the bridegroom wearing the best garments and a white or dark red and yellow turban sets out with his friends and male relatives led by 'u ksiang' (go-between) to the bride's house. The bridegroom takes a gold, silver or copper ring (ka synjat) and the party takes with them a fermented rice beer (ka kiad hiar), in a gourd prepared for the function and a bag of betelnut. In the bride's house also the girl keeps waiting for the bridegroom with her parents, maternal uncle, u ksiang (go-between), the family priest and friends. Sometimes, some of the young men from the bride's house set out to meet the bridegroom's party half-way. The meeting of the two parties is celebrated by exchange of betelnuts. The bridegroom enters the bride's house led by his ksiang who hands him over to the maternal uncle and the father of the bride. The bridegroom is then asked to sit by the side of the bride. Like the bridegroom, the bride also dresses in her best clothes, generally white clothes and wearing her jewellery. The bride as well as all the women present in the function do not cover the head. The bridegroom is given a bag of betelnut which he gives to the bride and the bridegroom also gives her a bag of betelnut and both exchange rings, each putting the ring in the other's fingers. The "ksiangs" from both sides pronounce the terms of marriage contract. When this is done, two gourds of rice beer supplied by each of the parties are given to the priest of the bride's family and three dried fishes are also given to him. The priest puts the fishes on the floor, mixes the beer from the two gourds and prays for the future of the couple. Among the Christians the church elders are informed about the banns. The church elders then announce the banns in the church two or three times before the wedding day. The announcements are made in two or three consecutive Sundays or Wednesdays meetings. When the wedding day arrives, the bride and the bridegroom leave their respective residences with their relatives and friends. Both the parties meet in the church where they pledge before the priest and the congregation to have and to hold, for better and for worse, in sickness and in health, till death them both part. The pastor then proclaims that the two are henceforth bound together as husband and wife, but before doing so, the bridegroom is asked to place the ring on the bride's finger. A single procession led by the couple now proceeds to the bride's place where refreshments are served.

In the case of both Christians as well as non-Christians refreshments are served in both houses, but that in the house of the bridegroom is always much smaller than in the other. From that day onwards the bridegroom departs from his mother's house to remain in his wife's residence, until such time as he finds his own family's establishment.

Beliefs and practices connected with death.

Before something is said about the beliefs and practices connected with death

among the non-Christian villages of Mawnai, it will be very helpful to study some of the popular sayings commonly used by the Khasis. These sayings will help to throw some light about the people's idea of life and death. In connection with life of a person in this world, the Khasis say "wan kamai hok sha ka pyrthei" which means "coming to this world to earn rectitude." This shows that the people are aware of righteousness and sin. To them a righteous or upright life is an ideal way of living in this world. Righteousness as the aim in life is not an ultimate goal. Another popular saying or rather a phrase used when talking about the dead is "bam kwai ha iing u Blei" which means "eating betelnut in the house of God." From here it is clear that the struggle to lead a righteous life in this world is to prepare for the life in the house of God after death. Another saying runs as follows : "u riewrunar un poi sha khyndai-pateng niamra" meaning "a criminal or sinner will go to a place known as hell." The people therefore believe in the reward and the life after death. That life after death is more important to them than life in this world is revealed in the phrase "ka pyrthei shong basa" meaning "the world (life in this world) is only a life in an inn."

Among the non-Christians as soon as a person dies they straighten his hands and feet and wash his body with water. The body is then dressed in his own clothes and laid down on a mat covered by a thin sheet of cloth. They put an egg called "ka 'leng-kpoh' on the stomach of the deceased. After that they light a small lamp and place it near the head of the deceased along with a dish where some rice called 'ka ja miet ja step' is kept. Then a cock known as 'u 'iar-kradlynti' is sacrificed. The place or bed on which the body is laid down is concealed by a temporary screen made of poles, strings, and cloth. Generally, the body is kept in the house for one night, but sometimes it is kept for two or three nights. As long as the body is inside the house some members of the family and friends are to stay awake throughout the night or nights as the case may be. On the funeral day a party of grown up men prepare a bamboo bier locally known as 'ka krong' by which the body is to be carried from the house of deceased to the burning place. In the meantime a group of young men prepare the pyre in the burning place. In Mawnai, pyres are generally made of wood obtained from the 'law-shnong' (village forest) south-west of the village and the bamboos used for the bier are from the village. In the evening the body is placed on the floor of the bier which has been covered by a cloth. The lid of the bier is then closed and fastened with bamboo strings. After that the bier is covered by colourful clothes generally 'dhara' and fastened with the turban cloth or 'muka.' Sometimes an umbrella belonging to the deceased (generally male) is placed on the bier. So also a 'knup' or 'rain shield' is placed on the bier if the deceased is a female. Before the lid of the bier is closed, friends and relatives are called to take a last glimpse of the deceased, and some of them place money close to the dead. Just before the body is taken out of the house by four persons, another cock known as 'u 'iar syngkhong' is sacrificed. The funeral procession is led by three men carrying (1) a burning firewood, (2) a dish where rice loaves, betelnuts, an egg previously kept over the abdomen of the deceased and other things are placed, and (3) a jar of water. The bier comes next and just behind it are the near relatives one of which carries a bundle of the deceased's personal belongings, who are followed by their friends and neighbours. Whenever the procession is about to cross any bridge a man will proceed ahead and put some leaves or plants on it. On reaching the pyre the body is removed from the bier but before it is placed on the pyre all the clothes from the body are removed. The people

believe that as a person comes to this world naked he must also go from it naked. Logs of firewood are placed beneath the pyre and around the body. Setting fire is always led by the male relatives of the deceased and followed by others. The egg, 'ka leng-kpoh', is then thrown on the pyre in the direction of the deceased's feet. Another fowl called 'u iar-padat' is sacrificed and three arrows called 'ki nam tympem' are shot each towards the north, east and south. After taking the clothes, the bier is broken to pieces. The clothes taken from it and those brought to the burning place along with other belongings of the deceased are held over the smoking pyre. These articles afterwards are taken back and may be used by other members of the family. Before leaving, friends and relatives of the deceased place betelnuts on the pyre and bid farewell to the deceased.

Only few grown-up men stay till the body has been thoroughly burnt. The uncalcined bones are collected by them after the fire is extinguished with water. The bones are washed and wrapped in a piece of white cloth. The bundle is then taken to a small bone repository locally known as 'u mawshyieng' by any male person from the clan. On the journey from the burning place to the bone repository the carrier of the bones is not allowed to turn his face back towards the pyre. It is said that from this place the bones will again be removed one day to a bigger bone repository (ka mawbah) along with the bones of others belonging to the same 'kur.' This ceremony is known as 'ka thepmawbah.' However, none of the villagers in Mawnai have seen it during their lifetime and it is impossible for them to supply any information.

To the Christians, the concept of death is the end of the earthly life, but the beginning of a kind of spiritual life. But a man's soul will have to wait for the judgement day in some sort of an intermediary place. After judgment a man's soul may enter into heaven, a paradise where God lives or hell, a place where there is eternal consuming fire.

As soon as a person dies, the body is properly placed on a bed and a temporary screen of cloths is raised around the bed. Early in the next morning the knell is tolled by the church bell. As in the case of the non-Christians, the body is generally kept only one night but sometimes it is kept more than that. On the burial day some villagers go to the cemetery to dig a grave while others who know carpentry engage themselves in making a wooden coffin and help a group of women in covering and lining it with cloth. Another group of women prepare floral wreaths. All labour is contributed free. However, the family members serve tea and betelnuts to the helpers and those who come to pay their homage. When the time for the burial comes, the body is washed with cold or warm water and dressed up in the person's best clothes. The body is then laid in the coffin and the lid closed. The coffin is then taken to the courtyard where all mourners, friends and relatives gather around it. A pastor or an elder of the church performs a memorial service which consists of a hymn, reading from the Bible, a few words of condolence and a prayer. After the service, the coffin is taken to the graveyard, feet first. The procession is led by the bearer of a wooden cross on which the name as well as dates of birth and death of the deceased are written. In the cemetery, the coffin is lowered into the grave. But before the grave is filled up another brief religious ceremony, which is more or less the same as that performed at the courtyard, is held. When the service is over the priest throws three handfuls of earth into the grave praying that dust should go into dust. This action of the priest is followed by others. The grave is then filled up and the cross which accompanies the dead body is then fixed at the head of the grave. Before the people leave the grave, floral wreaths are put on it by friends and relatives of the deceased.

CHAPTER III

VILLAGE ECONOMY

Economic resources

Mawnai is inhabited mainly by agriculturists. The majority of workers in the village are cultivators. Land as an economic resource is, therefore, very important in the society. However, it has been pointed out before that the village has no definite boundaries. On the other hand, it is the practice of the people in this area not to restrict any person, from the village, to choose land for cultivation far away from the village or for people from other villages to cultivate near their village. These two factors will give rise to many problems in the course of the discussion. Economically, land is utilised by the people in five different ways. These are homestead land, wet cultivation land, dry cultivation land, forest land and a grazing land.

It has been pointed out that the house in which the people live occupies only part of most of the homestead lands or compounds in the village. The remaining part, or a greater portion of it, is used by the villagers for growing vegetables, fruits and other things which are partly consumed by the inmates themselves and partly sold for cash. Like most of the agriculturists in the State, most of the households in Mawnai also keep some domestic animals and birds. Thus in most of the compounds sheds for fowls, cattle, sheep, ponies and pig sties are seen.

The flat land and the gentle hill slopes within the residential area and in the neighbouring areas where water is available are converted into wet cultivation land. Paddy is grown in these fields once a year.

Most of the hill slopes in the neighbouring area are used for dry cultivation. Such types of land may again be divided into two groups, some of them are current cultivation lands, while others are current fallow lands. As far as dry cultivation is concerned, it is a usual practice among the Khasis to leave the field fallow for three or four years after cultivating it for one or two seasons. This is done to allow the weed and small trees to grow for the purpose of converting them into manure by burning them to ashes. Thus, there are at present used and un-used dry land. The main crops in these lands are potato (u phan), sweet potato (u phan karo), maize (u riewhadem), and others. But sometimes such lands are also used for dry paddy cultivation.

There are two important forests in connection with the village. The 'Law Lyngdoh' in the south eastern part and the 'Law Shnong' in the south-western part of the village. Good timbers for building construction works are obtained from these two forests. They are also the sources of fire wood for the villagers. However,

some of the dry cultivable lands are left fallow for a considerable period of time so that pines which grow there along with herbs and bushes become quite big. These also serve as sources of fire woods and compound fencing materials for the villagers.

There are many open grasslands in the inhabited part of the village. Some of the old dry cultivable land, the soil of which is too poor to support big weed or small trees, are also occupied by grass. These serve as the grazing lands for the cattle and ponies of the villagers. However, cattle and ponies are also allowed to feed themselves on the plants grown in the current fallows.

Keeping of livestock and poultry rearing is no doubt the most important subsidiary occupation of the villagers. It is clear that this occupation is normally common to an agricultural economy. Of the livestock kept the more common are pigs. The rest are cows, ponies, sheep and goats. Fowls are the only birds kept by the villagers. Pigs and goats and sometimes cows are reared to be sold and hence add up to the family's cash income. Cows are also kept for milk which the owners sell in the village. Fowls are either reared to meet the family requirements of meat and eggs or sometimes sold in the market for cash. The motive behind sheep rearing is for the commercial value of wool. However, the scheme is at an early experimental stage. Unlike the other breed, ponies are kept by the villagers to help them in transporting their products from the place of production to the village and from the village to marketing centres and to bring other goods from the markets to the village and the fields.

Factors influencing economic life in the village

The most important change in the area by which the economic life in the village is influenced is the opening up of the motorable road from Mawngap to Mairang and to some extent the opening up of the fair weather road for light vehicles between the village and Mairang. These two sections of the road are about 15 miles and 3 miles respectively. The first section of the road, that is, the portion between Mawngap and Mairang, was opened for vehicular traffic in the year 1955-56. Before that, the people of Mawnai had to bring their products by ponies up to Mawngap which was then the nearest marketing centre approachable by vehicles. When the road was opened, the trading centre for their products automatically moved to Mairang, which is nearest to the village. According to some of the village elders the opening up of the road not only saves their time and cost but it has also increased their bargaining power and encouraged them to increase the production. Even the three-mile fair-weather road has some effects on the economic life of the people. Besides, of the agricultural products taken right from the village by light vehicles, firewood from the neighbouring forests, which so far had no commercial value, has started to attract the dealers.

As shown earlier, the opening up of the Sheep Rearing Farm at a little distance from the inhabited part of the village to the west has given the people some idea and encouraged them to take up the scheme. The above improvements and reforms took place in the last decade. As a result, some changes have taken place in the economic life of the villagers during the period.

Ownership of economic resources

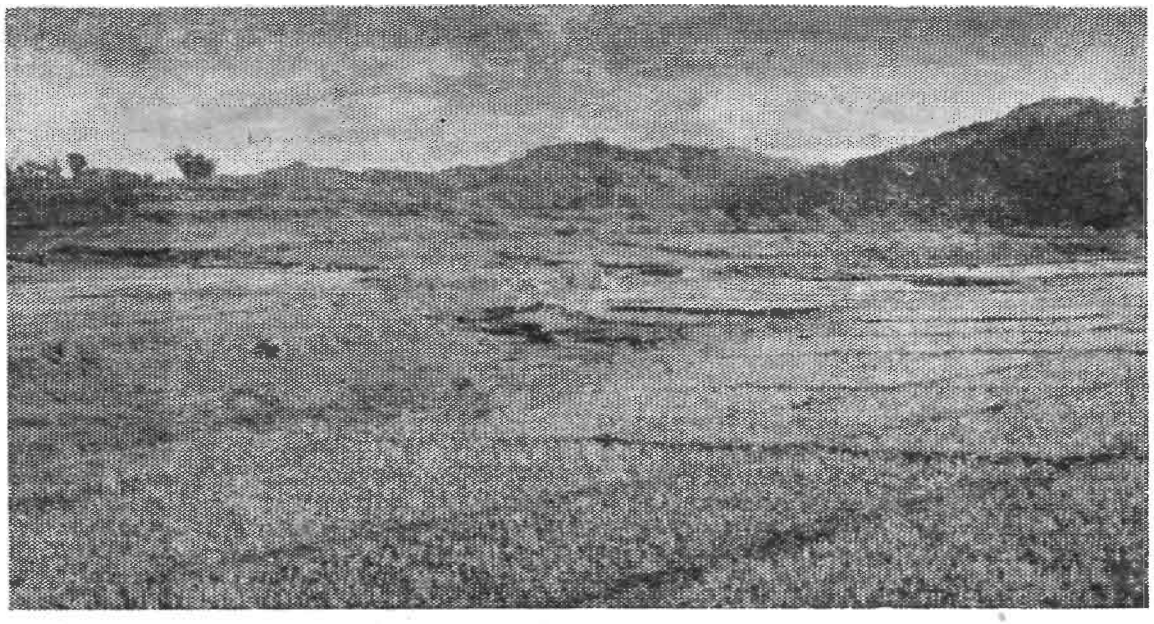
It has been pointed out that the only two economic resources in the village are land and livestock. It is clear that livestocks are private properties, but this is not true for all types of land. Homestead lands and wet cultivable lands are private properties. In the case of homestead land each plot is owned by the household itself,

but in the case of wet cultivable land though they are private properties not all are used by the owners. Some wet paddy land or parts of the wet paddy lands are occasionally leased out to others by the owners. These lands are the most precious possessions of the villagers. Out of the 72 households taken up in the survey, 60 households are wet cultivable land holders and 72 households practise wet cultivation. Of the wet landholders, 41 households have just enough land for cultivation only by the family members while 19 households lease out part of their wet land. 12 households are engaged in wet paddy cultivation in the fields taken from others. Most of the dry cultivation lands are what is known by the people as 'Ri Raij'. The 'Ri Raijs' are community lands or lands owned by the community. People can cultivate these lands free of cost. As long as the people are using them with the permission of the village or raij Durbar they are regarded as the owners of the lands. But as soon as they stop using them, others can take them from the above durbar. However, at present, the people of Mawnai try to stick to the same place and use it year after year for cultivation. When they find that the soil in the cultivated plots are no longer suitable for cultivation, they sow pine seeds and later claim that the pine trees and the land belong to them. In short, at present, there is a tendency in the village to convert these 'raij' lands into private lands. In most cases the effort of the people to improve any raij land gives them the right of ownership to it.

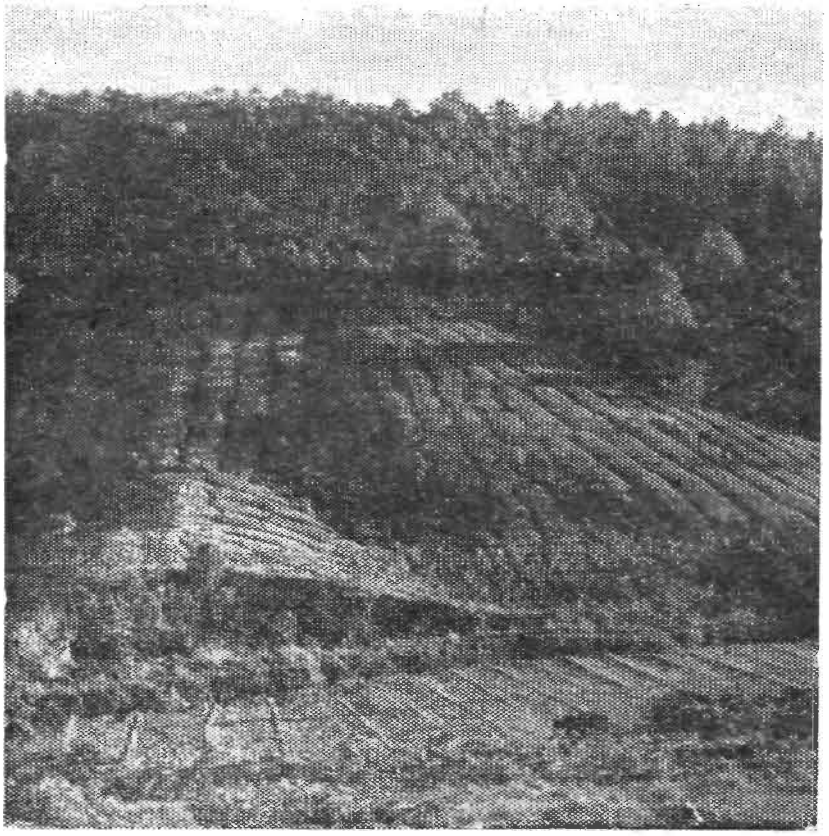
It has been pointed out that there are two important forest lands, the 'Law Lyngdoh' and the 'Law Shnong'. The 'Law Lyngdoh' is the property of the Lyngdoh Mawnai Clan. Only the females belonging to the Lyngdoh Mawnai clan and the un-married males of the clan can utilise the products of these forests. None of them are allowed to sell the products individually. But sometimes the clan durbar or the durbar kur decides to sell some of the products. In this case the income is either distributed among the female members of the clan or credited to the fund of the clan.

Practices connected with agriculture :

Pasturages are purely community lands. By nature, the villagers of Mawnai, as other Khasis, are hard working people. Judging from the calendar of annual activities, the agriculturists are busy throughout the year. Sometime in the month of December (u Nohprah) the people close down their old year activities and start new ones. The first activity of the year is the farmers' preparation of the potato gardens. Late in December and early in January (u Kylla lyngkot) weeds and small trees growing in a place chosen for potato cultivation are cut down with the help of a bill-hook (ka wait prat). Sometimes with the help of a large dao (ka wait lyngngun) or an axe (u sdie) big trees in the place are cut down. The trunks of such trees are removed from the place after converting them into square timbers or fire wood with the help of the above dao or axe. However in some cases only the lower branches of such trees are cut down. Weeds, branches and small trees are exposed to the action of the sun and the wind for sometime. In the month of March (Lber), when all of them are dry, the arrangement starts. The dried trees are first arranged in rows, sods are removed from the ground and turned over on the rows. Few days after the rows are properly covered by the turnedover sods fire is applied. In this process trees, weed, and sods are gradually reduced into ashes. Woods not consumed by fire and pebbles are then removed and the ground is then pulverised. Potato is sown on these beds with the help of a small hoe. According to the villagers, in the last five or six years other manure such as bonemeal or ammonium sulphate is also used during the sowing season of potato. After cutting the trees and before arranging them into 'buns' the people are free from the potato

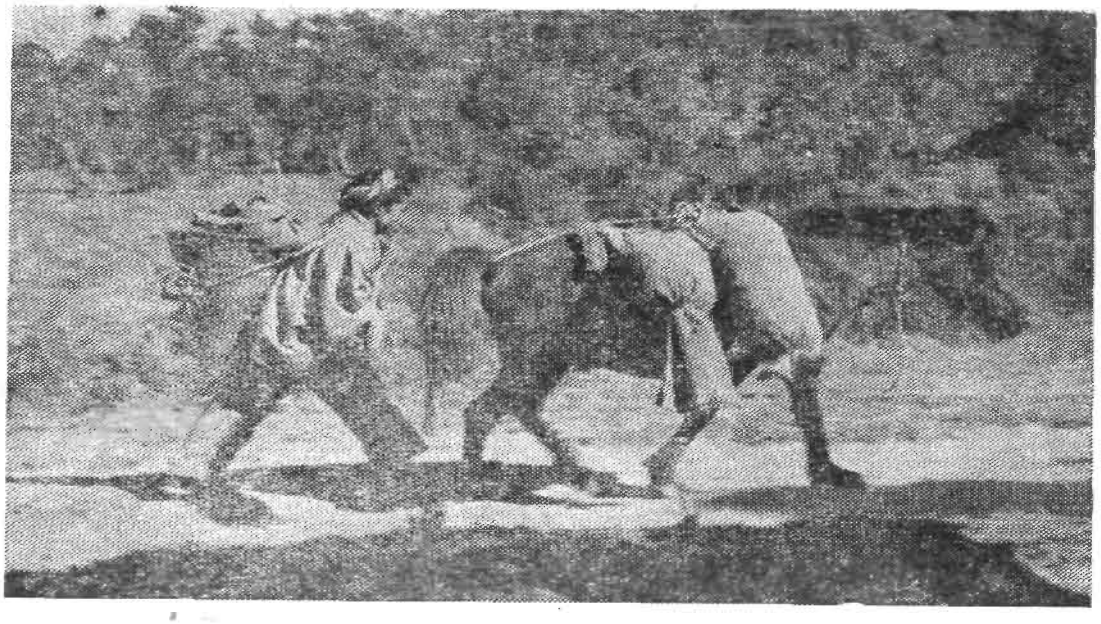


A paddy field after harvesting is over

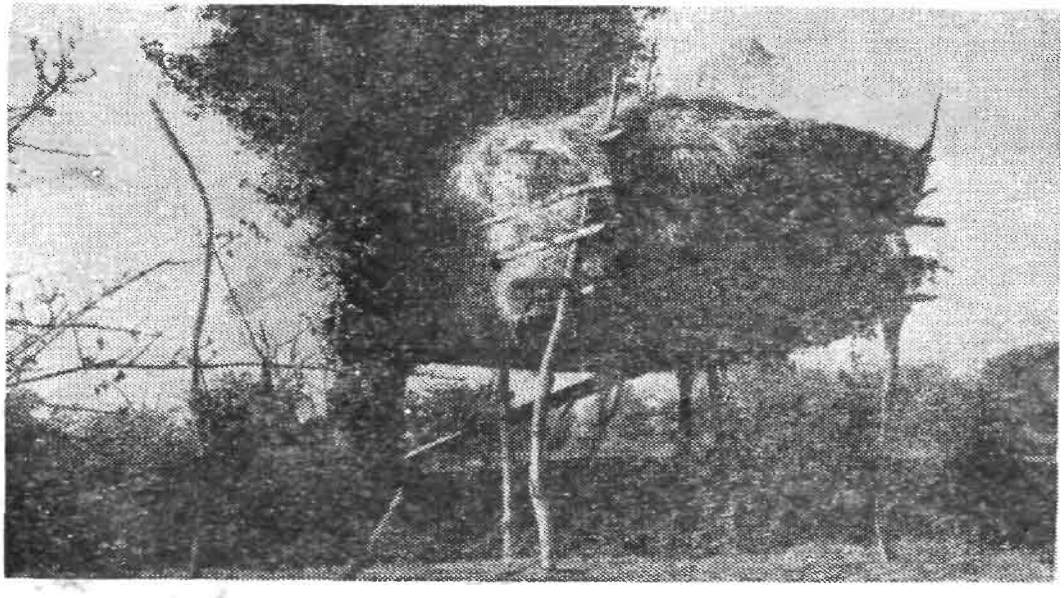


A paddy field adjoining a potato cultivation

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A villager coming home from his fields



A platform where hay is kept

gardens. But this is the time for the preparation of wet paddy fields. Flat and flattened land are divided up into little compartments by means of banks about one foot high. The water is brought to the wet paddy land (pynthor) by means of skilfully constructed irrigation works and is let in at will into the compartments (hali). The soil in the watered 'halis' are in this period made into a thick paste through the agency of a crescent shaped khasi-hoe (u mohkhiew). The preparation of the 'pynthors' continue till the end of March or the middle of April (laiong). The potato sowing season is followed by the sowing season of paddy. Generally, broadcasting is the only process in which paddy is sown in the areas but lately, due to the influence of the Community Development Block some of the villages have adopted the transplanting method. Of the households covered in the survey about 17% have adopted the new method. In the new method a small plot of dry land on the hill slope is chosen and the soil thoroughly pulverised. Paddy seeds are sown in this plot during the month of April and transplanted to the 'pynthors' during the month of June (Jylliew) when the seedlings are about 8 inches to 10 inches high. About 23% of the households covered in the survey are reported to have been using bonemeal to manure paddy fields in the last four or five years. Highland paddy (u kba lum) is usually cultivated in the old potato gardens just before the commencement of the rainy season, that is, in the month of March and April. The lands in which potato was cultivated in the previous year is pulverised and all weeds are removed. This type of paddy is sown as soon as the summer rain starts falling, that is, in the later part of March or the beginning of April. After this the people turn to their homestead land gardens. By then the soil is softened by rain, so digging and pulverising of the soil are done with great ease especially with the help of their sharp bladed-hoe. Then comes the sowing season of maize (u riewhadem), sweet potato (u phan karo) and other vegetables such as pumpkin (pathaw) gourd (u klong), chilli (soh mynken), mustard plant (tyrso) etc. By the time sowing in the homestead land garden is completed the workers are required for weeding in one field after another and they engage themselves in this work till the month of July (Naitung) and August (Nailar). This is followed by the harvesting of potato in the month of August and September (Nailur). Then comes the harvesting season of maize, sweet potato and other vegetables. In the latter part of September and throughout the month of October (Risaw) the villagers are engaged in harvesting of high land paddy but wet land paddy is not harvested till the month of November (Naiwieng) and December (Nohprah). The ears are cut with a sickle (ka rashi) and are placed together in sheaves which are left in the field for few days to dry. The sheaves are then collected in a single heap near the threshing floor already prepared in the field. Threshing is done by beating the sheaves against a stone (u maw shoh kba).

Winnowing–When threshing is over, a small wooden platform is made for winnowing. Men standing near the platform passes the basket of paddy to the man who stands on the platform. The latter empties the basket after raising it a little. Empty ears and straw, being lighter than the grain, are scattered by the wind. The grain is then collected in jute sacks and taken to the people's residences where it is kept in large receptacles (thiar) made of split bamboo (siej). Husking of rice is done later with the help of the mortar (thlong) and the pestle (synrei). From time to time, before husking, a small quantity of paddy is spread on a big bamboo mat (shylliah) to dry. The husked rice from the mortar is removed to a bamboo basket (shang), then a small quantity of it is taken in bamboo trays in which the paddy husk is removed from rice with the help of the wind. The tray is locally known as 'prah.' It is a square tray with one side open and three sides raised a little to prevent rice from falling. Rice from the 'prah' is again removed into another tray known as 'pdung' by

which rice is removed from the unhusked paddy. The 'pdung' is a round bamboo tray with the raised rim to prevent rice and paddy from falling outside. Nearly all the agricultural products are partly consumed and partly sold, but paddy, potato and maize are the most important crops as the sources of cash for the villagers. Paddy, as pointed out above, are kept in large receptacles and sold from time to time after husking. It has been informed that the largest quantity of their stock is usually released just before the next harvest. Maize is kept in a peculiar manner hanging from poles laid across the kitchen just below the roof. Before selling it, the grains are separated from the ears by hands or by beating against a piece of wood. Since potato is a perishable item and the proper method of preserving it is unknown to the people, they prefer to sell just after harvesting it. However, many claim that the absence of space for storing makes them sell it as early as possible.

A list of agricultural products and the quantities produced, consumed and sold as well as the amount realised from sales is given in the table below.

TABLE 3.1

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCE AND DISPOSAL

Name of agricultural produce	YEAR 1962			
	Quantity produced (units specified)	Quantity consumed by the producing households (units specified)	Quantity sold	Amount realised in Rupees
1	2	3	4	5
1. Paddy	2,998 mds	2,125 mds	873 mds	Rs. 17,460
2. Potato	1,716 mds	899 mds	817 mds	Rs. 12,255
3. Maize	842 mds	283 mds	559 mds	Rs. 5,590
4. Vegetable	Rs. 5,592/—	Rs. 2,611/—	Rs. 2,981/—	Rs. 2,981
5. Fruits	Rs. 463/—	Rs. 166/—	Rs. 297/—	Rs. 297

Practices connected with animal husbandry including poultry rearing

In dealing with the utilization of different types of land it has been pointed out that nearly in every compound there are cattle and fowl sheds. It is clear that livestock and poultry rearing is normally common to an agricultural economy. Of the cattle and birds kept the more common are pigs and fowls. While fowls are either reared to meet the family requirements or sometime sold for cash, pigs are reared only to meet the family requirement of cash. Fowls are provided with a small shed built with wooden planks and thatch, generally four or five feet above the ground. Hanging on the walls of the sheds are some baskets containing dry soft grass or pine needles where hens can lay their eggs. Generally fowls are allowed to roam freely and search for their food. However, some maize and paddy are given to them by the owners early in the morning and late in the evening. The pigs are also provided with a shed and a little space fenced in on all sides. Inside the fence a wooden trough is placed where food for pigs are to be poured. Small pigs, the reproduction of former stock or bought, are raised in this pen and they are fed on filthy food, boiled herbs and vegetables, husk and other things. Generally pigs are kept for ten months or a year before they are sold but in some cases they are sold in the second year. Ponies, goats, cows and sheep are provided with sheds. Save for salt or salt water given by the owners, these domestic animals are allowed to roam and

feed themselves in the grass-lands. Cows are kept for milk. They are milked by the owners every morning and the milk is sold in the village. Like pigs, goats are reared to meet the family cash requirement. Unlike the others ponies are used for transporting goods from one place to another. Wool production is the motive behind sheep rearing, but the scheme is too new for any comment.

Livestock rearing is no doubt the subsidiary occupation of the villagers. The amount of labour spent by each household in the occupation is very small. Yet it is one of the main sources of cash of the people. Judging from the amount spent, in terms of cash and labour, and the income from the occupation, livestock rearing is much profitable than cultivation. But absence of marketing facilities forces them to stick to cultivation.

The number of animals and the number of households keeping them are given in the table below :

Table 3.2

Livestock Statistics

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Cows		Pigs		Sheep		Goats		Pony		Fowls	
	No. of house-holds	Total No.	No. of house-holds	Total No.	No. of house-holds	Total No.	No. of house-holds	Total No.	No. of house-holds	Total No.	No. of house-holds	Total No.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
Khasi (Tribal)	3	16	72	188	4	14	13	39	27	28	72	859

The income from animal husbandry is worth mentioning. Apart from the fact that some of the domestic animals can be converted into cash whenever the household finds that it is in a very acute financial position, the amount also is not so small. However, income from sources like ponies cannot be calculated separately and up till the time of survey no income had been realised from the households' sheep rearing scheme. The annual gross income of the 72 households covered in the survey from livestock is Rs. 12,562.00. This includes both the income in kind, that is, livestock and livestock products consumed directly by the owners, and income in cash. The income from this source in the 70 households having cultivation as the main occupation is Rs. 12322.00 or 11.09% of the total income of the whole group. On the other hand the income of the 2 households having service as the main occupation is Rs. 240.00 or 5.63% of the total income of the whole group. The average income per household from this source in the first group is Rs. 176.03 while in the second it is Rs. 120.00. This shows that livestock rearing plays a more important role in the economic life of the cultivators than in that of the workers in other services.

The two schools and the Sheep Rearing Farm mentioned earlier are the only institutions in which there are employment facilities for the people within the village. The opening of many institutions in Mairang village, which is not very far from this village, has extended the employment facilities for the people of Mawnai. The facilities provided are meant only for those who have got a little education. However, it seems as if such people prefer to leave the village altogether and start living in bigger centres like Shillong and others. The income of those serving in the institutions within or near

the village is very small. Judging from the time spent in service the occupation may be regarded as the main occupation, especially when the employee is the head of the family. But as far as family income is concerned it has been found that agriculture, though in this case regarded as the subsidiary occupation, is the main source of income. Further, like other villagers, they supplement their income by keeping a small livestock. Both the schools in the village are morning schools, that is, classes are held during the morning hours, from 6.30 A. M. to 10.30 A. M. So the teacher has got plenty of time to join the other working members of the family. Besides, during school holidays, he joins them in the fields. But those who serve in the Block Office or in the Sheep Rearing Centre have to work during the day time. They therefore have no time to work in the fields with other working members of the family during the working days. Even then they never hesitate to lend a helping hand whenever they have a day off from their office. However, it has been pointed out that nearly all the households in the village have a small vegetable garden and a small livestock to attend to. The office workers, therefore, spend most of their spare time in these gardens and in looking after their livestock.

The income from service in the two households is Rs. 1680.00 or 39.37% of the total income of the two households.

Adjustment of subsidiary to the main occupation.

In the 72 households covered in the survey or one-third of the total households in the village, it has been found that while 70 households have cultivation, only 2 households have service, as the main occupation. One household out of the 70 households having cultivation as the main occupation has a working member engaged in service. It has been pointed out before that even in the two households having service as the main occupation, cultivation is another important occupation. Cultivation may therefore be regarded as the most important occupation of the village. Save for the three persons having service as their main occupation all workers in the 72 households spend most of their time in the fields or gardens. In the fields or gardens there is no demarcation between the works of a man and a woman. However, heavy or hard works are always taken up by male workers. But this does not mean that male workers will not take up easy works. It has been observed that in the working days, only very few grown up people remain in their houses during the day time most of them being very old or sick persons. The only days in which most of the workers are found in their houses are Sunday, and the Langstieh Bazar day, that is, the day in which the market is held at Mairang Pyndemumiong. This market place is the nearest to the village and like all Khasi markets it is held once every eight days. In the working days all those who are to work in the fields or gardens prepare to go and complete some of their home work in the early hours of the day. Before 6 a.m. water is brought by some of the members, while others prepare their morning and midday meals or open and feed their livestock and attend to other works. Between 6 a. m. and 7 a. m. all the workers start for their working area. The home work during the day is attended to by the younger members of the family. They remain in their working place till four or five in the evening. After that they return to their houses. In the remaining hours of the evening the workers once again attend to the various works waiting for them at home. Some of them bring water, others feed the livestock and see that all of them enter their respective sheds before closing, while others prepare their evening meal. This is the general daily function of the workers, both male and female. But sometimes some of the workers are diverted from their daily works. While other working members of the family are enga-

ged in the field, some of them have to go to the marketing centres to purchase new tools or repair the old ones, to purchase seeds, fertilizers or to buy some family requirements. Besides, from time to time some of the family members are required to take the family products to the market place or marketing centres. There is no hard and fast rule as to who should perform these duties. Any working member, male or female, can do it. Sometimes more than one member are called to attend to these duties. The only time when all the workers are not allowed to go to their work is when any person in the village dies. Sometimes some workers are prevented from going to their work when any family member, friend or relative is seriously ill, or when there is a delivery case or a marriage ceremony in the family, the family of the relatives or friends or a neighbour needs help in constructing or repairing the house.

It has been pointed out that the home work, during the day time is attened to by younger members of the family. In this connection it may be pointed out that, though helpful, these younger members are not considered as workers. The work left to be done by them is an easy one and all hard work is either done in the morning by the workers before they go to their working area or in the evening after returning home. Most of the younger members are students. Occasionally these children enjoy helping their elders in the fields. It has been pointed out that whenever the employees are off duty they join their family members in the fields, gardens or other works.

Workers and Non-workers

The division of the population of the village into workers and non-workers is based on 334 persons found in the 72 households covered in the survery. Out of the population of 334 persons, of which 156 are males and 178 are females, 191 persons or 57.3 per cent are workers of which 92 are males and 99 females. It has been found out that in the age group between 15 to 59 years, there are 174 person of which 85 are males and 89 females. All persons falling within this group may be considered as constituting a 'labour force' that is they are fit to take up any profession. But the 'working force', that is, the number of persons actually engaged in different occupations, found in the 72 households are 92 males and 99 females totalling 191 persons. The actual working force is therefore greater than the labour force. It has been found that 10 persons or 6.7 per cent of the people in age group 0-14 are workers. Of these 2 are males and 8 females. Again, in the age group 60 and above, 11 persons or 100 percent of persons falling within this age group are workers. Of these 11 persons, 7 are males and 4 are females. The total workers falling outside the age-group of the 'labour force' are 9 males and 12 females totalling 21 persons. On the other hand, only 4 persons, 2 males and 2 females from the labour force are non-workers. The working force, therefore exceeds the labour force by 17 persons, 7 males and 10 females. The graph shows the workers and the non-workers in the 72 households surveyed in the village.

Of the 143 non-workers 64 are males and 79 females. Out of these 45 males and 44 females, that is, 89 persons, are children attending school. 85 persons including 43 males and 42 females fall in the age group 0 to 14 years and 4 persons including 2 males and 2 females belong to the age-group 15 to 34 years. In this connection it may be pointed out that the 4 non-workers from the labour force are students. The remaining 54 persons/19 males and 35 females are mostly young children and infants below the school-going age. The figures in the discussion are based on table 22 at the appendix.

In short, it appears as if all persons fall within the labour force, save for those

attending schools and workers. Further, some start to work even before they reach the age of 15 years while many continue to work even after passing the age of 59 years.

Indebtedness

It has been found that though they are hard working people, some of them are in debt. Of the 72 households taken up in the survey 10 were found to be in debt. There are 69 households having an annual income of more than Rs. 1,200/- and out of these 9 household informed that they had taken loan from their friends. There are also 3 households having an annual income between Rs. 901 and Rs. 1,200. Of these one household had taken loan from friends. The total amount of debt taken by the 9 households falling in the first income group is Rs. 4,950 and the amount of loan taken by the household in the second income group is Rs. 400. The figures are based on the table 16 at the Appendix.

Turning to the causes which the members of the household advance for taking the loan, it has been found that 8 households take loan in connection with their occupation, one household in connectoin with construction of the house and another household to meet the medical expenses of the members. The causes, the number of households in debt and the amount taken for each cause is given in the table below

Table 3.3

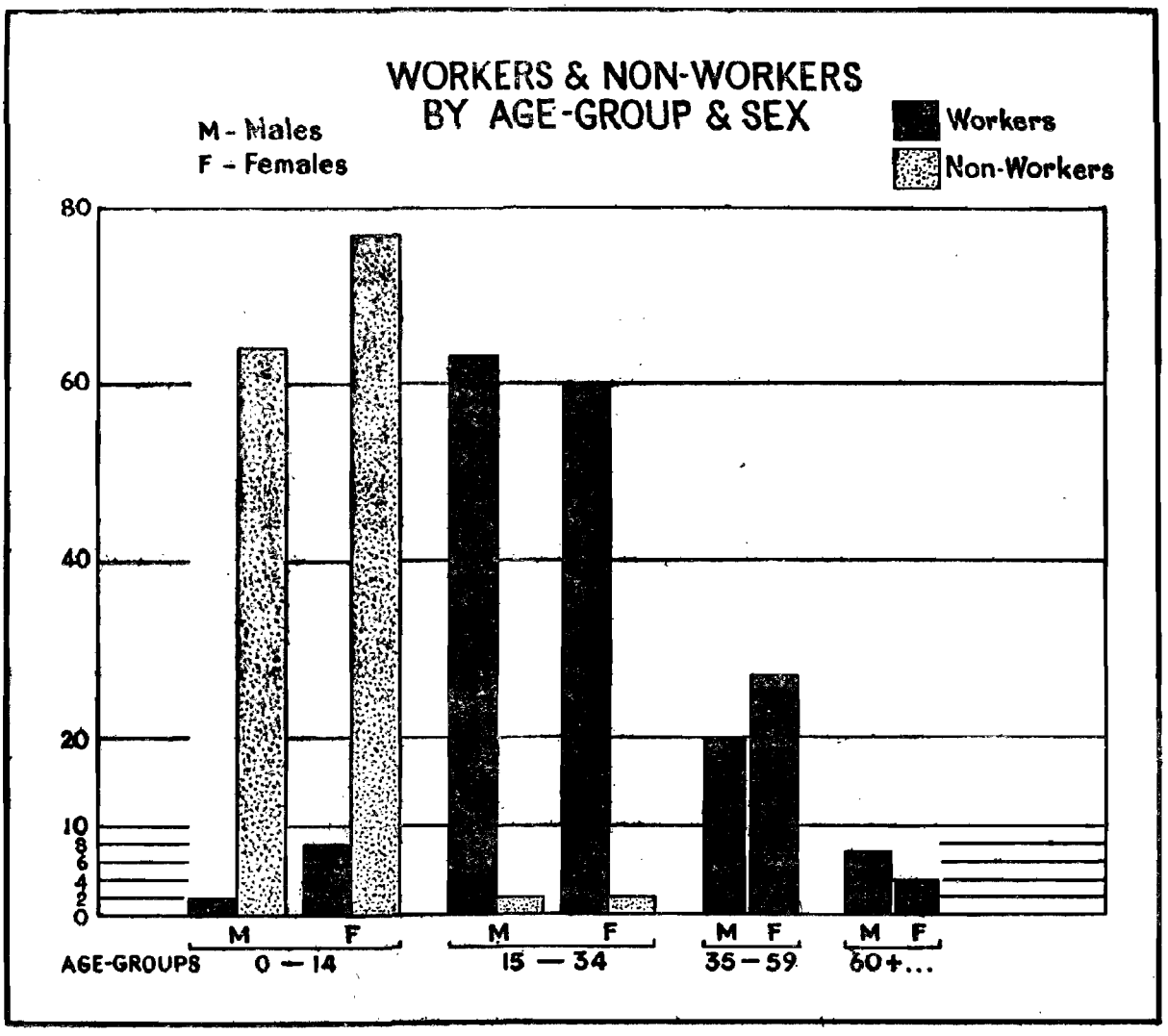
INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSES, AMOUNT AND NO. OF HOUSEHOLDS

Causes	Amount of debt	No. of households in debt	Agency from which debt taken
1	2	3	4
1. To extend and improve paddy fields	Rs. 2,150	4	Friends
2. To improve irrigation for paddy fields	Rs. 1,500	3	,,
3. Medical expenses	Rs. 700	1	Friends
4. To build a new wet paddy field	Rs. 600	1	,,
5. To build a new house	Rs. 400	1	,,
	Rs. 5,350	10	

From the above table it appears that a large number of families are in debt and a large amount of the debt taken is in connection with constructive works or projects, while some households are forced by circumstances to take a small amount from their friends. The rates of interest charged for the loans are between 2.50 per cent and 7.50 per cent. Loans are supplied by friends, and in no case security is necessary.

Income

The total annual income of the 72 households visited in the survery is about Rs. 115,377.00. This figure includes the value of those products consumed or utilised by the producers themselves. The average annual income per household is, therefore, Rs. 1602.46 and the average daily income per person is Re. 0.95. Taking the households having different main occupations, it is found that the average annual income per household of those having cultivation as the main occupation is Rs.1587.29, that is, about Rs. 15.17 less than the general average given above. On the other hand, the average annual income per household of those having service as the main occupation is about Rs. 2133.50 or Rs. 531.04 more than the general average. The average annual income of the households having cultivation as the main occupation will fall further down if the household having service as the subsidiary occupation is treated separately. The total annual income of this household is Rs. 2530.00 while from service alone the household gets Rs. 960.00 annually.


WORKERS & NON-WORKERS
BY AGE-GROUP & SEX
M - Males
F - Females
Workers
Non-Workers
80
60
40
20
10
8
6
4
2
0
M F
M F
M F
M F
AGE-GROUPS
0 — 14
15 — 34
35 — 59
60+...

In the 70 households having cultivation as the main occupation, the total income from cultivation is Rs. 97828.00 or 88.05% of the total income of the group, the total income from livestock is Rs. 12322.00 or 11.09% and the income from service is Rs. 960.00 or 0·86% of the total income of the group. In the two households having service as the main occupation the total annual income from service is Rs. 1680.00 or 39.37% of the total income of the group, the total annual income from cultivation is Rs. 2347.00 or 55% of the total income of the group and the total annual income from livestock is Rs. 240.00 or 5.63% of the total income of the group. In the second group the income from cultivation which is considered as the subsidiary occuapation is much higher than the income from service which is considered as the main occupation. But in the first group the income from the main occupation is much higher than the income from any of the subsidiary occupations or of all the subsidiary occupations combined. The average annual income per household in the first group from cultivation is Rs. 1397.55 while that of the second group is Rs. 1173.50. The difference between the two figures is not so much. This shows that cultivation is still holding a very high position in the whole economy of the villagers. Even when one working member is engaged elsewhere, cultivation is conducted smoothly by the remaining workers of the family. Broadly speaking the average fall of agricultural products in general by the absence of one working member is less than proportionate. On the other hand, considering the amount brought by those working members from service and the average fall of agricultural products due to their absence, there is no doubt that the combination is much profitable. Unfortunately, employment facility in or around the village is very limited.

The annual income by sources, both main and subsidiary, is given in the table below.

Table 3.4

Annual income by sources

Main Occupation	No. of h/h	Sources of income	No. of h/h	Income: Per source in Rupees	Income: P.C. to total income	Income: Total
Cultivation	70	Cultivation	70	97,828	88.05%	
		Service	1	960	0.86%	Rs. 111,110
		Livestock	70	12,322	11.09%	
Service	2	Service	2	1,680	39.37%	
		Cultivation	2	2,347	55.00%	Rs. 4,267
		Livestock	2	240	5.63%	
Grand Total	72					Rs. 115,377

The range of income householdwise is from Rs. 1092 to Rs. 2530. Out of the 72 households covered in the survey there are 3 households with an annual income between Rs. 901/- and Rs. 1,200/-, 26 households between Rs. 1,201 and Rs. 1,500/-, 27 households between Rs. 1,501 and Rs. 1,800/, 12 households between Rs. 1,801/- and Rs. 2,100/- and 2 households above Rs. 2,100. One household having service as the main occupation is in the annual income group Rs. 1,801 and Rs. 2,100.00 while another one is in the income group Rs. 2,101 & above and is the only household having service as the main occupation falling in this highest income group.

Expenditure

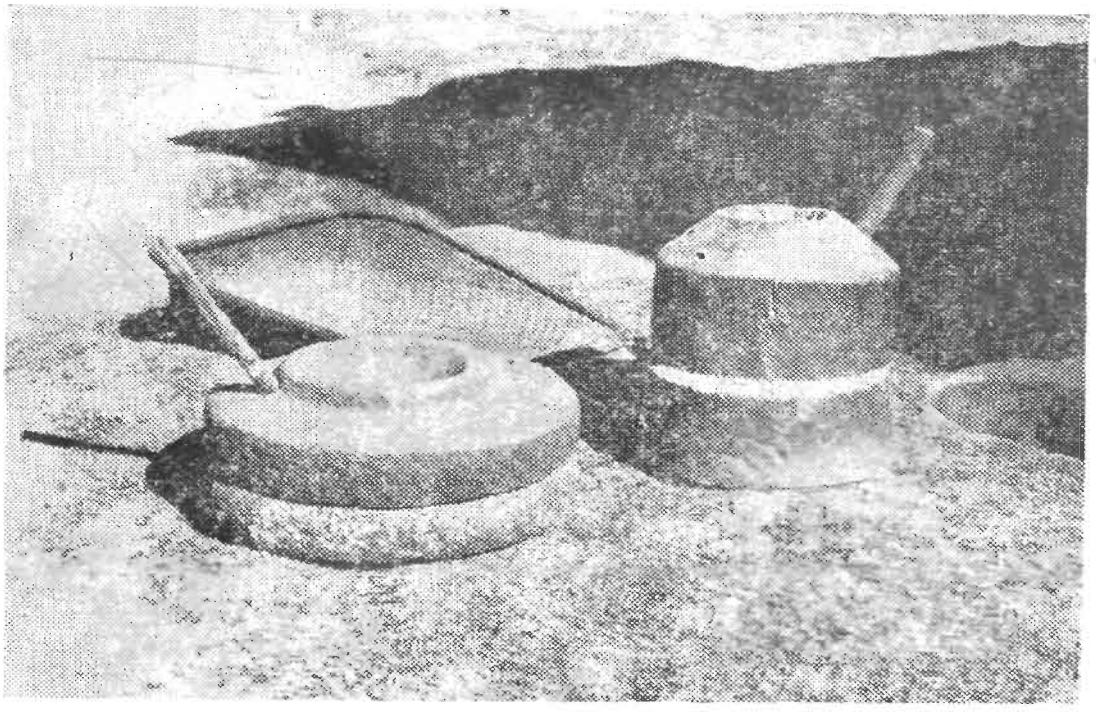
In discussing about the expenditure, the 72 households covered in the survey may first be divided into two groups according to the main occupation of the households. Next, the two groups are further divided into sub-groups based on the household annual income. The main items of expenditure are expenditure on food, clothing, medicines and medical treatments, rent, ceremonies in connection with death, agriculture, education and for the maintenance of livestock and houses. Expenditure on food includes that on all foods and drinks. Part of the expenditure is in kind, that is, by estimating the value of agricultural and animal products consumed or used by the producers themselves, in terms of money. The other part is total cash payment for consumer's goods bought from the market. Part of paddy, potato, maize, vegetables and fruits produced are either consumed or used as next season seeds by the producers themselves while the rest are sold. Other foods like fishes, both fresh and dry, meat, mustard oil, salt, tea leaves, sugar, milk, and others, which are not produced by the people themselves are bought from the market. Expenditure on agriculture includes amount spent on tools, manure and seeds. Expenditure for maintenance of livestock includes construction of sheds, animal food, price paid for young cattle and wages paid to those who tend the cattle. The expenditure for maintenance of houses include cost for minor annual repair, purchasing of furniture and utensil and kerosene oil. Among the cultivators, the more they get the more they spend on food, while expenditure on clothing, maintenance of houses, medicine and medical treatment decreases or remain constant. Among the households having service as the main occupation, expenditure on food decreases with every increase in income. So also is expenditure on clothing and maintenance of houses.

Out of the 72 households only 46 households reported to have incurred expenditure on education, 12 households on rent, and 3 households on death. In connection with education it may be pointed out that some households send their children to Mairang or Shillong for study. In this case the expenditure of those households on this item is much higher than that of the other households. The table below shows the average expenditure on education by households in different income groups. In this table only those households having expenditure on this item are taken into consideration.

Table 3.5

Average Expenditure on Education

Occupation	No. of households	Group		Average Expenditure on Education				
		Income	No. of households	Total No. of households spending	For Student Studying within the village		For Student Studying outside the village	
					No. of households	Expenditure	No. of households	Expenditure
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Cultivation	70	Rs. 901-1200	3	2	2	Rs. 16.00	—	
		Rs. 1201-1500	26	16	15	Rs. 26.13	1	Rs. 420.00
		Rs. 1501-1800	27	14	12	Rs. 39.33	2	Rs. 311.50
		Rs. 1801-2100	12	10	9	Rs. 40.22	1	Rs. 300.00
		Rs. 2101 & above	2	2	2	Rs. 80.07	—	
Service	2	Rs- 901-1200	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Rs. 1201-1500	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Rs. 1501-1800	—	—	—	—	—	—
		Rs. 1801-2101	1	1	—	—	1	Rs. 600.00
		Rs. 2101 & above	1	1	—	—	1	Rs. 960.00



Grinding stones and wooden crusher

The majority of household have an annual expenditure between Rs. 1201 and Rs. 2100.00. Only 3 out of 72 households have an annual expenditure less than Rs. 1201.00 and more than Rs. 2101.00 respectively.

The pattern of expenditure of the 72 households covered in the survey is given in the table below.

Table 3.6

PATTERN OF EXPENDITURE

Main occupation		Groups			Percentage per item to the total expenditure of each income group									
Occupation	No. of h/h	Income groups	No. of h/h per income group	Total expenditure per income group (in Rupees)	Food	Clothing	Maintenance of house	Education	Medical charges	Maintenance of livestock	Rent	Death ceremony	Agriculture	Miscellaneous
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Cultivation	70	Rs. 901-1200	3	Rs. 3,360	65.92	11.52	4.83	0.95	2.74	3.54	—	—	4.70	5.80
		Rs. 1201-1500	26	Rs. 34,028	62.41	9.92	3.91	2.39	3.40	3.05	4.41	0.21	5.07	5.23
		Rs. 1501-1800	27	Rs. 42,352	65.18	8.76	3.56	2.59	3.16	4.19	4.01	—	3.96	4.59
		Rs. 1801-2100	12	Rs. 22,614	70.40	7.71	3.09	2.93	1.92	5.10	—	1.03	4.07	3.75
		Rs. 2101 & above	2	Rs. 4,213	75.27	6.79	2.80	3.80	2.14	2.89	—	—	2.70	3.61
Service	2	Rs. 901-1200												
		Rs. 1201-1500												
		Rs. 1501-1800												
		Rs. 1801-2100	1	Rs. 1,871	50.19	7.70	2.99	32.07	0.86	0.96	—	—	1.92	3.31
		Rs. 2101 & above	1	Rs. 2,372	41.53	6.16	2.61	38.61	2.02	3.12	—	—	2.87	3.08

From the above table it seems as if people spend more on education as their income increases. Only 12 households out of 72 hired land for cultivation. Half of them are in the income group Rs. 1201/- to Rs. 1500/- and half in the income group Rs. 1501/- to Rs. 1800/-. The average amount of rent paid by the households in the first income group is Rs. 250.00 and that of those in the second group Rs. 283.33. Three households reported to have incurred expenditure in connection with death. One of these households is in income group from Rs. 1201 to Rs. 1500/- and the amount spent is Rs. 72.00. The remaining households having expenditure on this item are in the income group Rs. 1801 to Rs. 2100 and the average expenditure on the item is Rs. 117.00.

The average annual expenditure per household of different income groups and occupations are shown in the table 14 in the Appendix.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL & CULTURAL LIFE

Mawnai is a village inhabited by the Khasis. As pointed out earlier the village is far away from the borders of the district which is the land in which the Khasis live. The villagers are, therefore, less if not altogether free from the influence of the people living beyond the boundary of the district. The British conquest is, however, a turning point. There is no doubt that, before the British conquest, the society in the village was a homogeneous one. All the villagers belonged to the same ethnic group, speaking the same language, having the same culture and professing the same religion. When the British came in the second quarter of the 19th century, they brought with them a new religion, that is, Christianity. The conversion of some of the villagers into Christianity brought about the splitting up of the villagers into two religious groups—the Khasi Christians and the Khasi non-Christians. Apart from the change in religion, there have been also certain changes in other fields of social and cultural life of the Khasi Christians. It is said that demarcations between the two groups were stronger in the early period of Christianity in these hills than what they are at present.

Age & Sex

In the 72 households covered in the survey there are 334 persons of whom 156 are males and 178 females. In the age group O to 14 there are 149 persons of whom 64 are males and 85 females. In the age group 15 to 24 there are 38 males and 39 females totalling 77. In the age group 25 to 59 there are 97 persons of whom 47 are males and 50 are females, and in age group 60 and above, there are 7 males and 4 females totalling 11. About 44.61% of this population is in the age group below 15 years, 23.10% in the age group between 15 to 24, 29.04% in the age group between 25 and 59 and 3.3% are above 59 years. If persons of the age group below 15 years and above 59 years may be considered as non-earning members while persons of the age group 15 to 59 years may be considered as earning members, it is found that 48% or nearly half of the population depend for their living on 52% or the other half of the population. Regarding sex-wise distribution of the population, it has been found that there are 876 males for 1000 females. It appears as if the female population of the village is rather high in comparison with the male population. However, the figures of the 1961 census reports, in which the population of the whole village was recorded, show that there are 462 males and 493 females totalling 955. On the face of these figures, the village has a sex ratio of 937 males for every 1000 females. Here even though the female population is higher than the male population, the difference is not so great.

The population in the 72 households

is further analysed and represented by the graph which is based on the figures showing the population by sex and age group in table 7 in the Appendix.

Marriage

The classification of the population in the 72 households covered in the survey by marital status is shown in the table below :

Table 4.1

Classification of population by Marital Status

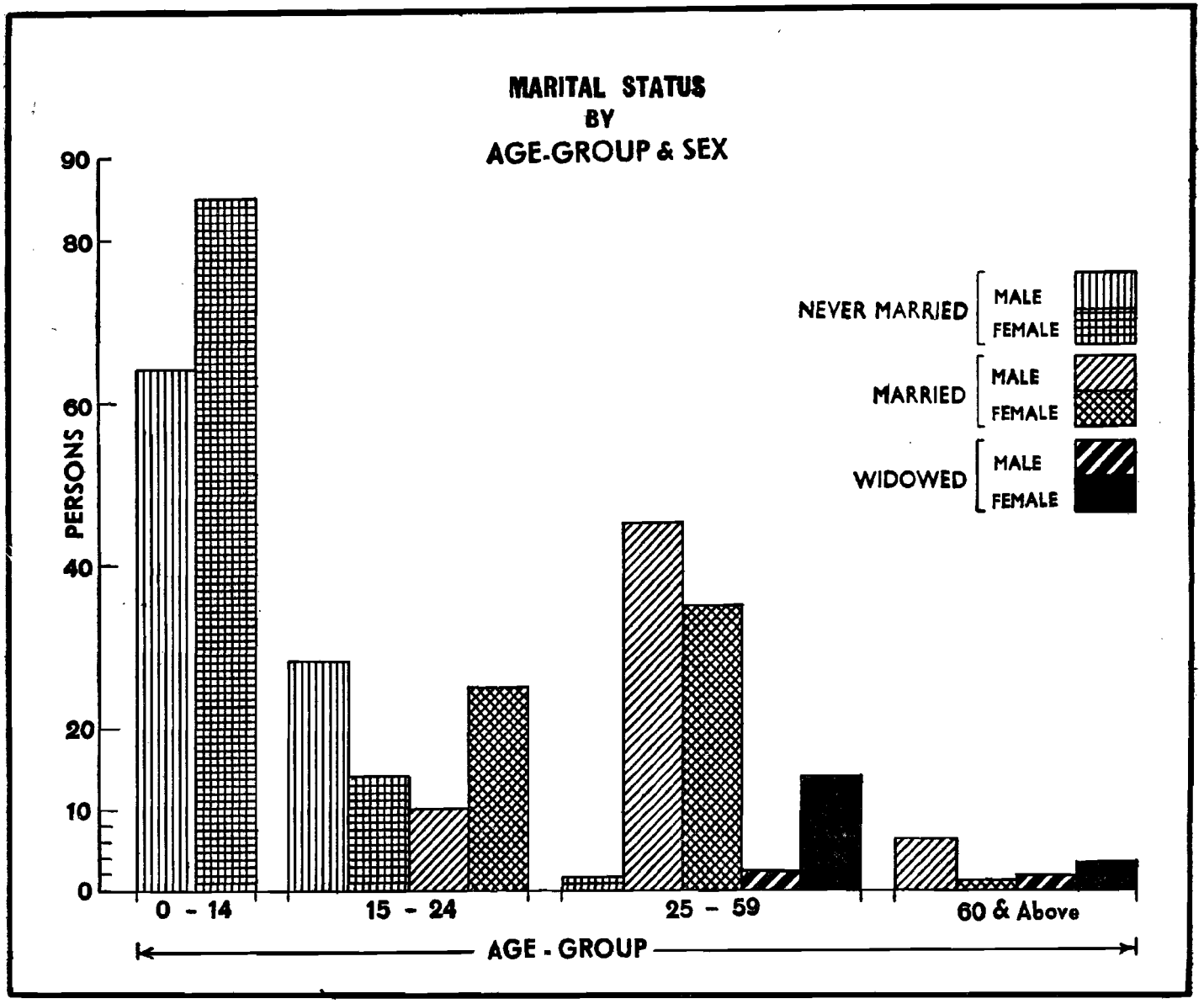
Marital Status	Persons	Male	Female
Never married	192	92	100
Married	122	61	61
Widowed	20	3	17
Divorced	—	—	—
Separated	—	—	—

The above table shows that 57.5% of the total population are never married, 36.5% married and 6.0% are widowed.

All persons in the age-group below 15 years are never married. These are 64 males and 85 females, totalling 149. Of the 77 persons in the age group 15 to 24 years, 42 are still never married and 35 are married. Two-thirds of the un-married persons in this group are males while females are only one third. On the other hand, only 10 persons out of 35 married persons in this group are males while the remaining 25 persons are females. Most of the women get married when they are in this age group while the majority of males are still remaining unmarried at this age group. Only one person remains unmarried in the age group 25 to 59. Surprisingly, this particular person is a female. According to the informations collected from the head of the household there are three sisters, two are married while the last one is still unmarried and her age during the time of survey is 26 years. Both the married sisters are widows. The middle sister married about 11 years back, at the age of 19 years or approaching 20. In the year 1954 after the birth of her first son, her husband died. The eldest sister married at the age of 29. She left the family with her husband after the birth of their first child—a son. Four years after her marriage and after having another child her husband also died. Not long after that she went back to her younger sisters, but again her younger child, a girl, also died. With all the above events, there is no doubt that the unmarried girl's view about married life is mixed with awe even though the idea of having a daughter, hence the inheritor of properties, counteracts her apprehension. She, therefore, declares that she will marry, when she finds a suitable partner. In this age group, that is, 25 to 59 there are 45 married males and 35 married females. Again in this group there are also 2 widowers and 14 widows totalling 16. Out of 11 persons in the age group 60 years and above, 7 are males while 4 are females. There are 6 married males and one married female in this group. There are also 1 widower and 3 widows in this age group. It has been observed that in most cases, there is a big difference of age between the male and the female partner. This may be the reason for the high percentage of widows in the village.

Birth & Death

In the 72 households covered in the survey it has been found that there are 9 births in one year period, that is, between December 1961 and November 1962. Of these, 4 are males and 5 are females. In the same period there are 3 deaths. Of these, 2 are males and one female. Of the persons who died one male is from the age group 60 years and above, the other male is from the age group 15 to 24 and the female is from the age group 0 to 14. This gives a net annual growth of 6 person during 1961-62.


MARITAL STATUS
BY
AGE-GROUP & SEX
90
80
60
40
20
10
0
PERSONS
NEVER MARRIED
MALE
FEMALE
MARRIED
MALE
FEMALE
WIDOWED
MALE
FEMALE
0 - 14
15 - 24
25 - 59
60 & Above
AGE - GROUP

Diseases

The village is situated on higher ground, and the people are therefore free from malarial fever. The area in which the village is situated is comparatively healthy than the northern, the southern and the western low lands of the district which are usually infested with malaria-carrying mosquitoes. It has been reported that no mosquito net is necessary in the village. But the village is not totally free from all sorts of diseases. The period between March and May is the hottest part of the year. During this period certain kinds of fever generally break out in the village. Cold, cough and sore-throat accompanied with fever are the common illness which the villagers suffer from during the period. Just after the onset of the monsoon another type of disease breaks out in the village. In this season many villagers, especially the children suffer from intestinal disorder. According to some of the villagers, the acute scarcity of good drinking water and the reckless substitution of drinking water is the main cause of these troubles. It is said that some villagers in the last few years lost their lives for this reason. It has been pointed out that the village depends for its drinking water on the few springs. However, nearly all the springs dry up in the months of March and April when the climate is hot and the wind blows hard. The people therefore have to turn to the streamlet for the supply of drinking water. The first few rains of the year cannot feed the springs, while rain water brings all kinds of things to the river, some of which are no doubt dangerous for health. In this connection, it may be mentioned that the villagers are too simple and ignorant. The scientific methods of purifying water are far too unknown to them. Most of them take water from the stream without boiling it. They are, therefore, easy preys to the danger awaiting them.

Education

It has been mentioned earlier that there are two schools in the village, the Mawnai Lower Primary School and the Mawnai Junior Basic School. The Mawnai Lower Primary School was established in the first decade of the present century by the Christian Missionaries or the Christian Mission. The Mawnai Junior Basic School is a new school, established after the declaraton of Independence. For a pretty long time the people took very little interest in this field and the progress of work seems to be remaining stagnant. In the last few years, however, there has been evidence of the villagers' keen interest in the educational field. However, at present the educational facility in the village remains only upto the primary standard. For M.E. and High School standards the village depend on the school at Mairang. Though the school at Mawshut is the nearest M. E. School for the villagers, most of them prefer to go or send their children to Mairang. There are also some villagers who send their children to Shillong for this purpose. Even though the Lower Primary School had been established long ago, there are many people in the village who are still illiterate. The number of illiterate persons is greater among the grown ups while it is less among the children.

The distribution of population by age, sex and education relating to the 72 households covered in the survey is given in the table No. 12 in the Appendix. Of the 334 persons in the village only 124 are literate. In other words, only a little over one third or 37.1% of the people are literate. Among the literate persons 65 or 52.4% are males and 59 or 47.6% are females. This leaves out 210 illiterate persons, of whom 43.3% are males and 56.7% females. Judging from the above percentages there is only a small difference between male and female as far as interest in literacy is concerned.

The distribution of the persons belonging to the 72 households covered in the

survery into sex, age group, and literacy is given in the table below.

Table 4.2

POPULATION BY SEX, AGE GROUP AND LITERACY

Age Groups	Total			Literate			Illiterate		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
0—14	149	64	85	89	44	45	60	20	40
15—24	77	38	39	22	10	12	55	28	27
25—59	97	47	50	13	11	2	84	36	48
60 & above	11	7	4	—	—	—	11	7	4
All Ages	334	156	178	124	65	59	210	91	119

The above table shows that in age groups 0-14, 15-24, and 25-59 the percentages of literate persons are 59.7, 28.6 and 13.40 of the total population of each group respectively. There is no literate person in the age group 60 and above. Judging from the above figures it appears as if people living in this village 50 years ago had very little interest in education, while the interest increases in the later years, or in other words, among the younger members of the society. However, it may be pointed out that in the absence of employment facilities in the village, one after another educated persons left the village from time to time, trying to find for themselves suitable jobs and surroundings. In this connection Table No. 9 in the Appendix may please be seen. In this table where the population is classified according to age, sex and educational qualifications, it is found that the majority of people living in the village are illiterate or having educational qualifications upto the Lower and Middle English standard. Only a few persons having the Matriculation and Intermediate standards are living in the village.

To give a better picture of the people's attitude toward education an attempt is made to classify the activities of the children belonging to the school-going age found in the 72 households covered in the survey. Observing the students in the village, it has been found that some students start to go to school at the age of 4 years and some continue to study upto the age of 18 years. 4 years is, therefore, taken as the minimum and 18 years as the maximum school-going age. The above span is further divided into two portions, the first from 4 to 14 years and the second from 15 to 18 years. Apart from the classification of children of this period into students and non-students, students are further divided into different standards and those attending school within and outside the village. All these classifications are shown in the following table :

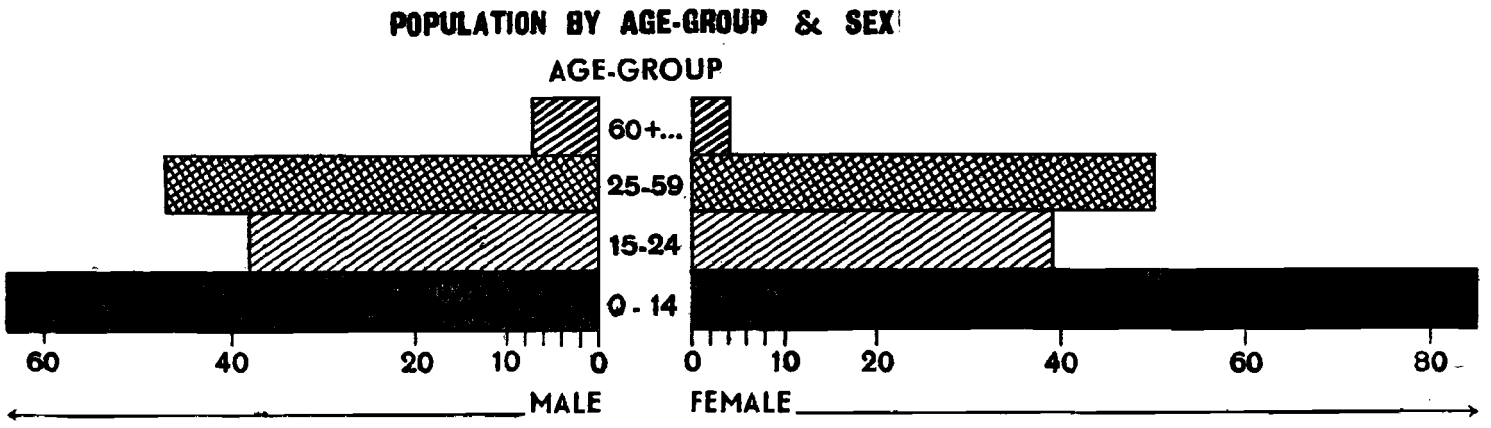

POPULATION BY AGE-GROUP & SEX
AGE-GROUP
60+...
25-59
15-24
0 - 14
60
40
20
10
0
0
10
20
40
60
80
MALE
FEMALE

Table 4.3

Activities of children belonging to the school-going age (4—18 Years).

Standard	STUDENTS							NON—STUDENTS													
	Within the village				Outside the village			Not — Married						Married							
								Workers			Non-workers			Workers			Non-workers				
	Age Group	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Age Group	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21
Primary	4—14	82	42	40	—	—	—	4—14	10	2	8	10	5	5	—	—	—	—	—	—
	15—18	—	—	—	—	—	—	15—18	22	13	9	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—
	Total	82	42	40	—	—	—	Total												
M. E.	4—14	—	—	—	3	1	2	4—14												
	15—18	—	—	—	2	1	1	15—18												
	Total				5	2	3	Total												
Higher	4—14				—	—	—	4—14												
Secondary	15—18	NIL			2	1	1	15—18												
	Total				2	1	1	Total												
Grand Total		82	42	40	7	3	4		32	15	17	10	5	5	2	—	2	—	—	—

In this connection it may be recalled that the total expenditure of the 72 households on this field of education during the year of survey is Rs. 4277.00.

Immigration and Emigration

Not much is known about the migration of the people earlier than half a century ago. It is said that between the establishment of the village and half a century ago many households had shifted into, or out of, the village. But no records were kept, and the villagers cannot give any definite information regarding the statistics, period and the causes of migrations which took place during that period. Most of the elderly persons in the village agree that in the last 50 years, 11 households came to the village. Of these, one, five, three and two households shifted to the village between 0 and 3, 4 and 10, 11 and 20, 21 and 50 years respectively. The reasons for immigration given are as follows—5 households were invited by the relatives of their fathers and 3 households followed their brothers or maternal uncles whose wives are from the village. But three households failed to give the reasons for their immigration. Of the 11 households—5 came from Nongkhlaw, 8 miles from the village 3 from Mawshut, 1 mile from the village—2 from Nongrmai, 3 miles from the village and—1 from Sohiong, 9 miles from the village. In the same period only 9 households left the village. Of these, 2 households left within the last 3 years, 3 between 4 and 10, and 4 between 11 and 20 years. According to the villagers, 3 households left for Shillong, 3 for Mairang, 2 for Mawngap and one for Mawlai near Shillong. The villagers failed to give the reasons for their emigration from the village.

So far discussions are being made about migration taking the household as a unit of consideration. However, there is another type of migration in which an individual person is to be considered as the unit. Though no record is available, it is said that the movements into and out of the village is much greater at this level than at the former one. As far as males are concerned, many shifted to the village from the neighbouring villages or vice versa, when they got married. Lately the migration of some of the females also falls in this category. For sometime there has been some individual migrations in which people tried to find suitable jobs for themselves. Most of the people falling in this category are educated persons who left the village and went to towns and cities where suitable employment facilities are available.

Types of family

The prevalence of the matrilocal system of residence is the main cause of a peculiar arrangement of families and intra-family relationship in the Khasi community. One of the peculiar arrangements in the community is that after marriage the husband is to live with his wife in her, or her mother's house. Another arrangement is that the youngest daughter is the only one who has to stay in the parents' house and look after them in their old age. Other daughters have to leave their parents' house after marriage. However, the time to part from their parents is not a fixed one. It has been found that some of them leave their parents just after marriage, while others leave after having one, two or three children. The new establishment of a married woman is the result of the joint efforts of the woman herself, her husband and her parents. During the preparatory period the woman remains in her mother's place together with her husband and their children. The length of time in which the married daughter remains in her mother's place, to a certain extent, depends on the economic condition of her parent's family

Out of the 72 households covered in the survey, 60 households may be considered as simple type most of which consists of parents and unmarried children ; 9 house-

holds may be classified as intermediate type consisting of a married couple and unmarried brothers, sisters and in some cases, one of the parents. Another 3 households may be classified as joint families. These families consist of the married couple with married daughters or married sisters.

Intra-family relationship

In recording the schedules during the survey the women are taken as the heads of the households. The women according to the Khasi custom are the owners of properties. According to the Khasi law of inheritance also the properties pass from female to female. It has been pointed out that according to the custom of the land male members either join or leave the family only after marriage. It is therefore necessary to take women as the heads of the households. But as far as authority is concerned women's position is not so important. In the family she has to show respect to her husband who is considered to be the most respectable member of the family. According to the traditional custom of the land, a woman cannot do anything or take any decision without consulting her maternal uncle or her elder brothers. The maternal uncle according to the custom is to run the affairs of the family, though in most cases he is no longer the member of the family. Even though a man has no right to the property of his mother, yet his voice is respected by all female members. Thus, either in his mother's family or his wife's family, a man holds a higher position than a woman. In the family, elder members are always respected by the younger members. Marriage brings two families into a closer relation. Here it is the duty of the bride to pay respect to the members of the bridegroom's family. When a man enters his wife's family, after marriage, he is treated as one of the members of the family. The parents of the bride treat him like one of their sons, and the bridegroom also treats them as his own parents. He also mixes with his wife's brothers and sisters as if they are his own brothers and sisters.

Inheritance

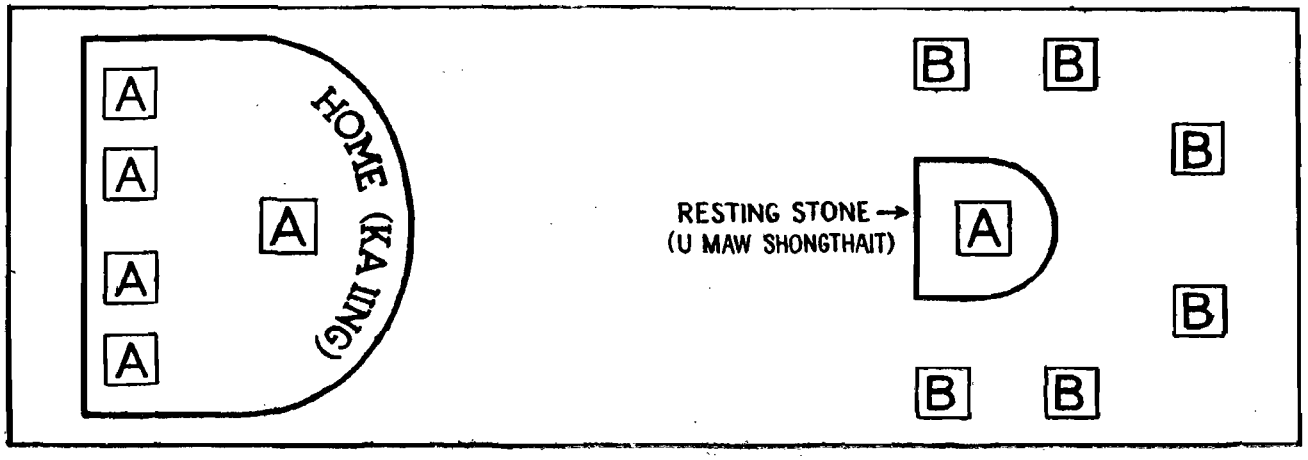
According to the Khasi traditional custom, the youngest daughter 'ka khun khatduh' gets the lion's share, while each of the other daughters are entitled to a small share of their mother's property after her death. It is a peculiar arrangement, but at the same time it is perhaps the most suitable system in the Khasi society. According to the Khasi religion the youngest daughter is the holder of the religion. The house of the 'khatduh' is the centre of all religious activites of her near clan relatives 'ka kpoh'. All members of 'ka kpoh' have to contribute something whenever any family ceremony is held. But whenever there is a shortage of funds, it is the 'khatduh' who has to make up. Considering the social side also the 'khatduh' has an important role to play. When any one of her sisters dies, it is the duty of the 'khatduh' to look after the orphans if they are minors. According to the custom of the land, the children belong to their mother's clan. After her death, therefore, her near relatives, generally her mother if she is still alive or her youngest sister, has a right to take the children. On the other hand, her husband also is at liberty to leave his deceased wife's house and go back to his mother's or youngest sister's place. Children, then deprived of both mother and father, there must be someone to look after them and according to the time honoured custom it is the duty of their grandmother and the 'khatduh' to do so. In this case the 'khatduh' is also bound to take care of their mother's property and to act as the caretaker till the children are old enough to take charge of their own affairs. If any one of her sisters-in-law dies, it is also her duty to

give shelter to her widowed brothers, if they choose to come back. In case the youngest daughter dies or commits any act which prevents her from performing her normal duties, she is succeeded by her next elder sister. In case a woman dies and leavse no daughter to inherit her property, the property according to the traditional custom goes to her sister or her sister's daughters but not to her sons or her husband. The same procedure is also followed when a man divorces his wife. The children and the properties remain with the wife while the man usually goes back almost empty handed to his mother's or sisters' house.

At present, it seems as if the customs are no longer strictly followed by the villagers. The powers of the maternal uncle are gradually passing on to the father. The importance of the 'ïng-khatduh'—youngest daughter's house—as the centre of religious activities is decreasing. Even though the youngest daughter remains in her mother's house after marriage, and the house passes to her after her mother's death, other properties like cultivable land, clothes, ornaments and utensils are equally shared by all the daughters. In some cases even sons get something from their parents' properties. The acceptance by the people of Christianity and the various changes which transform the village society from a simple to a complex one are responsible for the diversion of the people's practices from the traditional customs. In the time honoured custom of the land the people can make a will of gift as they can do now, but it seems that they use this power more freely now then in the past.

Leisure and recreation.

Judging from the nature of economic activities of the villagers it seems as if the people have very little time for recreational activities. Grown-up people at least are well occupied in their works. In the evening boys and girls are seen playing in the open grounds. Football is the most popular game of the boys in the village. There is no organisation, but collection is made by the boys among themselves and by the money they raise they purchase a football. The question of raising the fund does not arise until the old one is totally worn out. It is said that once a year the schools also provide their students with footballs. Another game played by boys is 'ka iasohtyngkoh lymbub.' In this game each boy raises one of his leg and moves about only by the other leg. Hopping, the boys dash against each other trying to put their friends off balance. The last boy remaining on one leg is the winner. Among girls 'ka iahai' is the most popular game. The arrangement for the game is shown in the plan below.



There are two teams in the game (e.g. team 'A' and team 'B'). One team (team A) remains at home while the other (team B) remains outside. One member of the home team (A) remains outside, and sits on a stone known as 'u maw shongthait' at a distance of about 50 feet from 'home.' The idea is that while other members are safe at home one of them remains outside, surrounded by enemies. As in the case of 'ka üng' (home), 'u maw shongthait'—a resting stone—is also a safe place, but outside these two places members of the home team (A) are not safe. The other members of the home team are constantly worried about the safety of their fellow members at 'u maw shongthait.' So attempt after attempt are made by them to bring her home. To bring her home they have to cross the danger area because members of the rival team try to catch them on the way. In this danger area the members of the home team are to scare their rivals by producing an unbroken sound 'h-a-i-i-i-u u-u-u..ɔ....' The rules of the game are as follows :

1. The teams must have equal members.
2. The members of the home team must attack each at a time.
3. The members of the fielding team are declared out if they are caught by the attacking members of the home team while the latter is producing the sound unbrokenly.
4. The members of the home team are declared out if they are caught outside their home when they stop producing the searing sound during their attack.

In the earlier attempts, one after another, the members of the home team try to eliminate their opponents by taking advantage of the third rule while the members of the fielding team try in turn to eliminate the former by taking advantage of the fourth rule. Generally, only the fittest from both sides survive. When the home team sees that most of its members are out, and it cannot take any more risk, it decides to make the final act. In this act the attacking member of the home team will have to bring her friend from 'u mawshongthait' safely home. Here, in addition to the rules given earlier, the following rules also will have to be observed.

5. The attacking member of the home team will have to bring her friend from the 'u maw shongthait.'
6. If the member from 'u maw shongthait' is caught by the members of the fielding team, the whole home team is declared out, it forfeits one point and has to exchange position with the opposite team.
7. On the other hand, if the attacking member of the home team can bring her friend safely home, the team gets one point, the members declared out earlier from both sides can play again and no exchange of position of the teams is necessary. In short, the home team can try for another point.

It has been pointed out that during the final act also the first four rules are to be observed, but some clarifications will have to be made. Firstly only survivors of the home team according to rule 4 and survivors of the fielding team according to rule 3 can take part in the final act ; rule 1 is thus superseded. Secondly, in the final act, if the member of the fielding team is caught first by the attacking member of the home team she is then and there regarded as out. She must leave aside both the members of the home team at once. If she still continues to interfere,

the point goes to the home team even if the attacker fails to bring her friend home safely. Thirdly, the final act is possible only when at least one member from each team is not yet out. If all the attackers of the home team are out the team itself is out. In this case the teams have to exchange positions because it is the turn of the opposite team to play the part of a home team and attempt to raise its points. On the other hand, if all the members of the fielding team are out before the final act, the home team is declared as the winner and gets one point. It is clear that the home team is at an advantageous position, it has to go only one step in order to get the point while the fielding team has to go two steps. In order to keep this position longer the members of the home team may continue to play a safe game, even at the risk of getting no points. In order to avoid this trick, the maximum number of attacks by the home team is always fixed before the game is started. The game is so popular that all girls in the village can play it.

The Khasis consider archery (ka iasiat khnam) as their national game. In the village only grown-up men take part in the game. Usually the village team plays against a team from another village, but for practice both teams are from the village. The arrow (u khnam) is made of plants belonging to the grass family—one of the plants is locally known as 'u kdait' and the other is known as 'u shken khlaw'. Of these, arrows are made of 'u kdait'. 'U shken khlaw' is a peculiar type of dwarf jungle bamboo found in the highlands of the district. When it is fully matured it reaches a height of 5 to 7 feet. The stem is very strong and yellow in colour. Its diameter at the base is only about half an inch. It is very strong and elastic, so it is the best material for fishing rod also. 'U kdait' is another type of dwarf bamboo. It grows in the steep jungles or sometimes planted by the people in their gardens. Its height is a little higher than that of the previous type, but the stem is thinner and weaker. A portion of about 25 inches, where the diameter is about one-third of an inch, is taken from the length of the bamboo. One of its ends, generally that which is nearer to the base, is fitted with a pointed iron cap. Lac is applied to fasten the cap to the bamboo The feathers at the feathered end are taken from eagles' wings and tails, and they are fastened with the help of threads. This end of the bamboo is made into a concave shape so that the bow string will rest properly. In this connection it may be pointed out that hunting is sometimes done with the help of the bow and the arrows. For hunting, arrows bigger than the ordinary type or the 'nam-pliangs' are used. The iron cap of the 'nam-pliang' is different from that of an ordinary arrow. It is bigger and heavier than the cap of an ordinary arrow and its shape is also flat. The bow used for shooting the arrows is made of split bamboo. Its length is about 48-60 inches. The middle part of the bow which is the broadest and thickest part, is about one inch and a half broad and two thirds of an inch or one inch thick. Approaching the ends from the centre the bamboo is cut in such a way that it becomes thinner and thinner and also more and more roundish in shape. Near the ends the bamboo is about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in diameter. On both ends angular recesses are prepared for the rings. The bow string is also made of split bamboo. While the bamboo used for the main bow is a well-matured one, the bamboo from which the string is made is only about a year old. The length of the string is only a little shorter than the length of the bow. Excepting the ends, the whole length of the string is thin and flat. It is only about $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an inch broad. Another important condition for selecting a bamboo from which a bow string is to be made is that both the ends of the string must fall in the joints of the bamboo. In order that the rings will hold the string firmly, the ends of the string are made in such a way that they are much thicker than the remaining part of the

string. In making both the parts of the bow, specially the string, great care is taken to preserve the green side of the bamboo. Generally, the rings (ki kyrwoh) which join the string and the bow are made of threads extracted from the bark of a certain tree. This thread is locally known as 'u thring'. The target (ka sohpdung) is a round bundle of grass covered with the soft, white portions of split bamboo. Its length is about 10 inches and the diameter is about 5 inches. It is fastened on a pole which also raises it about 2½ feet from the ground. The arrangement for the game is usually made a few days earlier. The arrangements made are fixation of the date, time and place, the number of arrows to be shot by each archer, the distinguishing marks to be given or the colours of the arrows and others. The distance between the marksmen and the target is about 45 yards. Besides the marksmen, each team has its 'nongkhang khnam' which means 'the man who stops the arrows'. It is believed that by uttering spells, the 'nongkhang khnam' can prevent the arrows of the opposing party from hitting the target. The game gets more interesting and exciting when wagers are made on either side. The game is very popular among the non-Christians, but not so much with the Christians.

Occasionally, a group of villagers, males and females, go to the neighbouring streams for sport. Angling or fishing with rod and line is a sport for grown-up males. Locally-made rods of two of three pieces is used along with lines, reels and hooks bought from the market. The catch is kept in special baskets 'ki ruh' or special kinds of traps (ki paron) made for this purpose. Other ways of catching fishes by the villagers from the streams are with the help of the traps and the nets. The people use three kinds of traps, locally known as 'ka paron', 'ka bniej' and 'ka shrip'. 'Ka paron' and 'ka shrip' are generally used in trapping fishes while moving up or down stream in bigger streams while 'ka shrip' is used only in very small streams. The people also use four types of nets, three cotton or silk thread nets and one iron wire net. The three cotton or silk string nets are used in different ways and are locally known by different names. The biggest net is known as 'ka jar khang'—literally the fencing net. By this net about 20 yards long and 5 foot high, a shallow pool of water in a stream or part of the stream is fenced properly. The area fenced is then reduced gradually, by folding one side of the net, till only a small area is left. Fishes collected in this space are then caught by hand. Another method of catching fishes by this net is by setting the net across the stream. The upper part of the stream is then disturbed. The frightened fishes then dash against the net, but the net is made in such a way that only their heads and their fins can pass through. Thus they are caught in the net. This method is used for catching a certain type of fish known by the local people as 'u dohjei'. The nets used for this purpose are therefore known as 'ki jar pynap dohjei', literally 'the dohjei trapping nets'. The small net of this type is 'ka tynsong' a conical shaped one used mainly by women to catch a certain type of small fishes known as 'u sher'. The round mouth of 'ka tynsong' is strengthened with the help of the bamboo ring and the ring is then fastened to a bamboo pole. Worms, used as baits for fishes are fixed to the iron strings which are then fastened tightly to the bamboo ring across the mouth of the net. A person sitting on a rock by the side of a pool is required to hold the pole and immerse the net deep into the water. When the worms in the strings are bitten by the fishes a certain sound is produced and transferred to the man along the pole. By raising the pole at this moment fishes are trapped in the net.

But the most exciting of all the methods is 'ka beh dohkha' literally hunting the fishes. In this method both males and females can take part. The method is used

to catch a certain type of small fish known as 'u dohlyngkdon'. Here a triangular iron net 'ka kriah behdoh' is used. The sides of the net are about 3 feet from corner to corner. Two sides are raised about six inches high while one side is open and serves as the mouth while the rims of the net are strengthened with split bamboo. Before the operation starts small bundles of grass and leaves are made. The idea is that each person of a group of 5 or 6 persons will take two bundles before they go to a shallow stream and drive the fishes into the net. Two long bundles are also made to fence the flanks of the net. First of all, the net is placed in the stream supported from the side by stones, the long bundle of grass and leaves are also placed and supported by stones forming a wide angle with the net. When this is done, the members of the team take two bundles of grass and leaves about 18 inches long on each of their hands and form an arch in the stream about 25 yards away from the net. At the signal from the leader, the party approaches slowly towards the net, sweeping the bed of the stream with the bundles of grass and leaves. As they approach and the angle becomes smaller and smaller, one member after another leaves the arch. Only one member reaches the net and the moment he reaches it, he grasps and raises the net above the surface of the water. The fishes frightened by the leaves, turn towards the net. Again on seeing the other leaves under water they will not force their way through or over them. So steadily they are driven into the net where they are caught. The small fishes (ki doh lyngkdon) are very swift and clever, so a small opening at any moment is enough for them to escape. A perfect team work is therefore very essential in this method.

In winter season, some people from the village form hunting parties. Hunting is done with the help of guns (ki suloi) and arrows. Sometimes dogs are also used to track down the animals. The favourite hunting grounds of the villagers are in the forests about eight or nine miles northwest of the village.

During the day time the people are busy with their work in the fields and the children attending school or doing various odd jobs, by way of helping their grown-ups at home. In short, the people, especially grown-ups, have very little time to indulge in any form of recreational activity during the day time. When the sun sets, and darkness comes, the members of the house generally gather together around the fire before they retire. Here sometimes with their friends they listen to the stories (ki khana puriskam), and the history (ki khana pateng), narrated by the elderly persons. This is perhaps the most precious moment, not only for the members of the family, but for the society as a whole. For even in the old Khasi society in which the art of writing is unknown, events of the past are handed down from century to century through these gatherings.

Religion

Mawnai is a mixed Christian and non-Christian village. All the Christians in the village belong to the Presbyterian Church. The non-Christians are the followers of the old tribal religion. According to the information of the villagers, the first conversion of the people into Christianity took place in the latter half of the 18th century, that is after the British came to the areas, and the village got its own church building in 1865.

The activities of the church are run by the Executive Committee consisting of 15 church elders, including 2 deacons and 13 other members of the church. All the members of the Executive Committee are elected by all the grown-up members of the church from among themselves. Once selected, the church elders remain in their post indefinitely provided there is no serious case against them. The other members of the Executive Committee hold office for the period of three years, but they are entitled to be re-elected. All important matters of the church are discussed in the Executive Committee or in the General Committee

which is attended by all the grown-up male and female members. The Presbyterian Church of Mawnai is under the Mairang subdistrict of the Mairang Presbytery. And the Mairang Presbytery is under the United Khasi-Jaintia Hills Presbyterian Synod. At each stage, there are committees to run the activities of the church. The Mawnai Presbyterian Church elects its representatives to the Sub-District Committee, so also this Committee elect its representatives to the committee of the next higher stages. The management of the work in the field is performed through the pastor, a trained person who is in charge of a circle consisting of a few villages called the 'Pastorate'.

In the village, services are held on Sundays and also on Wednesday and Saturday evenings. On Sunday, generally there are four services. The Children's service is held in the morning before the first heavy meal. This service is held exclusively for the children. The service, therefore, is a training ground for children. The Sunday School is held just after the first meal. The Sunday School is more or less like a teaching class in which the younger members are taught by some grown-up members about the facts and teachings of the Bible. After this, another service is held generally for the grown-up persons. In the service, teachings from the Bible are preached by preachers from the village or from other places. The last Sunday service is the youth service held late in the evening. It is more or less like the third service of the day. The service held on Wednesday evening is the service specially for grown-ups. In this service explanations of the teachings of the Bible are made by preachers. The service held every Saturday evening is the week-end prayer meeting.

Offerings of the people in cash or in kind are collected every Sunday before or during the services. Part of the fund is contributed to the Central Organisation (Synod Consolidated Fund) while the remaining part remains with the village church. The village church meets all its expenditure from this fund. Some of the heads of expenditure at the village level are repair charges for the church building, its maintenance, and financial aid for the poor people. Two of the most important ways in which spending from the Synod Consolidated Fund is made are payments of pastors' salaries, maintenance of schools and payment of teachers' salaries.

Festivals

Winter is a season for festivals. The Christmas and the New Year are the most important festivals in the village. The Christmas festival is a Christian festival, but the invitations of the Christians are usually welcomed by the non-Christians. Thus, both the Christians and the non-Christians take part in the feast and various activities of the day. Preparation for the festival may last for weeks together. The Christians' houses are repaired and cleaned before the festival. The people also buy new dresses for themselves. Just before the festival, gifts are presented to their friends. Though the non-Christians have no direct connection with the festival it has been observed that most of them also repair and clean their houses and buy new clothes for their children during the period. This is perhaps an influence, but there are other factors also. Firstly, the period is a season of rest and leisure. Secondly, it is a dry season, and lastly it is just after the harvest. New Year, a week after Christmas, is the general festival observed both by the Christians and the non-Christians. On these two occasions, feasts and entertainments are held in the village. Sometimes sports are also arranged for children. In short, these two festivals mark the climax of a rapturous spirit associated with the harvest and the nature as a whole.

But this is only the beginning and the festivals are followed by various lively functions. Many picnics and hiking parties

from the village go to Kyllang Rock and other natural beauty spots just after the festivals. These are again followed by the fishing and hunting parties, the accounts of which have been given earlier.

After the Independence, U Tirot Sing Syiem has been openly regarded as the hero who died for the Independence of his Mother Land. The hero died on the 29th March, 1834, at Dacca after refusing to rule his syiemship under the British. To commemorate his death a dance is organised every year at Mairang on the 28th and 29th of March. Some of the non-Christian villagers from Mawnai take part and many others flock to witness the function.

Village Organisation

The most important organisation in the village is the village durbas. In this connection it may be pointed out that in the Khasi society durbars or councils play a vital role. Nearly at every stage of the society there is a council. At the village level, all grown-up males of the village are entitled to be represented in the village durbar—'ka durbar shnong.' One of the eldest members is chosen to act as the president of the village-'u rangbah shnong'. His duty is to enforce law and order in the village. He is always guided by the durbar or by the principles laid down by it from time to time. Mawnai is a big village, so it is very difficult to collect all the male members frequently to attend the durbar. So another body is formed, with only a few members. This body acts as the Executive Committee. The members of this body are the representatives of the people, elected from among the members of the village durbar. Minor matters concerning the village are discussed in this body and its decision is as good as the decision of the village durbar. It is said that some improvements of the body were made about seven or eight years ago. The most important result of these imporvements is the creation of the posts of a secretary, an assistant secretary and the treasurer. The representatives of the people to the executive body and candidates for the three posts are elected from the members of the village durbar by their fellow members. The term of service is only one year but the same persons can be re-elected for the next term. The fund of the village 'ka synniang shnong' is raised by subscriptions ; fines are also credited to the village fund. The duty of the village durbar is to look after the welfare of the village. It is held responsible for the sanitation of the village. Once or twice a year the durbar organises social-service working-parties to clean and repair the village footpaths, drinking-water holes and springs. It is also the duty of the durbar to settle minor disputes between the villagers. The durbar lays down the policy for the activities of the village and make the rules which the village has to observe and follow. It is also the duty of the village durbar to look after the common properties of the village such as the grazing land and the village community forest 'ka law-shnong.' Further, if any household wants to shift to the village, it is the duty of the durbar to find out the past records of the household and to give permission to it for moving to the village. On the other hand the durbar has also the power to order any household to leave the village if it is found to endanger the whole village and its inhabitants.

It is said that in the past the representatives to the village durbar were sent by the clans (kurs). It appears as if in those days there were only few clans in each village and sometimes a village belonged to a clan. To support this theory, there are many Khasi villages at present known by the name of the clans such as Swer, Marbaniang, Nongkynrih, Mawroh and others. It seems as if in the Khasi society, the most important social unit is the clan—'kurs'. However, at present, 'ka kpoh' or family may be regarded as the smallest social unit. At this stage there is a family

durbar (ka durbar iing) with the eldest maternal uncle as the president. The next higher unit is a clan (kur). The presidents of all the 'durbar iings' are representatives to the 'durbar kur' and the eldest among them presides over the durbars. In turn, the 'durbar kur' or the clan durbars sends their representatives to the 'durbar shnong.' The next higher stage is 'ka raid.' This is a circle in which a village or a number of villages fall. The raid durbar consists of the representatives from the village durbar . In most cases the raid has its own ruler who has also to perform the religious ceremonies in connection with the raid. His title is 'lyngdoh', meaning 'the priest', and he is from the Lyngdoh clan. In this connection it may be pointed out that Mawnai is a village but at the same time it is a raid. The Lyngdoh Mawnai clan is the ruling clan of the raid. It is said that in the remote past, the raid was the highest social and administrative unit in the society. This is supported by the story of the origin of the Nongkhlaw syiemship which is given below.

The origin of the Nongkhlaw syiemship took place in the first half of the 16th century. The beginning of the train of events which led to the formation of the Nongkhlaw syiemship started from the Jaintia State, the eastern and one of the most stable states in the district. The ruler of the Jaintia State at that time was U Markuhain. As a young man U Markuhain found that no girl in his kingdom was as beautiful and up to the standard as the daughter of U Sajar Nangli, to be taken as his wife. U Sajar Nangli was some sort of a minister (u lyngskor) of the eastern part of the Jaintia State. Besides, he was also a very rich man. When U Markuhain sent his messenger to ask for the hand of his daughter, the 'lyngskor' expressed his unwillingness to let his daughter part from him. In vain u Markuhain made many attempts to convince the 'lyngskor.' At last, when the 'lyngskor' heard that u Markuhain would use his power as the chief (u syiem) and he would take his daughter by force, he decided to leave his place. In the relation with his people, the 'lyngskor' was very good and kind. His influence over his people was so great that when he left, a large number of them followed him. First, the party went towards the west but shortly turned towards the north. When they reached the foothills they turned towards the west till they reached the place known as Barduar near Gauhati. From there they came back towards the hills. It is said that u Sajar left his home with a heavy heart and all along the way he left his marks. The Thadlaskein tank is one of his workmanship. It seems as if u Sajar died on the way but his son and daughter reached the area of the 8 lyngdohs near Mawnai. When the 'lyngdohs' came to know that U Shajer and ka Shapalong, the children of U Sajar who came from Sutnga area (eastern part of the Jaintia State) belonged to the 'syiem' clan (ruling clan) they met together in a durbar at Nongkhlaw. In the durbar they decided to join all their 'raids' together, and form the syiemship. They named it 'Nongkhlaw' syiemship and U Shajer was declared as the first chief of the syiemship. Gradually the syiemship was expanded by the rulers who reigned after U Shajer. The first part of the story, that is, the departure of U Sajar from the Jaintia State, was told by the people of Jowai Subdivision while the remaining portion was given by the people of Nongkhlaw syiemship. In the first part of the story it is rather strange that a man as influential as U Sajar should leave his home only bacause he did not like his daughter to marry the chief or that his daughter should part from him. By connecting the stories from both the areas, however, a better explanation is found. Had the lyngskor yielded to the Syiem's wish, his only daughter would have violated the most serious taboo (ka sang) according to the Khasi social custom. In the Khasi community, it is a taboo for

a man to take his wife from his own clan. Both U Markuhain the chief of Jaintia State, and Ka Shapalong, the daughter of U Sajar Nangli, belonged to the syiem clan of Sutnga. In Khasi literature the word 'syiem' usually appears along with the word 'kmie' as its synonym—'u syiem u kmie'. The word 'syiem' means ruler or the king and the word 'kmie' means mother. Among the Khasis, the syiem or the king is, therefore, comparable to the mother. The syiem is the political head of the syiemship, but his subjects are known as 'u khun u hajar'. The word 'khun' means child and the word 'hajar' means thousand. His subjects are therefore regarded as his numerous children. The idea behind it is that, as the head of the syiemship, u syiem (the chief) is supposed to treat his subjects as his children, and the welfare of his subjects is to be the aim of all his decisions and actions. It has been pointed out that the institution of the syiem is created by the lyngdohs. Once a family or a clan is selected and declared as the ruling family or clan, it will remain so forever and the syiem must come from this clan. In other words, the post of the syiem (ruler) is hereditary. But the representatives of the leading clans and the lyngdohs in the area reserve to themselves the right to choose the syiem from among the members of the syiem clan. They have also a right to replace him if they find that he is not fit for the job. In fact all the leading men of the syiemship are members of the syiem's durbar or 'ka durbar hima'—the state council, and all along his term of service the syiem is guided by this durbar.

CONCLUSION

The Khasis or the Khynriams, particularly of this village, are agriculturists and they usually practise both wet and dry cultivation. All available plain lands are converted or put into wet cultivation. The wet fields are in some cases irrigated by a system of nullahs or drains in which the water is taken to the field from a nearby stream while in other cases the fields mainly depend for water on the monsoon which is more often uncertain. The tilling of the fields is most generally done by human labour. Bullocks are however used in a few cases where the fields are irrigated by a nearby stream, but even then man always comes to help the ploughing animal with his hoe. Broadcasting of seeds and transplantation are practised and harvesting is done in the field itself. It has been observed during the survey that much of the land has not been put to the plough and this can be done only if streams and small rivers are dammed and water taken to serve the fields.

On the hill sides surrounding the village jhumming or dry cultivation is practised. This method of dry cultivation is known as 'bun' which is used generally for potato cultivation. The methods of its preparation have already been described in the relevant chapter of this monograph. Along the slopes of hills, terrace cultivation is also practised. Manures or fertilizers like bonemeals, ammonium sulphate etc. are used and these are supplied at a subsidised rate from the Block.

Though every available land is put to cultivation, in most cases the people of this village do not have the means either to extend their fields or to improve their existing ones. For example, potato cultivation or 'bun' which is always on hill slopes is often subjected to soil erosion during the rainy season and much of the manure and for that matter the plants are carried away by water. In this respect, the question of converting it into terrace field or land is beyond the means of the cultivator who would have to apply more labour force in so doing. The only thing he can do is to repair it or make good of the same by piling more earth on the 'buns' whenever there is erosion. It is only in a few cases that the 'buns' are consequently converted to terrace land to avoid erosion.

As regards the disposal of their products, the villagers generally face great difficulties as they have to sell them at rates which only cover the cost of production. The price of the products often varies and it is generally lower during the harvest period and comparatively high in the subsequent months. Hence the need of cooperative store or marketing society which may enable the villagers to dispose of their products at reasonable rates.

As has already been mentioned, the village has two Primary Schools, viz ., the Mawnai Lower Primary School and the Mawnai Junior Basic School.

These two schools cater to the needs of the children in the village, but for higher education they have to go to Mairang or to Shillong. Most of the children of the poor families have to abandon their studies just after passing the primary standard and there is no alternative but to go to the fields to help their parents. If one of the two primary schools be converted to M. E. School, the school going children will have the chance for higher education.

The socio-economic life of the villagers has, on the whole, undergone many changes. The age-old method of dry cultivation or jhumming known as 'bun' has almost disappeared except in a few cases. Manures and fertilizers which were but a dream to their ancestors are being extensively used in their fields and the question of keeping the land to lie fallow seldom arises. As regards house types there is a definite trend towards the construction of tinroofed houses with better care for ventilation, sanitation and the like. There are evident changes even in the use of household utensils where the aluminium and brass types are replacing the old worn-out ones. Chairs, tables, bedsteads, hurricane lanterns, dry cell torches are among the few items of the household goods which are now being increasingly used by the villagers. There are changes also in the habits of dress and ornaments. 'Dhoti' or 'jainboh' is being replaced by pants and half-coat or 'phutoi' by shirt. Women are more apt to wear modern ornaments of glass and beads in different shapes and colours. Shoes are also being increasingly used both by males and females.

APPENDIX

TABLE - 1

Area, Houses and Population

Total No. of Households Surveyed – 72

Year	Name of village	No. of Houses	No. of Households	POPULATION		
				Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1962	Mawnai	72	72	334	156	178

TABLE 2

Size and Composition of Households

Total No. of Households Surveyed – 72.

Total No. of Households	Single Member			Two or Three Members			Four to Six Members			Seven to Nine Members			Ten Members & above.		
	No. of House-holds	Male	Female	No. of House-holds	Male	Female	No. of House-holds	Male	Female	No. of House-holds	Male	Female	No. of House-holds	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
72	—	—	—	16	16	32	49	111	123	7	29	23	—	—	—

TABLE 3

Households and Caste/Tribe/Community by Number of Rooms and Number of Persons Occupying.

Total No. of Households Surveyed – 72.

Caste/Tribe/ Community	Total No. of House-holds	Total No. of Rooms	Total No. of Members	Households with One Room		Households with Two Rooms		Households with Three Rooms		Households with more than Four Rooms	
				No. of House-holds	Total No. of House-hold Members	No. of House-holds	Total No. of House-hold Members	No. of House-holds	Total No. of House-hold Members	No. of House-holds	Total No. of House-hold Members
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Khasi (Tribal)	72	260	334	2	6	10	38	29	127	31	163

TABLE 4

Settlement history of households by Caste/Tribe/Community.

No. of H/H in the Village=217.

No. of H/H Surveyed—72

Total No. of H/H	No. of Households settled for Generations.				
	5 & above	3 and below 5	above one and below 3	One generation and below.	Unspecified.
1	2	3	4	5	6
72	48	17	4	3	—

TABLE 5

Mother tongue and other Languages Spoken.

No. of Households in the Village—217

Total No. of households surveyed—72

Language	NUMBER OF PERSONS SPEAKING		
	Total	Males	Females
1	2	3	4
Mother tongue Khasi	334	156	178
Subsidiary Language English	8	7	1

TABLE 6

Households and Population by Religion, Sect/Sub-Sect and Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/Community	Religion	Sect	Sub-Sect	Total No. of Households	Population		
					Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Khasi (Tribe)	Christian	—	—	29	142	65	77
	Non-Christian	—	—	43	192	91	101
Total				72	334	156	178

TABLE 7

Population by age groups and sex.

Caste/Tribe/Community	Population	Total of all ages	0-14	15-24	25-59	60 & Above	Age not stated
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Khasi (Tribe)	Males	156	64	38	47	7	—
	Females	178	85	39	50	4	—
	Total	334	149	77	97	11	—

TABLE 8

Population by age groups and marital status

Age—Groups	Total Population			Never Married		Married		Widowed		Divorced or Separated		Unspecified Status	
	Persons	Males	Fe-males	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Fe-males	Males	Fe-males	Males	Fe-males
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
All—Ages	334	156	178	92	100	61	61	3	17	—	—	—	—
0—14	149	64	85	64	85	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15—24	77	38	39	28	14	10	25	—	—	—	—	—	—
25—59	97	47	50	—	1	45	35	2	14	—	—	—	—
60 & Above	11	7	4	—	—	6	1	1	3	—	—	—	—

TABLE 9

Population By Age, Sex and Educational Qualifications

Age—Groups	Total			Illiterate			Lower Primary			Middle English			Matric Standard			Intermediate		
	Persons	Males	Fe-males	Persons	Males	Fe-males	Persons	Males	Fe-males	Persons	Males	Fe-males	Persons	Males	Fe-males	Persons	Males	Fe-males
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
All—Ages	334	156	178	210	91	119	91	45	46	21	9	12	11	10	1	1	1	—
0—14	149	64	85	60	20	40	86	43	43	3	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
15—24	77	38	39	55	28	27	3	—	3	13	5	8	6	5	1	—	—	—
25—59	97	47	50	84	36	48	2	2	—	5	3	2	5	5	—	1	1	—
60 & Above	11	7	4	11	7	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 10

Persons by age at first marriage and Caste/Tribe/Community.

Age—Group	Caste/Tribe/Community Khasi	
	Male	Female
1	2	3
All—Ages	64	78
0— 9	—	—
10—14	—	5
15—19	11	45
20—24	33	23
25—29	12	4
30—34	3	—
35 & Above	5	1

TABLE 11

Inheritance of Property in practice by Caste/Tribe/Community

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of Persons interviewed	No. indicating that relations of the following categories are entitiled to inherit property in their respective Caste/Tribe/Community.							
		Son	Daughter	Wife	Mother	Brother	Sister's son	Brother's son	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Khasi	72	—	72	—	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 12

Annual Household income by main Occupation and Source of income

Main Occupation	No. of households	Source of Income	All-Households: No. of households	All-Households: Amount Rs. P.	All-Households: Percentage	Households with Annual income of (In Rs): Rs. 901—1200 Amount Rs. P.	Rs. 901—1200 No. of H/H's	Rs. 1201—1500 Amount Rs. P.	Rs. 1201—1500 No. of H/H's	Rs. 1501—1800 Amount Rs. P.	Rs. 1501—1800 No. of H/Hs.	Rs. 1801-2100 Amount Rs. P.	Rs. 1801-2100 No. of H/H's	Rs. 2101 & above Amount Rs. P.	Rs. 2101 & above No. of H/H's
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Cultivation	70	1. Cultivation	70	97828/-	88.05%										
		2. Service	1	960/-	.86%										
		3. Livestock	70	12322/-	11.09%	3349/-	3	35359/-	26	44487/-	27	23235/-	12	4680/-	2
Service	2	1. Service	2	1680/-	39.37%										
		2. Cultivation	2	2347/-	55.00%	—	—	—	—	—	—	1878/-	1	2389/-	1
		3. Livestock	2	240/-	5.63%										

TABLE 13

Main Occupation, Per-capita Annual Household Income and Family Type.

Main Occupation	Number of Households. Per-capita Annual Household Income Ranges (In Rupees): Re. 1—Rs. 50 S	I	J	Rs. 51—Rs. 100 S	I	J	Rs. 101—Rs. 200 S	I	J	Rs. 201—Rs. 300 S	I	J	Rs. 301—Rs. 500 S	I	J	Rs. 501 & above S	I	J	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. Cultivation	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	64	3	3	70
2. Service	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2
Total																65	4	3	72

Note : S — Simple Family
I — Intermediate ,,
J — Joint ,

TABLE 14

Average Annual Expenditure for household of income Group and Occupation By Caste/Tribe/Community.

Caste/ Tribe/ Community	Main Occupation	No. of Households in main occupation	All-Households				Households within the Annual income (in Rs.) Group of									
			Items of Expenditure	No. of Households	Expenditure per household	%of total Expenditure	Rs. 901	Rs. 1200	Rs. 1201-Rs. 1500		Rs. 1501-Rs. 180		Rs. 1801-Rs.2100		Rs.2101 & Above	
							No. of h/h's	Average Expenditure	No. of h/h's	Average Expenditure	No. of h/h's	Average Expenditure	No. of h/h's	Average Expenditure	No. of h/h's	Average Expendr.,
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
Khasi (Tribal)	Cultivation	70	1. Food-Stuff	70	1002.13	53.65%	3	1. 738.33	26	1. 816.42	27	1. 1022.44	12	1. 1326.67	2	1. 1585.50
			2. Clothing	70	135.67	7.27%		2. 127.00		2. 125.92		2. 137.30		2. 145.25		2. 143.00
			3. Maintenance of the house	70	54.49	2.91%		3. 54.00		3. 51.21		3. 55.70		3. 58.17		3. 59.00
			4. Education	44	62.75	3.36%		4. 16.00		4. 50.75		4. 78.21		4. 66.20		4. 80.00
			5. Medical charges	70	44.50	2.38%		5. 30.67		5. 44.54		5. 49.63		5. 36.25		5. 45.00
			6. Maintenance of Livestocks	66	63.71	3.41%		6. 39.67		6. 41.52		6. 68.19		6. 96.08		6. 61.00
			7. Rent	12	266.67	14.28%		7. Nil.		7. 250.00		7. 283.33		7. Nil		7. Nil
			8. Death	3	102.00	5.46%		8. Nil		8. 72.00		8. Nil		8. 117.00		8. Nil
			9. Agriculture	70	70.60	3.78%		9. 52.67		9. 66.38		9. 62.37		9. 76.75		9. 57.00
			10. Miscellaneous	70	65.40	3.50%		10. 65.00		10. 68.42		10. 71.96		10. 70.67		10. 76.00
				Total	1867.92	100.00%										

TABLE 14 (Concld.)

Average Annual Expenditure per Household income Group and Occupation by Caste/Tribe/Community.

Caste/ Tribe/ Community	Main Occupation	No. of House-holds in Main Occu-pation	All Households				Households within the Annual income (in Rs.) Groupof									
							Rs. 901—Rs. 1200		Rs. 1201—1500		Rs. 1501—1800		Rs. 1801—2100		Rs. 2101 & Above	
			Items of Expenditure	No. of House-hold	Expendr. per House-hold	% of Total Expendi-ture	No. of H/H's	Average Expen-diture	No. of H/H's	Average Expen-diture	No. of H/H's	Average Expen-diture	No. of H/H's	Average Expen-diture	No. of H/H's	Average Expen-diture
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
KHASI (TRIBAL)	Service	2	1. Food Stuff	2	962.00	45.35%	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1. 939·00	1	1. 985·00
			2. Clothing	2	145.00	6.83%								2. 144·00		2. 146·00
			3. Maintenance of the House	2	59.00	2.78%								3. 56·00		3. 62·00
			4. Education	2	758.00	35.73%								4. 600·00		4. 916·00
			5. Medical Charges	2	32.00	1.51%								5. 16·00		5. 48·00
			6. Maintenance of Livestock	2	46.00	2.17%								6. 18·00		6. 74·00
			7. Rent	Nil	Nil	Nil								7. Nil		7. Nil
			8. Death	Nil	Nil	Nil								8. Nil		8. Nil
			9. Agriculture	2	52.00	2.45%								9. 62·00		9. 73·00
			10. Miscellaneous	2	67.50	3.18%								10. 36·00		10. 68·00
				TOTAL	2121.50	100.00%										

TABLE 15

Overall Household income and Expenditure Position by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

Caste/Tribe/ Community	No. of Households with income of															All Households			
	Rs. 901—1200			Rs. 1201—1500			Rs. 1501—1800			Rs. 1801—2100			Rs. 2101 & above						
	Balanced Account	Surplus Account	Deficit Account	Balanced Account	Surplus Account	Deficit Account	Balanced Account	Surplus Account	Deficit Account	Balanced Account	Surplus Account	Deficit Account	Balanced Account	Surplus Account	Deficit Account	Balanced Account	Surplus Account	Deficit Account	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Khasi (Tribal)	—	2	1	—	23	3	—	24	3	—	11	2	—	3	—	—	63	9	72

TABLE 15 (Contd.)

Overall Household income and Expenditure Position by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households

No. of Households with Surplus Account of								Number of Households with Deficit account of							
Below 5	Rs. 5-10	Rs. 11-25	Rs. 26-50	Rs. 51-100	Rs. 101-200	Rs. 201-500	Rs. 501 & above	Below Rs. 5	Rs. 5—10	Rs. 11—25	Rs. 26—50	Rs. 51—100	Rs. 101—200	Rs. 201—500	Rs. 501 & above
21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36
1	4	11	16	15	12	4	—	1	4	1	2	1	—	—	—

TABLE 16

Indebtedness by Annual Household Income and No. of Households.

Annual Income Group	Total No. of Households	No. of Households and Total Debt.	
		No. of Households	Total Debt.
1	2	3	4
Rs.			Rs.
901—1200	3	1	400/-
1201—1500	26	3	1700/-
1501—1800	27	2	1100/-
1801—2100	13	4	2150/-
2101&Above	3	—	—
Total	72	10	5,350/-

TABLE 17.

Area under Cultivation by Caste/Tribe/Community and Households.

Extent in Acres.	No. of Households.		
	Caste	Tribe (Khasi)	Community
1	2	3	4
Below 3 acres	—	8	—
3— 5 acres	—	61	—
5— 8 „	—	3	—
8—11 „	—	—	—
11—14 „	—	—	—
14—17 „	—	—	—
17—20 „	—	—	—
20—30 „	—	—	—
30—40 „	—	—	—
40—50 „	—	—	—
50—75 „	—	—	—
75—99 „	—	—	—
100 & above acres	—	—	—
Total.	—	72	—

TABLE 18

Cultivating Households and increase in irrigated area during the last five years.

Extent of Land newly brought under Irrigation	No. of House-holds	Total of wet area	Total of dry area	Number of Households with Holdings							
				Below 1 acre	1—2 acres	3—5 acres	6—8 acres	9—11 acres	12—15 acres	16—20 acres	21 & above acres
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Below 1 acre	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1—2 acres	8	19 acres	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—
3—5 „	64	237½ acres	—	—	—	64	—	—	—	—	—
6—8 „	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9—11 „	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12—15 „	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
16—20 „	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21 & above	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	72	256½	—	—	8	64	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE 19

Workers and Non-Workers by Sex and Broad Age-Groups.

Age-Groups	TOTAL			TOTAL WORKERS			TOTAL NON-WORKERS		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
All-Ages.	334	156	178	191	92	99	143	64	79
0—14	149	64	85	10	2	8	139	62	77
15—34	127	65	62	123	63	60	4	2	2
35—59	47	20	27	47	20	27	—	—	—
60 & Above.	11	7	4	11	7	4	—	—	—

TABLE 20

Workers by Sex, Broad Age-Groups and Occupations.

No. of Households in the Village—217
Total No. of Households Surveyed—72

Age-Groups.	Occupation—'A' 'Cultivation'			Occupation—'B' Service (Teacher)		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
All—Ages	188	89	99	3	3	—
0—14	10	2	8	—	—	—
15—34	120	60	60	3	3	—
35—59	47	20	27	—	—	—
60 & Above	11	7	4	—	—	—

TABLE 21

Workers by Sex, Broad Age-Groups, Industry, Business and Cultivation belonging to the Household.

No. of Households in the Village—217.
Total No. of Households Surveyed—72

Age-Groups.	TOTAL			Working in Industry belonging to the Household			Working in Business belonging to the Household			Working in Cultivation belonging to the Household		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
All-ages	188	89	99	—	—	—	—	—	—	188	89	99
0—14	10	2	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	2	8
15—34	120	60	60	—	—	—	—	—	—	120	60	60
35—59	47	20	27	—	—	—	—	—	—	47	20	27
60 & Above	11	7	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	7	4

TABLE 22

Non-Workers by Sex, Broad Age-Groups and Nature of Activity

No. of Households in the Village—217
Total No. of Households Surveyed—72

Age—Groups	Total Non-Workers			Persons engaged in household duties only			Full Time Students or Children attending school			Dependants			Unemployed		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
All-ages	143	64	79	—	—	—	89	45	44	54	19	35	—	—	—
0—14	139	62	77	—	—	—	85	43	42	54	19	35	—	—	—
15—34	4	2	2	—	—	—	4	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
35—59	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
60 & above	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—