©



MONOGRAPH

No. 1

CENSUS OF INDIA 1961

VOLUME-I

MONOGRAPH SERIES

Part VI

Investigation and Draft — Alemchiba Ao

Research design, Supervision and Editing — B. K. Roy Burman

Foreword — Asok Mitra
Registrar General, India

WAROMUNG
(an Ao Naga Village)

OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL, INDIA
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS
NEW DELHI-11

Photographs	—N. Alemchiba Ao K. C. Sharma
Technical advice in describing the illustrations	—Ruth Reeves
Technical advice in mapping	—P. Lal
Maps and drawings including cover page	—T. Keshava Rao S. Krishnapillai
Typing	—B. N. Kapoor
Tabulation	—C. G. Jadhav Ganesh Dass S. C. Saxena S. P. Thukral Sudesh Chander K. K. Chawla J. K. Mongia
Index & Final Checking	—Ram Gopal
Assistance to editor in arranging materials	—T. Kapoor (Helped by Ram Gopal)
Proof Reading	—R. L. Gupta (Final Scrutiny) P. K. Sharma Didar Singh Dharam Pal D. C. Verma

CONTENTS

		Pages
	Acknowledgement	IX
	Foreword	XI
	Preface	XIII—XIV
	Prelude	XV—XVII
I	Introduction	1—11
II	The People	12—43
III	Economic Life	44—82
IV	Social and Cultural Life	83—101
V	Conclusion	102—103
	Appendices	105—201
	Index	203—210
	Bibliography	211

LIST OF MAPS

		After Page
1	Notional map of Mokokchung district showing location of the village under survey and other places that occur in the Report	XVI
2	Notional map of Waromung showing Land-use—1963	2
3	Notional map of Waromung showing nature of slope	2
4 (a)	Notional map of Waromung showing area under vegetation	2
4 (b)	Notional map of Waromung showing distribution of vegetation type ..	2
5 (a)	Outline of the residential area 50 years ago	4
5 (b)	Important public places and the residential pattern of Waromung ..	6
6	A field (Jhum) Showing the distribution of crops	58

LIST OF PLATES

		After Page
1	The war drum	4
2	The main road inside the village	6
3	The village Church	8
4	The Lower Primary School building	8
5	(a) Bamboo water containers being filled at one of the Stone-paved village tanks ..	8
5	(b)(c) Hollow bamboo containers for carrying water for household use ..	8
6	Unmarried girl's dormitory	22
7	Front entrance to a typical Ao house	32
8	Interior of typical Ao house	32
9	An Ao household splitting the palm-leaves for thatching the roof of his house ..	34
10	An Ao house under construction	34
11	Front entrance of the house of a well-to-do person	34
12	Wood and bamboo household utensils carved by the Ao villagers and an earthen pot produced by the stripping technique	36
13	A black cloth apron studded with cowrie-shells which was formerly worn by wealthy persons or those who were successful in head-hunting	40
14	Ornaments used by Ao women	42
15	Two Ao women wearing ornaments	42
16	Agricultural implements	56
17	A young Ao girl pounding paddy	62
18	Granaries for storing paddy	62
19	Carrying basket (Akhi type)	72
20	Carrying basket (Akho type)	72
21	An Ao girl operating a single heddle tension loom	74
22	Two gaonburas (members of village council) with a villager	96

LIST OF PEN AND INK ILLUSTRATION

		After Page
1	Ground Plan of the areju (bachelar's dormitory)	20
2	Exterior of a house	32
2	A. Ground plan of an ordinary Ao house	32
2	B. Elevation and Cross section of an ordinary Ao house	32
3	A house under construction	34
4	Procedure of thatching the roof with Sago Palm leaves	34
5	A rich man's house and its ground plan	34
6	Suma or angen (loin cloth)	38

LIST OF TABLES

		Pages
1	Clans and their numerical strength	17
2	Status scores of clans	18
3	Change due to stoppage of head-hunting	21
4	Inventory of household objects	36
5	Items of food taken during seven days	37
6	Seasonal variation in consumption of food	37
7	Particulars of male dress	39
8	Particulars of female dress	39
9	Industrial classification of the people	46
10	Workers and non-workers by age and sex (Based on study in 40 households) ..	46
11	Non-workers by sex, broad age-groups and nature of activity (Based on study in 40 households)	47
12	Distribution of households by main occupation (Based on study in 40 households) ..	47
13	Subsidiary occupations (other than basketry, weaving and fishing) associated with main occupation (Based on study in 40 households)	47
14	(a) Aspiration for sons with reference to occupation of father (Based on response from 26 persons)	49
14	(b) Aspiration for daughters with reference to occupation of father (Based on response from 24 persons)	49
15	Land utilisation pattern	50
16	Proportion of different types of ownership of land with reference to land utilisation pattern	50
17	Proportion of land owned by various clan	51
18	Distribution of households with reference to size group of holdings of various categories of ownership	51
19	Lands of different categories owned by the households surveyed and acreage under different types of use	52
20	Period of occupation of various categories of land by 35 households surveyed ..	52
21	Method of acquiring right over land by various households	52
22	Terms and conditions on which land is leased by various households ..	53
23	Number of plots field by the various households	53
24	Number of plots as related to number of adult male members	53
25	Method of acquiring right over homestead land	53
26	Reason for practising shifting cultivation	55
27	Type of land preferred for shifting cultivation	56
28	Tools and implements used in connection with shifting cultivation	57
29	Normal time of activities connected with shifting cultivation	58
29	(a) Actual time of activities connected with shifting cultivation	58
30	Number of days required for jungle clearing operations	58
31	Crops sown in old fields and new fields	59
32	Time required for sowing per acre	60

LIST OF TABLES—*contd.*

		Pages
33	Seed yield ratio	60
34	Damage of crops	61
35	Yield of crops	63
36	Money value of expenditure (in rupees)	64
37	Livestock statistics for the village	66
38	Livestock found in 38 households	67
39	Method of acquiring livestock in households	67
40	Number of basketry objects produced	74
41	Tools and implements used in connection with basketry work	74
42	Articles produced through weaving	76
43	Articles produced by an ironsmith during 1962	78
44	Indebtedness by income	81
45	Income and expenditure pattern (per month) in 38 households	81
46	Contribution of different sources of livelihood to the economy of the households ..	82
47	Association of income group and different sources of livelihood	82
48	Expenditure pattern in four households	82
49	Distribution of population of waromung by sex and age-group	83
50	Distribution of population of Nagaland by age-group	83
51	Marital status of Waromung	83
52	Marital status in 40 households	84
53	Age at first marriage	85
54	Difference between age of husband and wife	85
55	Disease and treatment	86
56	Age and sex-wise distribution of literacy	86
57	Association between income and literacy	87
58	Distribution of households with reference to the number of members ..	88
59	Association between number of members per household and age of head of the household	88
60	Distribution of households by the number of closely connected households ..	89
61	Particulars of (closely) connected households	89
62	Villages under same range council	98

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am grateful to the villagers of Waromung, for their generous cooperation in connection with the present study. The following persons of Waromung deserve special thanks, for the valuable information furnished by them on various items :

Name	Age	Occupation	Nature of assistance
Sri Therangehilak	82	Cultivator	Gave information of general nature on the Aos, as also on the past and the present of the village Waromung.
Sri Sakulemba	80	-do-	-do-
Sri Lanuloba	50	Gaonbura	Gave information on matters connected with village administration.
Sri Tekaba	45	Pastor	Gave information on matters connected with the Church, and indebtedness in the village.
Sri Jukgemsulu	40	Secretary Village Church	-do-
Sri Rangsemsashi	50	Teacher	Helped in collecting information on occupational structure in the village.
Sri Benjung	22	Student	Helped in collecting information on livestock and indebtedness in the village.
Sri Moang	19	Student	

B. K. Roy Burman

FOREWORD

In my general Foreword to the Village Survey series of the 1961 Census publications, I have briefly explained how the idea of the Survey unfolded itself and developed between 1959 and 1961. Towards the end of 1961 several distinguished scholars were invited to write special monographs for the Village Survey series. At the same time, the Social Studies Section of the Registrar General's Office, headed by Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, undertook experiments in various types of social study Dr. Roy Burman stimulated his colleagues and assistants to go into great depth over specific problems of social change. His object was, apart from striking new lines in methodology and designs of schedules, new methods of tabulation and cross-tabulation, new lines of correlating apparently unrelated fields of social phenomenon, to train his colleagues and assistants rigorously in the science of social investigation. He took a wide range of problems and even a wider geographical distribution of them, throughout India.

This Socio-Economic Survey of Waromung, an Ao Naga village in Nagaland, is a testimony to Dr. B. K. Roy Burman's abilities in directing research and to the staunchness and probity with which the investigation was conducted, analysed and reported upon by Shri Alemchiba Ao. This has been the first socio-economic study of a village in Nagaland by a person born and belonging to this great State and is therefore a landmark in its own right, I am looking forward to even more penetrating and interpretative work by Shri Alemchiba Ao.

New Delhi
November 10, 1966

Asok Mitra
Registrar General, India

PREFACE

Though the Census Organisation was carrying on Socio-economic Survey of selected villages in various States since 1960, it was not possible to undertake any survey in Nagaland till 1963 due to political disturbances.

In 1963, Sri Alemchiba Ao joined the Census Organisation. He had obtained Master's degree in Anthropology and before joining the Census Organisation was working as a Revenue Officer under the Nagaland Government. Being himself a Naga, he was in a specially advantageous position to conduct a socio-economic survey in Nagaland under the prevailing condition.

Waromung was selected for the survey as it happened to be the home village of Sri Ao. It was felt that it would be comparatively safer for him to stay in this village for the purpose of survey. But even here Sri Ao had to face some difficulties.

In view of the importance of this study, it was conducted under my direct guidance. It was decided that this study would provide the model which the Superintendent of Census Operations could follow in his study of other villages in Nagaland.

A set of schedules were drawn up by me for the field investigation (copies of the schedules are furnished at appendix I). I had also the opportunity to visit the Ao area during the study. In the light of my experience in the field further adjustments were made in the study design.

Sri Ao canvassed the schedules and also prepared the first draft.

The tabulation of the materials collected in the schedules was done in the Social Studies and Handicrafts Section of the Office of the Registrar General, India. Simultaneously extracts were taken from published literature on the Ao Nagas, so that a comparative study could be made with the data collected from the village.

On comparison of the field data, the first draft of Sri Ao and the published materials, a number of problems requiring further probe were formulated and Sri Ao being himself a son of the village was required to change his role from investigator to an informant. He was interviewed by me in Delhi for about a month. After that I prepared the draft report and Sri Ao was required to revisit the village, to check the various facts included in it. In the light of the data collected during the second visit of Sri Ao, the draft report was further modified. Thus both Sri Ao and myself equally share the responsibility of whatever has been included in the present study. It should, however, be appreciated that, but for Sri Ao, it would not have been possible to collect the data from the field and the credit for the information incorporated in

the report mainly pertains to him. The responsibility for the final draft is, however, the mine.

I am grateful to S/Shri A. K. Sengupta, S. N. Srivastava and Kumari T. Kapoor of the Social Studies and Handicrafts Section of the Office of the Registrar General, India for making available to me extracts from published sources on the Nagas. Kumari T. Kapoor has further helped me in preparing the appendices, checking materials, preparing legends for the illustrations and arranging them.

I am also grateful to Mrs. Ruth Reeves for sparing her valuable time for examining the illustrations and advising Kumari T. Kapoor about preparation of the legends.

The illustrations including the maps were drawn by Sri T. Keshav Rao, in consultation with Sri Alemchiba Ao., Dr. P. Lal, Geographer attatched to the Social Studies and Handicrafts Section of the Office of the Registrar General, India gave Technical guidance in the matter of preparation of maps. I am grateful to all of them.

I would also like to thank Shri B. N. Kapoor, for typing the final draft with utmost care. The tabulation unit under Sri C. G. Jadhav also deserves my thanks. My thanks are also due to Sri Ram Gopal who has converted the various figures collected in terms of miles, maunds, seers *etc.* to metric system.

My colleague Sri M. G. Kini deserves special mention for maintaining the research records in systematic manner.

My special thanks are for Sri Zopianga the then Superintendent of Census Operations Nagaland for allowing Sri Ao to work in collaboration with me and for ensuring that all possible facilities are available to Sri Ao in connection with the survey.

I am grateful to Sri K.D. Ballal, Central Tabulation Officer, Office of the Registrar General India, for taking special interest for getting the monograph printed in time. Shri Bani Singh, who ably helped him also deserves my thanks.

I am also grateful to Shri A. Chandrashekhar, Officer on special Duty, Office of the Registrar General, India, for his keen interest in the studies undertaken by this Unit.

Last but not least I am grateful to Sri A. Mitra, Registrar General, India whose encouragement and guidance has made this study possible.

B. K. Roy Burman

PRELUDE

For December it was an unusually sunny morning. An old man was proceeding along the undulating foot track with slow gait. There were thorny shrubs here and there, - not only by the side of the track, but at places on the track itself. He was slightly annoyed,- and also slightly dejected. Things have changed now. In his days such neglect of the village path was unthinkable among his people,—the Ao Nagas. As soon as the monsoon was over, the *menchen* (village council) would call upon the people to repair the village path, clear the shrubs and undergrowths and everything was trim and tidy. Even now the *menchen* takes its decision, and even now the people obey the decision. If anything, the Nagas are people of strict discipline. It is through their disciplined action in every walk of life, that the Nagas have survived against so many odds. But he does not know why now-a-days everything appears to move rather slowly—there is a short of creeping inertia all around. Waromung,—the village where he was born about ninety years ago, seems to have become aged alongwith him.

The old man was perhaps in a reminiscent mood Standing near the crest of the hill, just outside the village he looked around. To the east, there were one after another, the mountain spurs of Nagaland. His village itself was on Changkikong range,—running south to north. Running almost parallel to it was the Langpongkong range on the east and at some angle, with narrowing gap towards the south-east, were the Ongpangkong and the Asestkong ranges. He could not see beyond these. But he knew that on the other side of the Langpangkong range is the Diku river, where the Ao country ends. He has never been to Diku; but since his childhood he has so often heard of it, that sometimes he begins to doubt whether, just like so many other things spoken of in stories, it is something that exists only in shadows, and not in physical reality. The river is so much mixed up with Ao legend of origin that like the hoary past of the tribe, the river also appears to him belong to the past, and not to the present. But the younger people of his village say that it actually exists, and that many of them have seen it. In his days, it was next to impossible to visit Diku. It was very risky for any Naga to go beyond the boundary of his village. The dark shadows over the distant mountain ranges were the unfailing signs of death. His village was raided a number of times by other villages, and his village also did not lag behind. He vividly remembers the exciting days of childhood when once the warriors from this village went out to raid a neighbouring village and returned with thirty heads as trophy. How happy and how proud was he at that time. In retrospect he now feels that head hunting was certainly a silly affair; and it is good that it has not taken place in his area during more than eighty years. But the dark memory of the past lingered on, and even twenty years back one would be always on one's nerves while visiting other villages. How different the things are at present! Now perhaps he could go even on the other side of Diku and see at Chongliyimtl the six stones from where his community originated. But now he is too old and his strength would fail him.

The old man looked to the west. Down below was the Japukong range; and below that was the vast expanse of the plains of Assam. At some distance, like a blue ribbon could be seen the Brahmaputra and far beyond that, almost merging with the horizon could be seen a snow covered peak of the Himalayas. He has often contemplated what should be the name of the peak. He would like to call it, the blazing flame for it looks like that against the morning sun.

Nearer, at the foot of Japukong, some human habitats could be seen parching here and there. The dark patches of some tea plantations could also be seen. The old man was looking at these with a mixed feeling. He remembered his childhood days. He used to hear from his elders that the people of the plains were queer people; they knew so many magics and it was better to avoid them. Now he has seen more of them and he knows that they are not very much different from his own people,—only they have mastered some more skills. But he does not know why he does not like the people of the plains very much. He does not feel very much secure when among them; some sort of eerie feeling stalks out of a hidden crevice of his mind.

The old man did not know when he reached the bamboo clump at the outskirt of the village, musing over the past and the present absent mindedly. In fact he had started from his home to collect some bamboos from the clump. As he was looking closely at the bamboos, to select the suitable ones, suddenly he became conscious of the present like a sharp thrust. For a moment he could not believe his eyes and then he shrieked a curse of dismay. He could clearly see, the husky coloured flowers dangling from the top of the bamboo plants. The bamboo were in blossoms after fifty years-and he knew what it meant. Last time, when the bamboos were in blossom, countless rats invaded the fields and hardly any corn was left to be taken to the granary. There was famine and there was pestilence and the people died like flies. For sometime they tried to survive, by digging up yams wherever they got it. Like carbuncle, the entire land was potted with small holes; and then began the panic which submerged all other fears. Many fled to the adjoining villages and ranges; but the thuds of death were there also. Some trudged their way to the tea gardens at the foothills, and people belonging to traditionally enemy villages were mingled up. They worked side by side in the tea-gardens to clear the jungles; not a few among them tasted mutual friendship, as if they had tasted some forbidden fruit. Calamity was the great unifier. Perhaps this was the beginning of the thaw in mutual animosity and suspicion, carried over for generations.

The old man was, however, in no mood to think over all these. His immediate feeling was that of an overwhelming fear,- fear of a catastrophy that always follows when the bamboos are in blossom. His elders, who were all wise, also knew it, and also they knew that there was no remedy.

The old man hurriedly returned to the village without collecting any bamboo. Within a short time, the news spread through the village like wild fire. The brave Naga people whose courage is a household word throughout the country, were numbed with fear.

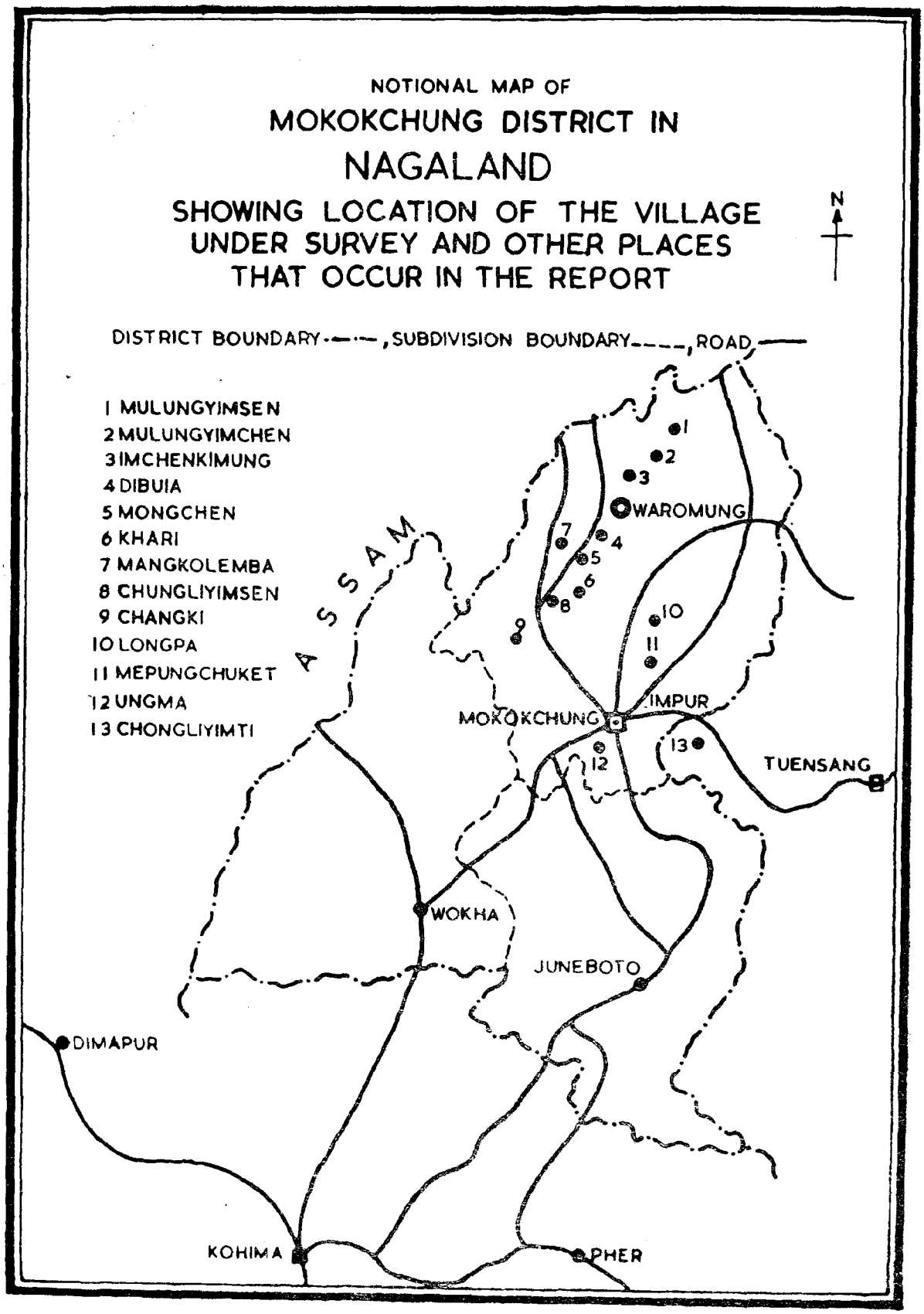
As foreseen by the old man, there was large scale damage of crops by rats. But there was no famine, and no pestilence; for the times had changed. Waromoug in 1962 was not the same as Waromung in 1912. Fifty years ago, the people of Waromoug primarily belonged to Waromung alone. With tenuous exceptions, they mattered no more to the outside world, than do many freaks of nature matter to us today. In 1962 the same people lived at Waromung ; but the frontier of their life was not the same. It was humanity itself.

Much of their past has undoubtedly persisted; but much that is new has emerged out. The functioning of the community life in this Ao Naga village, in the context of persistence and change, is the focus of the present study.

NOTIONAL MAP OF

MOKOKCHUNG DISTRICT IN NAGALAND

SHOWING LOCATION OF THE VILLAGE UNDER SURVEY AND OTHER PLACES THAT OCCUR IN THE REPORT



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The village and the centres connected with it

Waromung is a middle sized village in Mokokchung district of Nagaland with a population of 1,608 living in 282 households.

Situated in the mountaineous border of India and Burma, Nagaland was considered to be a land of mystery even a few decades ago. It is strange why it was considered so. For centuries the Nagas had political, social and economic concourse with the people of the plains of Assam. The Ao Nagas even now speak of a Ahom ruler Lora Raja, who was given shelter by them and who fell in love with a Naga girl. The Nagas were not completely unknown even to the rest of India. It is said that Arjun, the great hero of Mahabharat, fell a victim to the charm of Naga princess—Ulupi.

It, however, appears that for a long time the contact with the rest of India, or even with the immediate neighbours of Assam was very limited in nature and scope. The various Naga tribes had their distinctive traits and to enable them to develop the same according to their genius, Nagaland has been constituted as a separate State with effect from 1st January, 1964. It is in fact the smallest State in India, with a population of barely $3\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs. Mokokchung is one of the three districts in this State, with headquarters in a small town with identical name. Waromung—the village under study is at a distance of 53 kms. north east of Mokokchung (map 1). It is located at 94.5° east longitude and 26.5° north latitude and its altitude is about 3,900 ft. from the sea level.

Mokokchung is not only the headquarters of the district administration, but also it is the headquarters of Ao tribal Council which is a statutory body concerned with matters of common interest for the Ao tribe. A few years ago, a college, named Fazal Ali College was set up at Mokokchung and two boys from the village were reading in the college at the time of the survey. Thus Mokokchung is a sort of cultural capital for the Ao tribe, exercising considerable influence over the people of Waromung. The Police Station, the Telegraph Office and the main Post Office serving the village are also at Mokokchung. Since 1955, there is, however, a branch post office at Changki—25 kms. south of Waromung.

Again for purchase of certain varieties of clothes and luxury goods, Mokokchung is the marketing centre for the village, though for sale of agricultural and forest produce and purchase of necessities of life like salt and grains *etc.* their main marketing centre is Naginijan bazar, tea garden, in the plains of Assam, at a distance of 20 kms. west of the village.

As already noted, the village parches on the Chankikong range,—the second range in Mokokchung district, as one proceeds from the plains of Assam. There are altogether nine villages on the range and Waromung is more or less in the middle, There is a range council to look after the common interests of these nine villages, with headquarters at Chunliyimsen, 21 kms. south of Waromung. The headquarters of the revenue circle is also at the same place. It is on the way from Mokokchung to Waromung.

Since 1957, the village is served by a community development block, with headquarters at Mangkolemba, eight miles south west of the village. The village level worker lives at Waromung itself.

Communication with the outside world

The nearest railway station is Nakachari in Sibsagar district, in the plains of Assam. It is 27 kms. west of Waromung. There is an all-weather motorable road from Nakachari to Naginijan bazar and from Naginijan a foot-track goes upto the village. During the rainy season, it is covered by undergrowths, as very few people use it at that time. At the advent of winter, the foot-track within the respective village boundary is cleared by the villagers themselves. During years of crop failure, however, the position is different. In those years, people require to come down to Naginijan bazar even during the monsoon for purchasing paddy and other requirements. The undergrowths that quickly cover up the foot-track

during the rains are, therefore, cleared up from time to time. Further, a hanging cane bridge is constructed over the river Tsurong just to the west of the village. During the winter, the river bed practically dries up and people can walk over the pebbles without much difficulty. Hence, the bridge is constructed only in the years when the foot-track to Naginijan bazar is used during the monsoon. The bridge is about 18.29 metres long and 1.21 metres wide. The villagers collect large quantity of cane and bamboo which grow in nature in the forest and construct the bridge in a single day. The technique of construction is very simple. Three or four parallel lines of stout canes run across the river at some height and are tied to a tree on the either bank. These canes form the beams of the bridge. At intervals wooden branches are tied to the canes so that these may not separate out. Roughly woven bamboo mats are then fixed over the cane beams, so that the people can walk over the same. For support of the hand, two cane lines are fitted on either side of the bridge at different heights. Though a temporary and simple structure, this serves their purpose very well.

Now-a-days, another approach road to the village has become more important. Since 1958 the village is connected with Mokokchung by a jeepable road. The road from Mokokchung to Chunliyimsen is maintained in a fairly good condition throughout the year. There is an outpost of Assam Rifle within the boundary of Waromung. The road is of vital importance for them. But, sometimes, during the rainy season, the portion between Chunliyimsen and Waromung becomes very slippery and vehicular traffic becomes almost impossible. Landslides are also not infrequent on this portion of the road. Even then, when one contemplates that the village is connected with the outside world with jeepable road, one can easily appreciate that the village is already within the orbit of the modern world—though perhaps the orbit is in perpetual flux due to so many factors of uncertainty.

It is also necessary to take note of another aspect of the question relating to communication. The village is the terminus of the jeepable road from Mokokchung; but this also means that this is the beginning of modern line of communication for more outlying villages like Molungyimsen, Molongyimchen and Yimchenkimung, on the same range. They, however, do not make much use of this road; while going to Mokokchung they prefer to use the route through Amguri, in the plains, as on this route they frequently get lift on the vehicles running from Amguri to Mokokchung. The direct road from Waromung to Mokokchung is not also very safe, due to the activities of a group of Naga hostiles, about whom some mention will be made later on.

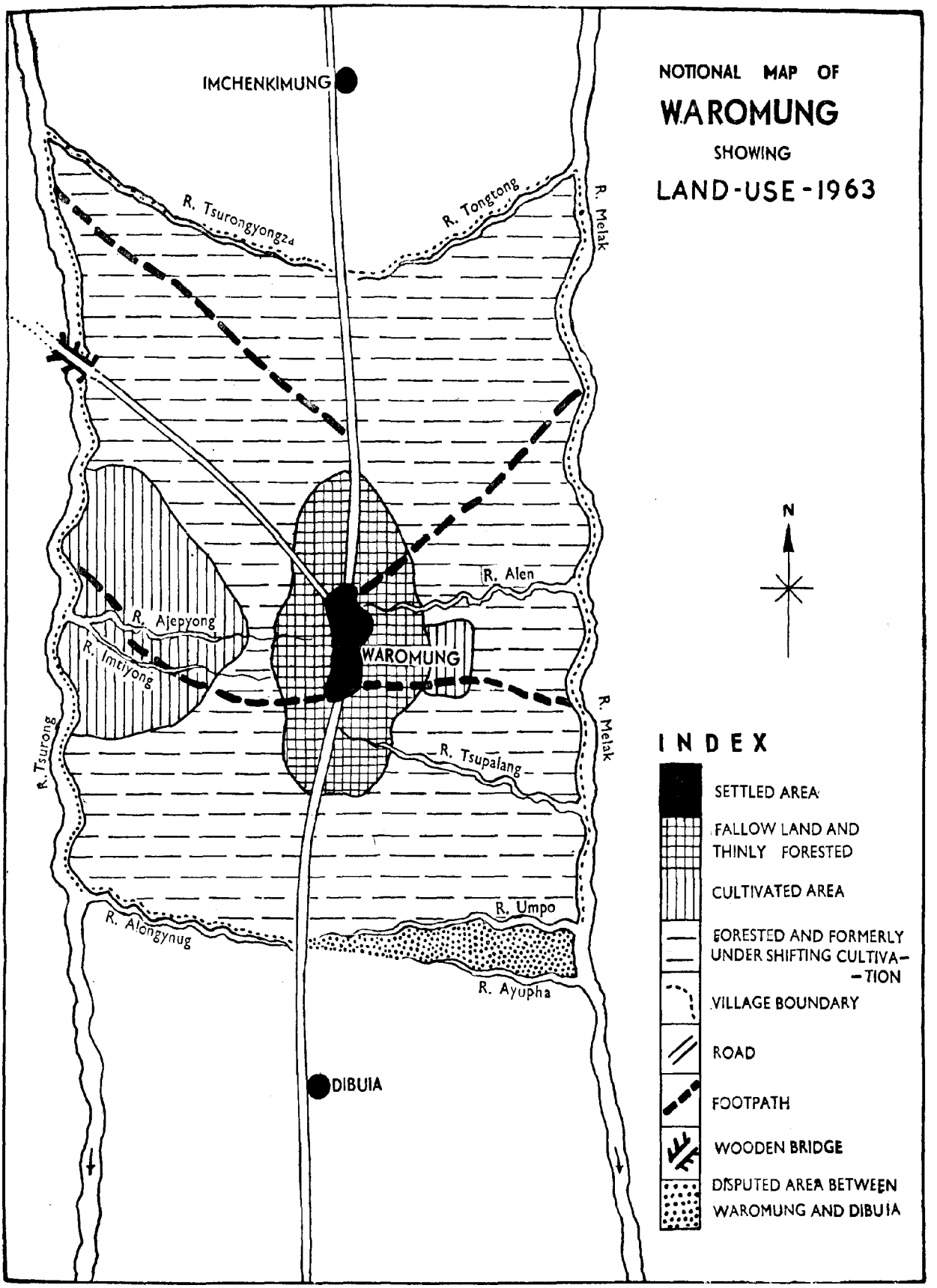
Boundary and size of the village

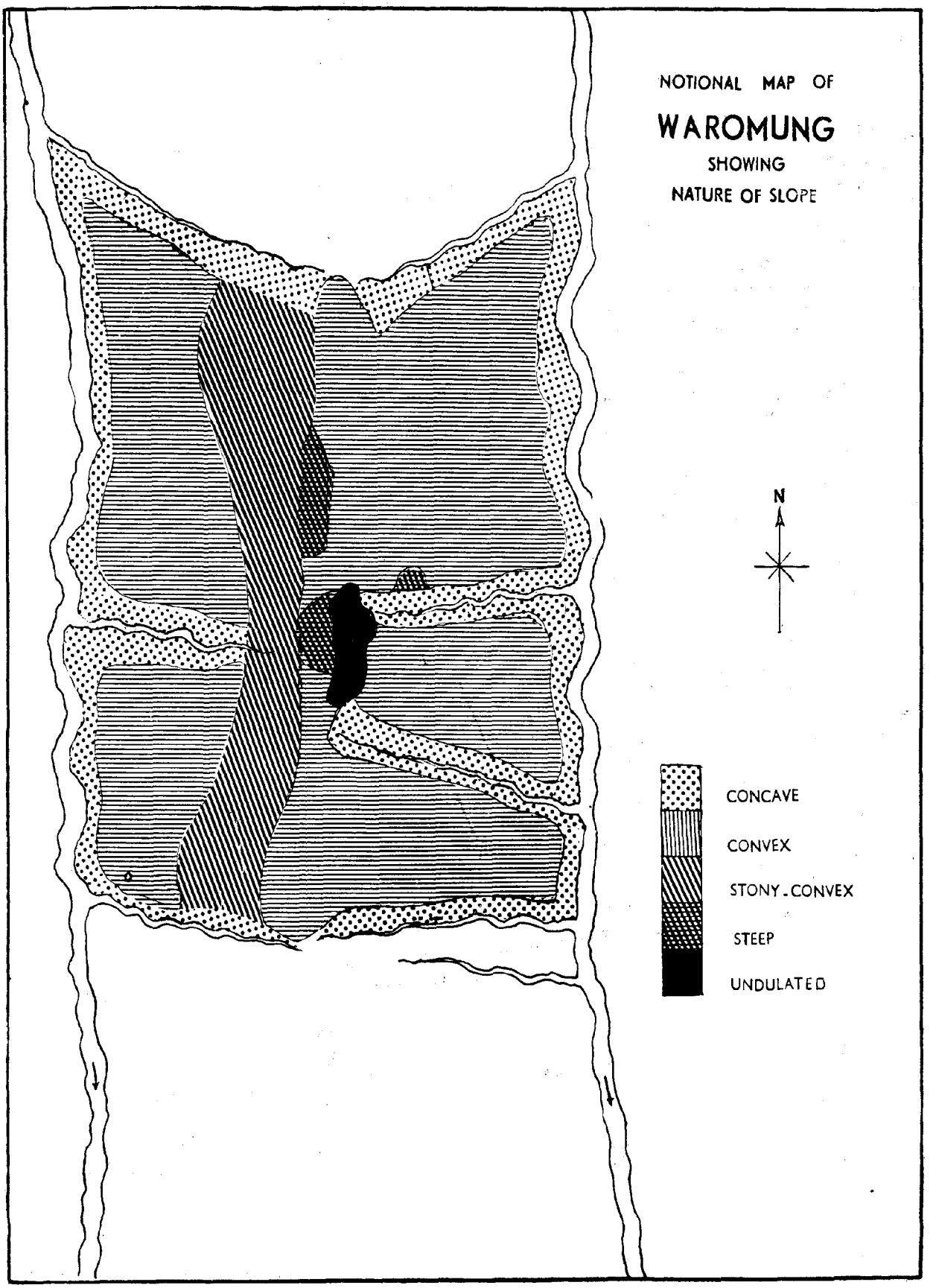
The village is about 77.7 sq. k. metres in size and its boundary is more or less well defined (map 2). On the east and the west it is hemmed by the rivers Melak and Tsurong respectively. On the north, it is separated from the territory of the village Yimchenkimung by the rivulets Tongtong and Tsurongyongza. On the south there are two streams Ajepyong and Umpo which mark the boundary with the village Dibuia in a confusing manner. The people of Waromung claim the land to the south of the rivulet Umpo, upto the rivulet Ayupha to belong to them; but the people of Dibuia do not accept it. According to the latter the territory south of the rivulet Umpo belongs to them.

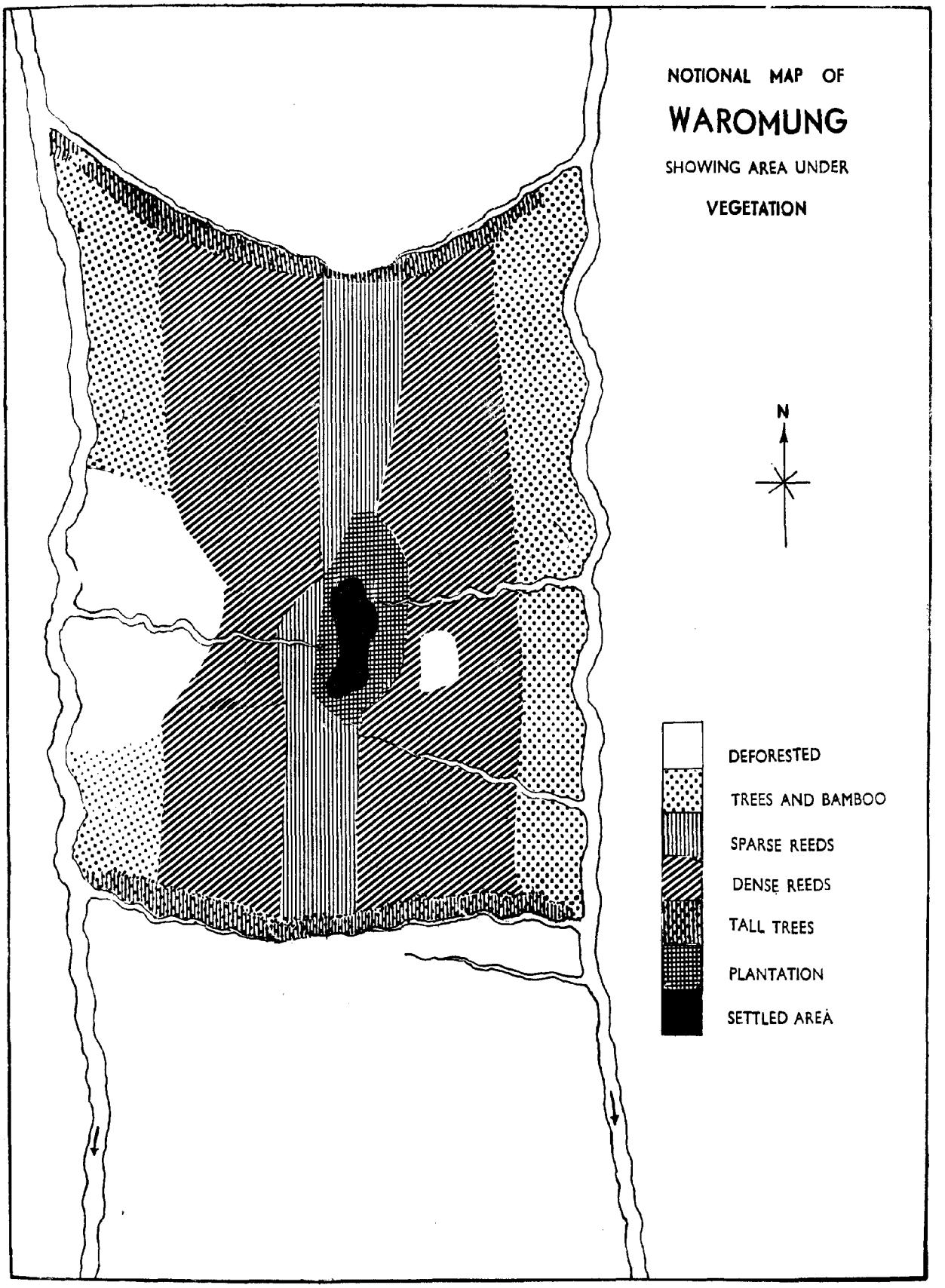
From earlier accounts, it appears that in the pre-British period, rule of the jungle truly prevailed in this hill area and might was the sole arbiter of right. Boundaries of the villages changed from time to time, depending on the fluctuation in the relative strength of the villages concerned. Now the conditions have changed. But some legacy of the past still continues.

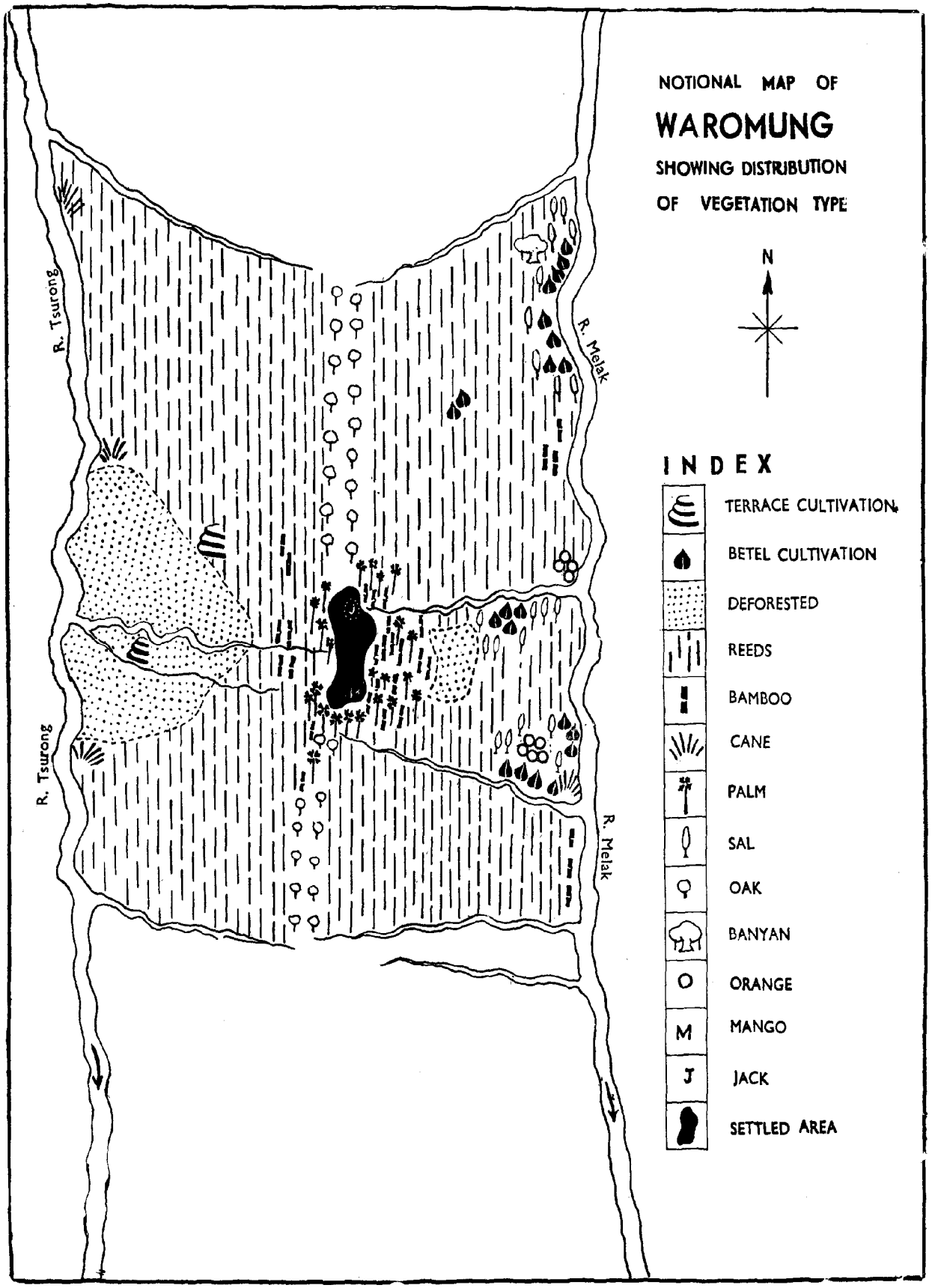
Topography of the area

The habitation site of the village is on the ridge running through the length of the Changkikong range, with gentle undulations here and there. As can be seen even from this village, the habitation areas of all the other villages on this range are on the same ridge. The villagers explain that in Nagaland it was inevitable. All the villages had two types of relationship with the other villages of the area—some were traditionally enemy villages and others were either friendly villages or neutral villages. They were under the constant threat of being raided by the enemy villages. It was, therefore, necessary that the dwellings should be on the ridge so that they could keep watch against surprise


NOTIONAL MAP OF
WAROMUNG
SHOWING
LAND-USE-1963
IMCHENKIMUNG
R. Tsurongyong24
R. Tongtong
R. Melak
R. Alen
R. Ajepyong
R. Imtiyong
WAROMUNG
R. Tsurong
R. Tsupalang
R. Melak
R. Umpo
R. Alongynug
R. Ayupha
DIBUIA
N
INDEX
SETTLED AREA
FALLOW LAND AND THINLY FORESTED
CULTIVATED AREA
FORESTED AND FORMERLY UNDER SHIFTING CULTIVA-TION
VILLAGE BOUNDARY
ROAD
FOOTPATH
WOODEN BRIDGE
DISPUTED AREA BETWEEN WAROMUNG AND DIBUIA


NOTIONAL MAP OF
WAROMUNG
SHOWING
NATURE OF SLOPE
N
CONCAVE
CONVEX
STONY - CONVEX
STEEP
UNDULATED


NOTIONAL MAP OF
WAROMUNG
SHOWING AREA UNDER
VEGETATION
N
DEFORESTED
TREES AND BAMBOO
SPARSE REEDS
DENSE REEDS
TALL TREES
PLANTATION
SETTLED AREA


NOTIONAL MAP OF
WAROMUNG
SHOWING DISTRIBUTION
OF VEGETATION TYPE
N
INDEX
TERRACE CULTIVATION
BETEL CULTIVATION
DEFORESTED
REEDS
BAMBOO
CANE
PALM
SAL
OAK
BANYAN
ORANGE
MANGO
JACK
SETTLED AREA
R. Tsurong
R. Tsurong
R. Melak
R. Melak

enemy attacks. There were also other elaborate defence arrangements, which will be described while discussing the village layout.

At Waromung, though the habitation site is on the ridge, the territory of the village itself seams down to a river valley on either side of the ridge.

A notional map showing the village site and the nature of the slopes in different parts within the territory of Waromung, has been furnished (map 3). This would show that the village site is almost in the middle of the territory of Waromung. From the northern extremity of the habitation area, the border is about 4.03 kms. from the southern extremity it is about 2.42 kms. The village site itself is about 1.61 kms. in length and 0.20 kms. in breadth. From the village site the western border is about 4.03 kms; to the east it is slightly more.

In addition to the rivers and the streams on the four borders, which have been described earlier, there are four streamlets inside the village. Two, *viz.*, Tsubalong and Alen, originating from the eastern slope of the village, flow down to the river Melak. On the west also, there are two streams, Imtiyang and Ajepyong, flowing down to the river Tsurong.

One characteristic of these rivers and the streams is that they do not form deep ravines near the mouth ; but after they run for some distance, they cut sharp ravines. Thus the hill sides are sharply concave on the banks of the rivers and the streams. The shape of the slope over most of the remaining territory is convex with gentle gradience. Immediately to the west of the village site however, there is a steep decline ; there are two other patches of steep decline on the western slope. There is also a fairly wide stony bed, without much surface soil, immediately after the steep decline in the west. This stony bed runs across the whole length of the village territory.

Notional maps shoiwng the area under vegetation and distribution of vegetation type have been drawn up (maps 4a, 4b). There is very dense forest on the steep slope immediately to the west of the village site. On the remaining three sides, for about a distance of 0.81 kms. to 1.2 kms., the village site is encircled by thin forest—mostly consisting of planted palm trees, bamboos *etc*. Then comes the belt, sparsely covered with reeds, both on the northern and the southern sides of the village. This is followed by the area, densely covered with reeds. Then comes the area of hill bamboos, canes and a few species of other trees. This area reaches almost upto the river bank on either side. There are two other dense forest areas :—one is at the northern boundary and another is at the southern boundary.

Shifting cultivation, which is the main source of livelihood for the people is generally practised by rotation over all these areas. But the thin forest area encircling the village is left undisturbed. The dense forest, immediately to the west of the village habitation area, is also undisturbed. But in the latter case, it is nature and not man, which is the deciding factor. The slope here is too steep to be negotiable for cultivation—otherwise perhaps, here too the pattern of vegetation would have been different.

Climate and nature of vegetation

One would expect from the situation of the village at about the height of 1,213 metres, a salubrious and genial climate throughout the year. But for the unpleasant spell of continuous rain-fall during the monsoon, it is really so. The villagers not only enjoy the bracing climate of their place, they also feel secure in it. When they go to Naginijan bazar in the plains, for purchasing the necessities of life, they are reluctant to make night-halt there, even for a single day. They think that the villages in the plains are infested with malaria ; and perhaps from their majestic height they sometimes feel how favoured they are by mother nature, compared to the miserable fellows of the plains, who unlike themselves are to bear the scorching heat during the summer, and are haunted by malaria and other unknown diseases during the monsoon.

During February and March, the village is lashed with gale. Towards the end of March it becomes quite severe. Violent storm combined with heavy shower frequently takes place in April. The villagers still remember the storm of 1954, when many trees were uprooted and houses were blown away. Even parts of the strongly built church building and school building were damaged.

No metereological record is maintained in the village. From Mokokchung information about annual rainfall could be gathered. It varies from 200 cms. to 265 cms. This may give some idea

about the position at Waromung. The villagers are of the view that rainfall at Waromung, is slightly less than that at Mokokchung. The month of heaviest rainfall is June, but sometimes it is deferred to July.

As a result of heavy rainfall there is luxuriant growth of vegetation in the village. Important flora found within the territory of the village are oak (*sulem*) sal, bamboo (*auo*) Jack fruit (*bolong*), mango (*teti*), banyan (*aku*) cane (*arr*) *etc.* There are a few other plants whose english equivalents are not known. Important among them are *sungsa, nesang, sarang* etc.

This list does not include the cash crops and grains, millets, vegetables *etc*, grown by the villagers. Particulars about these will be furnished while discussing agriculture.

Due to the condition of insecurity prevailing in the area, it was not possible to visit all the parts of the village to make an estimate of the number of each type of flora in the village. An attempt will therefore be made only to give a very rough idea.

The oak trees are found in good number on either side of the main road on the ridge; on the other hand the sal trees are scattered in the dense forests in the east and north east portions of the village. A few are also found on the bank of the river Melak. There are only a few banyan trees in the thin forest adjoining the village. A few jack and mango trees are found near the village habitation site. Some areas on the bank of the rivers Melak and Tsurong are densely covered with canes. There are also some betel-leaf vines in the village. These are mostly situated near the bank of the river Melak. A few vines are also situated near the banks of the streams Alen and Tsubalong.

There are two orange groves within the territory of the village. Both are near the bank of the river Melak.

Bamboo and palm trees—specially bamboos are planted in very large number as these are indispensable for construction of houses and many other purposes. Location of the bamboo groves has been earlier indicated, while discussing the topography of the village.

Wild animals

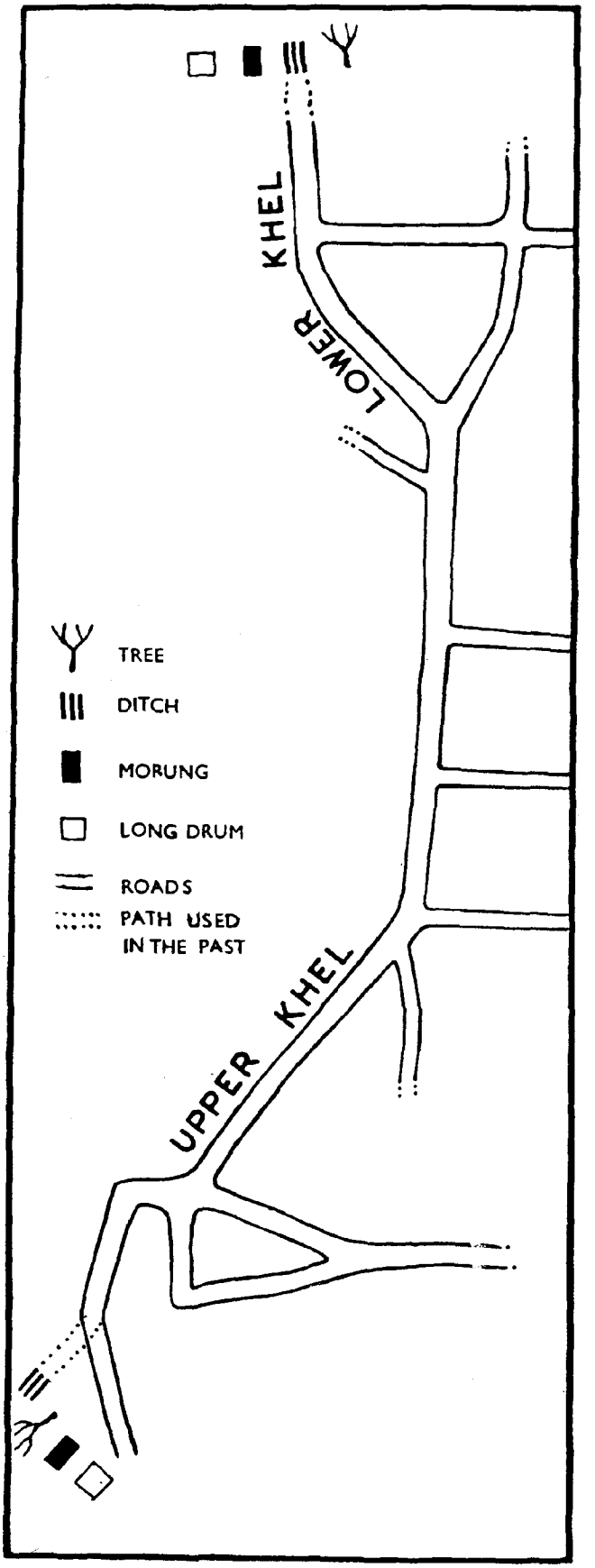
The list of the wild animals roving the dense forests of the Changkikong range, is quite impressive. It abounds in tigers, elephants, deer, boars, monkeys, wild goats, wild buffaloes, bears and wild snakes. These are involved in the economic and social life of the villagers in diverse manners. An indication of the same will be given while discussing the economic life. Here, mention will be made of an interesting belief, which is quickly becoming obsolete. In 1959, died an old woman in the village—perhaps the last of her type. It was believed that while asleep, her body used to remain in its place, but the soul roamed about in the form of a tiger If the tiger was chased she became uneasy. If any injury was caused to the tiger, the same would be found on her body also. How the end came to this tiger woman has not been recorded; but it seems that such belief in lycanthropy was very common in the past. Now the people scoff such belief, rather in a vociferous manner. But who can say whether the vehemence of their scorn is not more directed against their own inward belief, which they find it very difficult to get rid of, inspite of all their conscious sophistication ?

Important public places and layout of the residential area

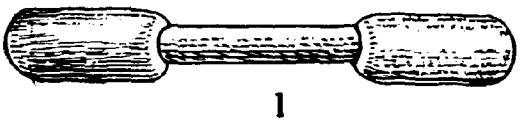
In this village, as in all other Naga villages, one feels, as if the present is just coming out, after a dip in the fountain of the past. The raiment of the present, is so much soaked in the past—which in fact can hardly be called past, that it is impossible to describe even the physical configuration of the village without a reference to the past.

As one goes round the habitation site, the villagers would stop at many places and tell in a low voice, as if divulging a secret, that here was a ditch, which has now been filled up.

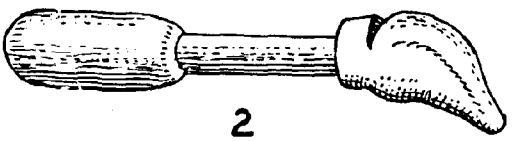
In the past there was a high wall of wooden stakes lashed together by cane ropes, all around the residential area, except where the precipitious nature of the ground made it unnecessary, for protection against enemy villages. There was a gate at the either end of the village, through which only entrance or exit was possible. To make the defence doubly sure, there was a deep ditch leading to the gate on the either side (map 5a). Each gate could be closed by a huge door, hewn out of a single piece of wood. The door was ornamented with roughly carved out circles,



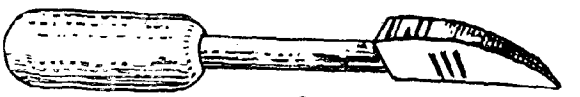
5 (a) Outline of the residential area 50 years ago



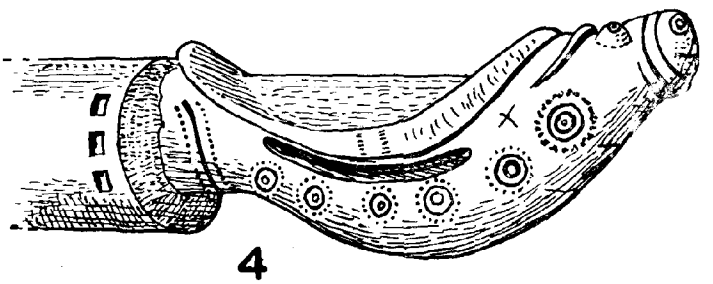
1



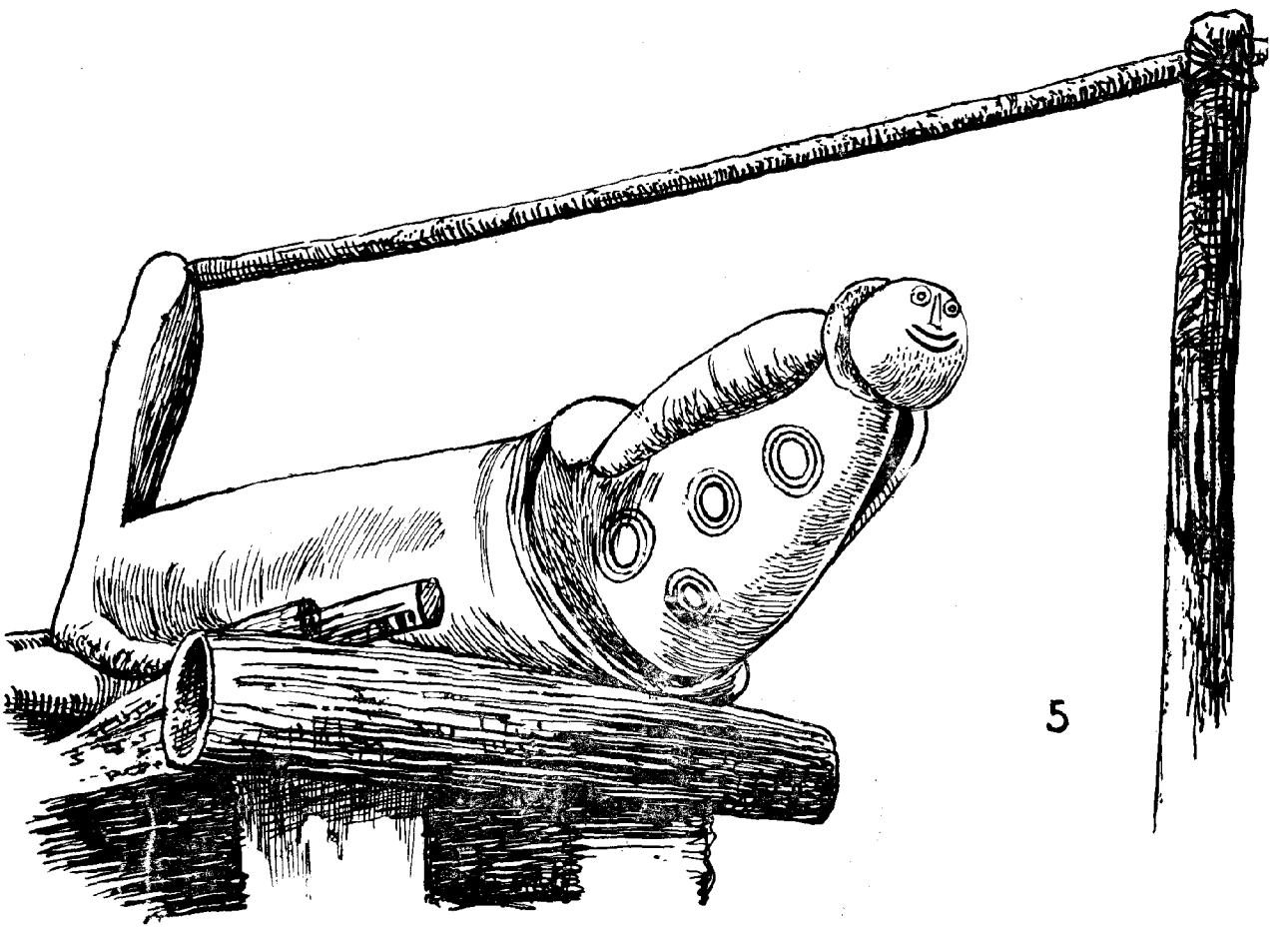
2



3



4



5

Plate No. 1 War drum

1, 2, 3 –Drum stickers

4 –Head of drum

5 –Carving on 'nose' of drum

(Reproduced from Ao Nagas by J. P. Mills, 1926)

representing human heads. There was a lichgate like structure over the gate to protect the door from sun and rain. Look-out platforms were also constructed on trees at strategic points—mostly on the southern side, as the enemy villages were on that side. Truly, Waromung was a 'barricaded fortress' as noted by Majumdar (p. 33) for all Ao villages in a general way.

Near each gate, there was an *areju or morung* (bachelors' dormitory), which was a complex institution, serving many purposes, including the purpose of guard house for the village.

Adjoining each *areju* was another house, where was kept the war-drum called *sungkong* or *tongden.* It was made by scooping out the trunk of a huge tree. It looked like a crocodile and could be divided into four parts—the head, the neck, the body and the tail. A photo of the war-drum of this village was fortunately published by Mills in 1926. A pen and ink reproduction of the same is furnished in Plate No. 1. It is not possible to give the exact measurements of this war-drum, but one can get some idea from the following description published by Mazumdar (p. 38). "The size of the scounskong varies in different villages. The Namkam* drums are the largest, being 14 ft. in diameter and 59 ft. in length. The drum is lightly fastened to a stone. Three or four drum sticks measuring 11 or 12 ft in length and 3 or 4 inches in diameter are attached to the scounskong and these sticks beating upon the drum provide the war music of the Nagas."

Now, not only the ditch has been filled up, but the protective wall, the gates, the *arejus* and the war drums have also disappeared. What remains, is only a faint memory.

With this glimpse into the past, let us have a look at the village, as it is at-present.

As one enters the territory of the village by jeepable road from the south, one comes across a huge boulder standing majestically by the road side. The Aos call it Changchanglung and once held it in great reverence. Mills (p. 216-217) has given the following account about it "Changchanglung used to be at war with Kibulung, the big boulder in the Lhota country between Lakhunti and Akuki. One day Kibulung came and killed one of Changchanglung's men and took his head. Changchanglung was in his field at that time, but he hurried home when he heard the alarm. With such a speed did he chase Kibulung that he caught him up at Langbha and forced him to drop the head. Kibulung succeeded in getting away, but the head which immediately turned into stone, was taken charge of by Kangphalung, another stone who reverently laid a flat stone over it as a man would lay a cloth over a corpse. In the old days the Tsungren of Changchanglung had a bad reputation as pottergeist. Boys sleeping in the *morung* at the end of Waromung, nearest to it, would be knocked off their sleeping benches, it is said, by invisible hands or even carried bodily outside the village. Animals tied up for sacrifice, too would often be loosed. The spirit of the stone was not wholly malignant however, at times it would appear in a dream to the man who performed the annual sacrifice and give useful information about the future. But it is not to be trifled with. No one spits or jabs his spear into the ground when passing the stone and if disturbed it is likely to bring on a bad storm. A yearly sacrifice of a dog is offered by Waromung. The ceremony must be performed by a man of Kabzar clan, with a man of Mulir clan as his assistant. In return they have the right of cultivating a certain piece of land. But though the annual sacrifice is continued, the glory of the stone has departed. No longer does its *Tsungrem* foretell the future, and no longer are oaths sworn on it. The tree which grew out of the top of it, was cut down by converts of the American Baptist Mission and the stone defiled."

This is what Mills wrote about the stone nearly forty years ago. Since then there has been further change. The villager accompanying the visitor would tell that now the annual sacrifice has been totally stopped. Even many people do not know the story about the feud between Changchanglung and kibulung. The sacredness of the stone is just a memory of the past.

After crossing the stone, as one would proceed a furlong or so towards the north, one would be

*There is no village in Ao area called Namkam. There is, however, a big village by the name Longkum.

told that at a distance of less than 800 metres east of the road, there is a fishing tank, a part of which can be seen from the road. Proceeding another 1.50 kms. along the road, one would come across the burial ground for the people living in the southern part of the village. The burial ground again, is not the same as what it was before. Previously there were a large number of small huts in the burial ground, with bamboo platforms or *machangs* inside. The dead bodies were laid at rest on these platforms. This custom ceased to exist in this village, at least two generations ago. Now, the burial ground is without any structure.

As one proceeds along the road, one can see a number of foot-tracks branching off—from the road and disappearing in the forest. These foot-tracks lead to the plantations and fields. At a distance of about two furlongs from the habitation area, is the Middle English School. It is slightly away from the main road and there is a separate approach road to it.

On entering the village habitation area, the jeepable road passes along the top of the ridge for some distance, and a loop road branches out of it and meets it again and runs along the length of the whole village. The jeep can play only upto the middle of the village. The main road inside the village is about 1.8 metres in width and is roughly paved with stones. (Plate No. 2).

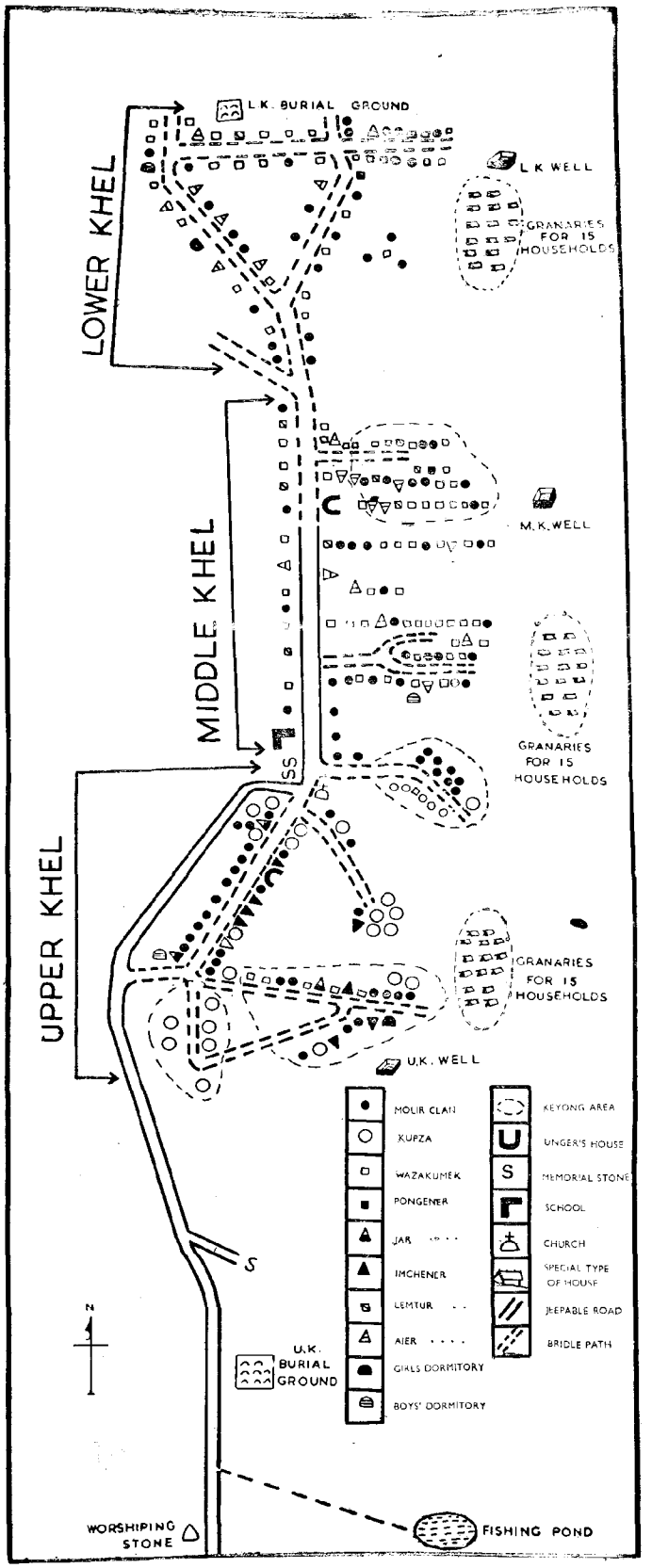
One can see from the top of the village that there are three sections in the dwelling area (map. 5.b). They call each section, *Khel*. According to Ao (p. 15) an Ao village is generally divided into two *khels*—Impang (upper *Khel*) and Imlang (lower *Khel*). In some villages, however, there are more *khels*. Originally at Waromung also there were two *khels*, the upper *Khel* and the lower *Khel*. The southern section. where a visitor would reach first, while coming from Mokokchung was the upper *Khel*. Here the altitude is slightly higher than the rest of the village. With gentle gradience there is a slight depression in the ridge followed by more or less uniform level for about a furlong, then again there is gradual alleviation. The upper *Khel* extended upto the base of the depression, where uniform level of the ridge starts. The rest was the lower *Khel*.

In 1953, the people of Waromung decided to divide the lower *Khel* or Imlang into two separate units *viz.* Imlang (lower *Khel*) and Tiyang (middle *Khel*). There has been no change in the Jurisdiction of upper *Khel*. The portion of the ridge where the height is more or less at the same level, is the middle *Khel* and the alleviation at the north is the lower *Khel*.

Before the division of the lower *Khel* into two separate units, it was felt that there were too many houses in this *Khel* and hence there was more chance of outbreak of fire. It was also found difficult to divide work conveniently between the two *Khels*, in matters of common interest to the village, because of great disparity of population. The exact population in the different *Khels* in 1963 is not known, but during the survey there were 100 households in upper *Khel* and 180 households in the rest of the village.

When the middle *khel* was carved out, the physical continuity of the then lower *khel* was broken by removing some households from the junction where the northern alleviation of the village starts. At present there are 108 households in middle *khel* and 72 households in lower *khel*.

It is interesting to note that the upper *khel* and the lower *khel* are known by two other names as well, Mongsen and Chungli, respectively. While at the village level, these two names stand for two different territorial units, at the level of the Ao tribe as a whole, they have entirely different significance. Primarily these are two dialect groups, with difference in political system, dress, ornaments, food habit *etc*. There are different clans affiliated to the two groups. How the names of these two social and cultural divisions came to be associated with territorial divisions—not only at Waromung, but also in most of the Ao villages, is not known. Both in the upper *khel* and the lower *khel*, the clans belonging to both the divisions live. It is not unlikely that originally when the people settled in this village, the people belonging to Mongsen division settled in the upper *khel* and the poeple belonging to Chungli division settled in the lower *khel* and that later on the pattern was vitiated by intra-village change of dwelling site, by people belonging to both the divisions. An intensive study of 40 households shows that 16 households have changed their residence within the village once during the present generation, 11



5 (b) Lay out of the residential area of Waromung as at present

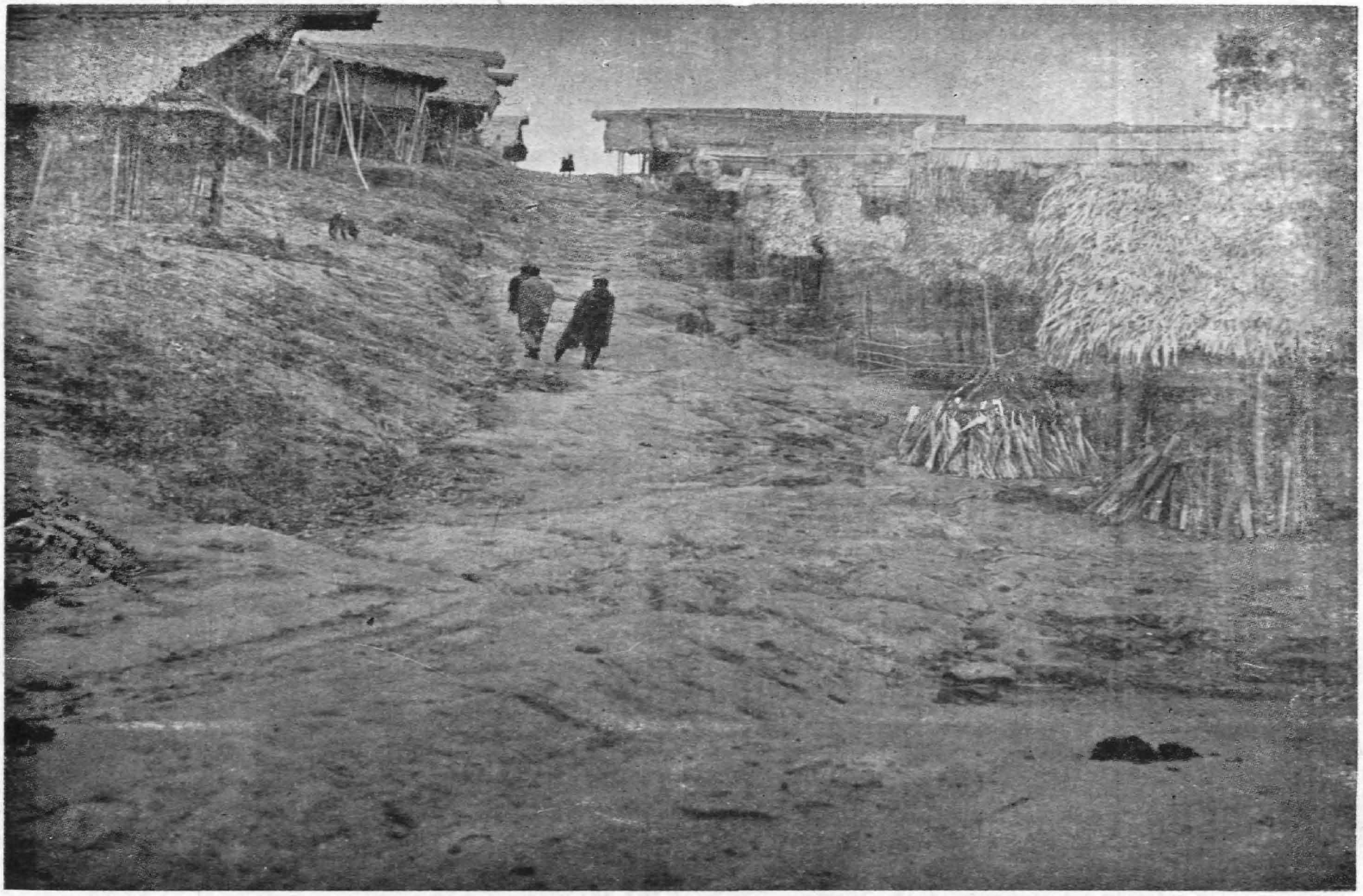


Plate No. 2 The main road inside the village

households have changed residence twice and 5 households have changed residence thrice. These facts, clearly indicate that whatever might be the original pattern, it has been considerably affected by frequent change of residence by the villagers. But the villagers themselves do not have any consensus, that originally the Mongsen and the Chungli people settled in two separate parts of the same village and that the name of the *khels* have been derived from this fact. It is, therefore, quite risky to speculate on this matter.

In addition to the three main divisions of the village that one can see from the top of the ridge, one can see, that each division is sub-divided into a number of neighbourhood groups. This configuration is the result of huddling of houses on both sides of a number of lanes which have branched out of the main road. All these lanes are on the eastern slope of the ridge; on the west there is only a single row of houses, as immediately behind the row, the ground is precipitious in nature and any construction is out of question.

On the eastern side, though the houses are mostly situated in rows on both sides of the lanes, at certain places they are two or three rows deep without any intervening lanes.

The houses are very close together. Four households were asked to indicate the number of neighbours within a distance of 200 metres. Three households reported more than 10 neighbours each and one household reported 5-10 neighbours. These figures however do not reflect the exact position for the village as a whole. In many places it is possible to step out from the platform at the back of one house to the platform at the back of the next one.

The neighbourhoods in each division are called *Keyongs*. According to Ao (p. 16), sub-divisions of a *Khel* are called *Mepu* and each *mepu* is usually inhabited by a particular clan. *Keyong* is a sub-division of *mepu* and families having a common ancestry live in a particular *Keyong*. This pattern does not prevail at Waromung. In fact, according to the villagers, there is no village in Changkikong and Japokong range where this pattern prevails. In this village *mepu* and *Khel* are considered to be synonymous. There is no area in the village inhabited by a particular clan only. This can be easily seen in the map of the village residential pattern (map 5b). Similarly it is not correct to state that *Keyong* is inhabited by the families belonging to the same lineage. In a number of cases it has been found that brothers, or even fathers and sons live in different *Keyongs*.

Whatever, may be the position in other villages, in this village *Keyong* is just a neighbourhood group. It would, however, be wrong to consider *Keyong*, merely as an area, where the households are juxtaposed without any relation to one another. The *Keyongs* are vaguely felt moral entities—though not always crystalised into social structure. During crucial events of life, like marriage and death, people of the same *Keyong* are expected to stand by each other; sometimes in the community activities in the village,—for instance, clearance of a foot-track,—duties are assigned with *Keyong* as the unit. It is significant to note that the *Keyongs* have definite names. There are three *Keyongs* in the upper *Khel*. They are, *Mer Keyong*, *Akusangok keyong* and *Kuja keyong*. In the middle *khel* there are two *Keyongs*—*Yinten keyong* and *Tongpangchanglu keyong*. In the lower khel also there are three *keyongs*—*Yimsen keyong*, *Mer keyong* and *Hametong keyong*. The names have been derived mainly from different events or physical characteristics. *Mer keyong* means the lane away from the main road, *Akusang* means banyan tree. In the old days, there was a banyan tree in the area and the name of the keyong was derived from that. *Kuja keyong* means the place where a tiger was once killed. The name *Tongpangchanglu keyong* has been derived from the name of the owner of the land. *Yimsen keyong* means neighbours inhabiting a new area. How the names of the other *keyongs* were derived, is not definitely known.

After taking a bird's eye view of the layout of the village into *khels* and *keyongs*, if the visitor makes a circuit of the village he would find that most of the houses are more or less of the same pattern, though they belong to different clans. These are built against slopes—the front portion being at the ground level, the hind portion is supported at a height of 0.61 to 2.73 metres from the ground, by wooden posts. In a few houses the open platform at the back goes upto the height of 4.85 meters or so.

A few houses are however of special type. Just

near the top of the ridge in the southern extremity of the residential area, is the bachelors' dormitory of the upper *khel*. Similarly, near the top of the ridge in the northern extremity of the residential area, is the bachelors' dormitory of the lower *khel*. A separate dormitory for the bachelors of the middle *khel* has been constructed in recent years, at a distance of about 90 metres, east of the road. The site of this dormitory may be considered to be more or less the mid point of the village. There are also three girls' dormitories—one for each *khel*. The girls' dormitory for the upper *khel* is away from one main road. It is almost at the eastern end of the loop-road that branches out of the main road in the southern extremity of the village. The girls' dormitories for the other two *khels*, can however be seen, as one walks along the main road. Both are more or less in the middle portion of their respective *khels*, and are situated on the western side of the road.

While walking along the main road, one would also come across two other important buildings—the village church and the village Lower primary school. The church is situated just at the junction of the upper *khel* and the middle *khel*. It is on the eastern side of the road. Slightly north of the church, on the other side of the road are two memorial stones. These are flat and oblong in shape. One is in memory of late Shri Shiluchiba, who died six years ago. It was he, who took the first initiative in organising the church in the village. He was Pastor of the village church for a long time. He was also a *gaonbura* or headman for about 20 years. The other stone memorial is in commemoration of Christian Endeavour Jubilee year which was celebrated in 1957 after 25 years of its existence. Slightly to the north of the memorial stones, is the village L. P. School.

After reaching the northern extremity of the village residential area, if one goes further north, one can see a bushy land very near the road side which was once the burial ground of the lower *khel*. This was abandoned about fifteen years ago; and about 600 metres further north of it, is the new burial ground. Thus there are two burial grounds in the village, one for the upper *khel* in the south, another for the lower *khel* in the north. As the middle *khel* constituted a part of the lower *khel* even ten years ago, they do not have any separate burial ground. They use the burial ground of the lower *khel*.

If one goes to the backside of the village residential area, *i. e.* to the east of the village, one can see the granaries and the sources of drinking water. Most of the families have their granaries, separate from their dwellings, for fear of fire. There are three clusters of granaries—one belonging to each *khel*. In each cluster there are about 30 to 50 structures.

The drinking water tank of the lower *khel* is situated near the cluster of granaries belonging to the people of that *khel*. The tank is dug up in the bed of the stream. It is about 3.3 metres in length and 0.9 metres in breadth. The depth of the bed of the tank is not uniform. It is deeper towards the direction of the flow of water—the maximum depth being 1.50 meters. Keeping an opening towards the direction from which water flows, the other three sides are paved, so that water is preserved in the tank.

The drinking water tanks for the middle *khel* and the upper *khel* are also constructed on the same principle, in the beds of the streams originating just below the slopes of those two *khels*. The tank of the lower *khel* was excavated only in 1951, the other two tanks are very old.

The people take great care to maintain these tanks; every year these are cleansed and repaired. But the tanks do not appear to serve the people well. During winter there is scarcity of water and an unseemly competition starts among the people, who otherwise co-operate so much with one another in various walks of life. Sometimes the ladies would sneak to the tank in the midnight, before others are there to fetch water; thus for a few months go on the war of water. But at the end of the winter, the feelings again warm up and the cold war of the winter months is quickly forgotten. The streams become the spots of lively scenes. The women go to the streams in groups to bathe and wash their clothes; the youths go further down the streams, specially on the Sundays, to wash and refresh themselves. Thus the stream of life goes on in this village.

Legendary history of the settlement of the village

The old fathers of the village say that the Aos started to live here about six to seven hundred years

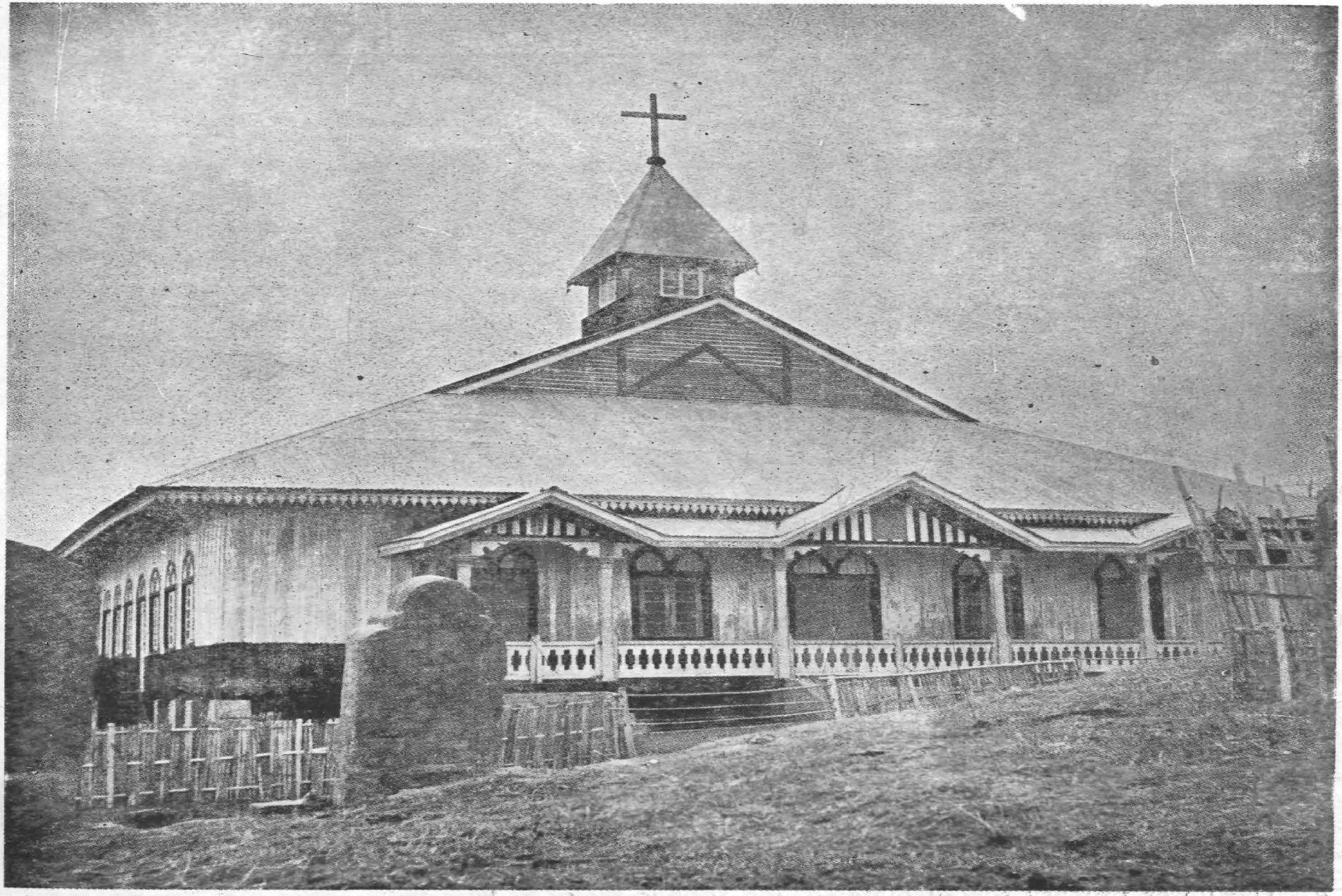


Plate No. 3 The village Church



Plate No. 4 The lower primary school building, the roof is thatched with palm-leaves and the walls are made of woven bamboo strips.



Plate No. 5 (a) Bamboo water containers being filled at one of Stone-paved village tanks



Plate No. 5 (b) Hollow bamboo containers for carrying water for households use are borne in bamboo baskets straped to the backs of the young girls and looped over their heads by palm-leaf thongs



Plate No. 5 (c) Hollow bamboo containers for carrying water for households use

ago. Four elders were asked the question separately. Three indicated more or less the same time ; one preferred to express his ignorance. But it is not likely that he is unaware of the consensus in this matter among the elders of the village. It seems that he is uncertain about the validity of such consensus.

The different lineages have some vague idea about when their ancestors first came here. The ancestors of the senior most lineage are believed to have settled here about 20 generations ago. They calculate 30 years for each generation, but if the calculation is made on the standard adopted by the historians, the Ao settlement should be about five hundred years old.

Mills (p. 9—10) has recorded that according to Ao belief, Natuso area of this village, was once the site of a different group of people—the Nokrangr, who seem to have some sort of affinity with the Konyaks. They had a number of settlements on the present Ao territory. When pushed by the Aos from the west, many are believed to have crossed the Brahmaputra and to have been merged with the Daflas : some believe that these legendary people are the ancestors of the Miris of the Brahmaputra valley. It is also considered that some of them continued to stay on, and became gradually merged with their invaders.

During enquiry in the village, the people stated that though the Nokrangrs once inhabited Natuso hill—the highest ridge within the territory of Waromung, they never lived in the present residential area. Though they spoke a different dialect, they had no animosity with the Aos of Waromung. They were driven away to the plains by raiders from Longkum. At that time Akangla, the wife of the then *unger*, Layongpong, helped the Longkum people. The people of the Waromung believe that the Nokrangrs are the ancestors of the Miris of Assam.

The people of Waromung claim that their village is the first settlement of the Aos in Changkikong range. Mills (p. 11) also has recorded that Waromung was the first Mongsen village in the range. It however appears that the honour is contested by at least another village *viz.* Khari, though perhaps in a furtive manner. It has not been examined, whether such claims and counter claims could have been the occasions for clattering of spears and bill-hooks in the past, but it is obvious that even now these are considered to be very delicate issues. To the people concerned these are not just academic questions;—their beliefs about their past are sacred heirlooms to be defended.

The tradition among the villagers of Waromung is that they came from Longpachen—the present Longpa village. It is about 19 kms. south-east of Waromung as Asetkong range. One day, two persons from Longpachen, Sangpang of Molir clan and Pangta of Kupzar clan happened to come to Waromung, during the course of their normal wandering for collection of wild roots and fruits. They saw the place and they loved it. They decided to start a new habitation there. They cut a cane creeper hanging over the top of a tall tree, so that they could identify the spot when they would return with their people.

Unknown to them, another person also was scouting the area at the same time. He belonged to Retuali, whithin the territory of the village Ungma. This man, named Saupong, belonged to Jarir clan. He was searching a wild boar wounded by his spear. When he could find it, the boar was already dead due to the deep injury caused by the spear and a swarm of crows was feasting on the carcass. The place was very near the spot selected by the two men from Longpachen. This man from Retuali also liked the place and decided to settle a village there. He too similarly cut a cane-creeper, as a sign.

Both the parties were now aware of each other's presence. They met in the forest and decided to return on a fixed day to set up their abodes in the place. They named it Waromung (*Waro*=crow ; *mung*=stay) after the swarms of crows found on the carcass of the boar.

Saupong however failed to come from Retuali on the appointed day due to birth of a son. He came one week later. In the meantime Sangpang and Pangta, thinking that he would not turn up, contacted another person, Atsulemba of Mopongchuket village, to settle at Waromung. Atsulemba, belonged to Wazakum clan. He agreed to come on the condition that he would be given all the privileges of seniority.

Thus the privileges of seniority are at present

enjoyed in the village by the people of three clans, *viz.* Kupzar, Wazakum and Molir—the descendents of the three original settlers. As Saupong came one week later, the people of his clan Jarir, are not entitled to the privileges of seniority.

According to tradition, the original settlers started their life here about twenty generations ago. The other clans came much later. Aiers and Lemturs came from the village Jami about seven generations back. Similarly Pongeners and Imcheners are also late comers. But when exactly they came, is not known.

Immigration and emigration

During the last fifty years no new family has settled in the village. There are however four cases, where the families which had earlier left the village for earning their livelihood, came back and set up their homes.

In contrast to in-migration, there are many cases of out-migration from the village. During group discussion with the villagers, it was estimated that five families left the village even earlier than thirty years ago ; six family left the village during 21—30 years ; one family left during 11—20 years and twenty families left during the last ten years. Among these emigrant families during the whole period, 14 belong to Molir clan, 7 to Wazakum clan and 7 to the other clans. It is to be noted that Molir and Wazakum are numerically the most dominant clans in the village. Otherwise also they are quite influential. As 75% of the migrants belong to these clans, it is obvious that these migrants were not forced by inter clan rivalry, or compulsive pressure at the clan level.

The villagers are of the view that most of the out-migration that took place earlier than ten years, were for improving the conditions of life. In many cases they left the village not because they could not earn their livelihood here, but because, they preferred to have a different way of life. Most of them went to Mokokchung and Dimapur. Many of the out-migrations that have taken place during the last ten years, however stand on a different footing. A condition of insecurity has prevailed over a large part of Nagaland during the last decade, due to the activities of a group of people, who want a separate State for the Nagas. From time to time they appear in the villages from their hide-outs and extort contribution from the villagers in cash or kind. If they get a chance, they also kidnap educated youngmen, to work with them. To check their activities, the Government has also tightened the security measures, and sometimes the people are afraid of being wrongly identified as hostiles. Many have, therefore, escaped to comparatively less disturbed areas like Tuensang, Dimapur *etc.* or to administrative centres like Mokokchung, Kohima *etc.* The educated youngmen, generally avoid visiting the village even for a short duration for fear of being kidnapped by the hostiles.

In addition to the families which have permanently left the village, there are at present 64 persons belonging to the village, who are living outside. Many of them are in Government service in various positions, begining from peons to gazetted officers. Majority of them are however school teachers. The Sojourners from the village include two qualified nurses and three mid-wives.

Though they live outside the village, these people have not been uprooted from the village life. They have their property in the village and they take active interest in the affairs of the village. Thus though physically away, emotionally they are very much part of the village. They are both outsiders and insiders in the village community life and their role will be discussed, while discussing the social life of the village.

Important events in the village

Three old men of the village including one more than eighty years old, were asked to mention five important events in the village. They mentioned the following :—

1 Raid by enemy villages and head hunting
2 Famine
3 Cholera epidemic
4 Activities of the hostiles
5 Burning of houses

During the last three generations no head-hunting has taken place in this village ; legacy of past hostility however continued for a long time, specially with four villages—the names of which the people of

the village would not like to be mentioned. During the present generation the situation has radically changed. Today, the people are more anxious to forget that there are certain villages which were once their enemy villages ; they simply fail to understand the mental zigzags of those days. The old feelings have been submerged by the tide of Naga brotherhood ; but the old memory is still there, specially in the minds of those who lived the horror of those dark days in their childhood.

The famine took place more than fifty years ago, and many people died. Those who experienced the horror, remember it with so great intensity that this event of the past has become a mysterious present for the people of that area. Stories of the famine make an epic of fear for this brave people and their world view has been undoubtedly coloured by it to a considerable extent.

The cholera epidemic followed in the wake of the famine. In fact the people link it with the famine.

The activities of the hostiles have already been mentioned. There is also counter-action by the village guards to curb the hostiles. People become specially nervous when a rumour gets circulation that somebody in the village has given shelter to the hostiles. Twice houses were burnt, while forcing the hostiles to come out. The unfortunate people of this beautiful land are living a life of perpetual night-mare for last one decade. They want peace ; they want an end to unnecessary violence. It seems that peace is at the corner ; but the memory of these unhappy days will continue for generations.

Though not stated by the villagers themselves, one outstanding event, which has brought about complete transformation in the life of the people, during the last three generations, deserves special mention ; it is introduction of Christianity in the village. The first missionary to come to the village is Godhula Brown. He started his preachings in 1881 and in 1882, five persons embraced Christianity. Now except five persons, all are Christians in this village.

Thus in 1882, started a new chapter in the life of the people of Waromung, though at that time its implications were not clear to the puzzled villagers. This will be discussed while discussing the religious life of the people.

CHAPTER II

THE PEOPLE

Ethnic composition of the village

There is an outpost of Assam Rifle within the territory of Waromung, but away from the residential area of the village. For obvious reason, the floating population of the outpost, has not been covered by the present survey. If they are left out, the entire population of Waromung belongs to only one community, the Ao Nagas.

Ethnography of the Ao Nagas

Perhaps in popular imagination, the Nagas, more than any other community, symbolise the tribal population of the country. But with effect from 1st January, 1964, the Nagas of Nagaland, have ceased to be Scheduled Tribes within the meaning of the Constitution of India.

Notwithstanding the change in the statutory position, it is beyond doubt that the Nagas constitute a very special group among the population of India. The Ao Nagas, comprise a segment of the Nagas. It would be useful to examine the place of the other segments of the Nagas, in the social profile of the Ao Nagas.

According to Elwin (p. 4) "The derivation of the word Naga is obscure. It has been explained as meaning 'hillman' from the Sanskrit Naga, a mountain. It has been linked with Kachari Naga, a young man or warrior. Long ago, Ptolemy thought it meant 'naked'. It has nothing to do with snakes.

The most likely derivation to my mind is that which traces 'Naga' from the word nok or 'people' which is its meaning in a few Tibeto-Burman languages, as in Garo, Nocte and Ao.

The name, however, was not in general use among the Nagas until recently. It was given them by the people of the plains and in the last century was used indiscriminately for the Abors and Daflas as well as for the Nagas, themselves. Even as late as 1954, I found the people of Tuensang rarely speaking of themselves as Nagas, but as Konyaks, Changs, Phoms and so on."

Elwin has further pointed out that the application of the name is confusing. In this connection he quotes Hutton as follows "It is generally assumed in a vague sort of way that those tribes which are spoken of as Nagas have something in common with each other which distinguishes them from the many other tribes found in Assam and entitles them to be regarded as a racial unit in themselves. The truth is that, if not impossible it is exceedingly difficult to propound any test by which a Naga tribe can be distinguished from other Assam or Burma tribes, which are not Naga."

In the village under survey, it was found that though there is some sort of consensus as to who are the Nagas, it is very nebulous. In a general way it is stated in the village that there are 14 Naga tribes. Four old men of the village were asked separately to give the names of the Naga tribes. Only one informant gave fourteen names, including Kachari, which is obviously wrong. The other informants mentioned 4—6 names. Ao, Angami, Sema and Lotha were mentioned by all. Chang and Konyak were mentioned by three informants; Chang, Phom, Imchunger, Sangtem, Kimunghan, Chakeseng and Rengma were mentioned by only one informant. It would be wrong to see too much significance in this. But in a general way, it can be stated that, at least at Waromung, the connotation of the term Naga is not the same for all the villagers.

It is also to be noted that 14 Naga tribes recognised by the villagers do not include tribes like Tangkhuls, Kabuis etc. which are recognised Naga tribes in Manipur.

An enquiry was made whether the people think that all Nagas had a common origin. The unanimous view was that the different Naga tribes had different origin.

It was also investigated whether according to the village elders, some Naga tribes, including the Aos were closer to one another, than the others. In this matter also the answer was uniformly in the negative. This belief in social equidistance is, however, contrary to the observations of competent students of Naga Society. Elwin (p. 5) reported that the Chakesengs are a combination of two groups of southern Angami; Zeliangs are a mixed group of Zemis, Liangnais and others. Mills (p. 13) believed that at least one section of the Aos bears the influence of the Konyaks.

It was also enquired whether according to the villagers, the various Naga tribes could be ranked in order of advancement, and in that case what was the

position of the Ao Nagas. During the enquiry any criterion for measuring advancement was not suggested by the Investigator. The villagers were uncertain in this matter. Only one person stated that educationally the Aos, Angamis, Lothas and Semas were more advanced; otherwise all the Naga tribes were equally advanced or equally backward.

With this brief appraisal of the structural setting of the Naga society, as seen by the people of Waromung, it is now proposed to examine the social profile of the Aos, with particular reference to the village.

According to 1961 Census, there are 55,866 persons, speaking Ao language in Nagaland. They are mostly found in the portion of Mokokchung district, bounded by Dikhu river on the south-east, the edge of the plains on the north-west, the land of the Konyaks on the north-east, and that of the Lothas on the south-west.

The Aos trace their origin at Chongliyimti a village of the Sangtem Nagas on the eastern bank of Dikhu river. It is about 14·50 k. metres from Mokokchung. According to Smith (p. 171) there is a stone at Chungliyimti, from which have emerged six principal father sibs of the Aos. But, the tradition at Waromung is slightly different. They believe that there are six rocks at Chungliyimti, from three of which emanated the male progenitors of the three phratries, *viz.*, *Pongen*, *Longkum* and *Jami*; and from the other three came out their female counterparts.

This belief is more in conformity with what has been recorded by Mills (p. 6). According to him "Ao tradition states quite definitely that the ancestors of the tribe came out of the earth at Lungterok (six-stones), sometimes called Ungterok". The tradition current in the village is however different from that recorded by Mills in one important aspect. While the villagers believe that each of the phratries originated from a separate stone, according to Mills "One is pointed out as the source of *Pongen* and *Lungkar phratries* and another as that of Chami phratry".

It is interesting to note that though converted to Christianity, the Aos continue to hold on to the tradition of origin from Lungterok at Chungliyimti, with minor variations in details. In 1942, Pastor of the village Changki had to pay a fine of Rs. 50 for passing disparaging remarks about the tradition of origin from stones. There is, however, a tendency among the edueated Nagas to rationalise the tradition without disowning it. Thus according to Ao (p. 1-2) "The legend of Longtrok (six stones) was a wonderful episode of the Ao culture. Attention is drawn as far back as the stone age by this legend and the whole Ao culture is inseparable from this. To believe that human being descended from stones is absolutely absurd from the view of theory of evolution; but the stone descent virtually reflects divine origin of Aos and the legend arrayed the most celebrated culture of the Aos".

The Aos are divided into two main divisions, Mongsen and Chungli. Smith has used the word "moiety" for such division; but according to Ao (p. 5), "Aos are not a homogenous people;—Mongsen and chungli comprise two different nationalities, carrying on an incessant warfare against one another in the past." Even now, though completely fused to constitute a single society, they have important differences, specially in language, food and dress and political organisation.

According to Smith (p. 50) "Their religion is the same, though there are some slight differences in customs, but the dialects differ so widely as to be almost different languages."

Mills (p. 2) is of the view that they represent different waves of immigrants speaking different dialects. He appears to be of the view that in the social profile of the Ao society as a whole, they are essentially "language groups". He has also mentioned the existence of a few other minor language groups like Changki, Yacham, *etc.* But he has not indicated whether in these minor language groups, the divisions into Mongsen and Chungli are present or absent. If Chunglis and Mongsens are found among the Changkis and Yachams also, it would be very difficult to accept the position of Mills that Chunglis and Mongsens are essentially language groups. In this matter though much information could not be obtained at Waromung, there is one observation, which is not without significance. At Waromung, even the people belonging to Chungli division have Mongsen dialect as their mother tongue. The villagers explained that as Waromung is a Mongsen village, the Chunglis have adopted Mongsen dialect as their mother tongue. This, however, is not something uncommon. According to Mills (p. 3) in Mokongtsu* village, the whole village speaks Mongsen, though Chunglis also

*Now the villagers do not like their village to be called Mokongtsu. It is called Mokokchung.

live there. On the other hand at Longmisa, the entire village speaks Chungli, though the Mongsens are also there. In the villages Songratsu and Mopungchuket both the dialects are spoken.

It, therefore, seems that though difference of dialect is associated with the two divisions, dialect is not the essential characteristic to differentiate them. A person can be a Mongsen even though Chungli dialect is his mother tongue and *vice versa.*

The position may be examined from another angle at Waromung. The various data have been analysed to find out what exactly the people mean when they say that Waromung is a Mongsen village. Out of 1,603 persons in the village 876 belong to Mongsen division and 727 belong to Chungli division. The Mongsens are in a majority in this village. But the majority is not so overwhelming, as to warrant effacement of Chungli as mother tongue for the people belonging to Chungli group. If there are some villages where both the dialects are spoken, why Chungli has not been retained as mother tongue of the Chunglis at Waromung, specially in view of the fact that they exist in substantial number in this village? Perhaps for answer to this question, another fact is to be taken into consideration. As already noted, the earliest settlers in this village belonged to *Moltr* and *Kupzar* clans though a person belonging to *Wazakum* clan was also associated with them later on, with equal privileges of seniority. Both *Moltr* and *Kupzar* clans belong to Mongsen division, and it is not unlikely that it is from this fact, that the tradition has come down through generations that Waromung is a Mongsen village. It however appears that the people themselves are not very clear about the implication; as a matter of tradition they accept and state that this is a Mongsen village, without caring to examine, in what sense it is a Mongsen village. It would be possible to gain a greater insight in the matter, if the settlement histories of the villages where Chungli is spoken by the entire village or both Mongsen and Chungli are spoken, are also examined. Unfortunately information for those villages are not readily available.

The limited analysis on the basis of the data available at Waromung, however, tend to show that when the people state that Waromung is a Mongsen village, they mean it in historical-political sense and that dialect as the distinctive trait of the two groups is subordina ted to this consideration.

In addition to dialect, another important matter, *viz*, the system of organisation of political power at the village level, was found at Waromung to be determined by the fact that it is a Mongsen village. Here the Mongsen system of political organisation prevails. The council of elders or *tatars* of the village under this system is called *minchen*, as against *minden* under Chungli system. As comparative study of the system has not been made in a Chungli village, it will be necessary to depend on published sources in this matter. Ao (p. 7) has noted that under the Chungli system, the council of *tatars* is more standardised. The *tatars* go out of office, at once, at the end of every generation and the newly elected members take their places. But it seems that there is no standardised generation in the Mongsen system. Once a *tatar* is elected he can hold office for life.

Ao (p. 46–48) has noted the following other differences between the two systems :

Chungli system

(i) The head of the *minden* is called *ungr*, which assignment is hereditary in *Pongener* or *Yimsungr* clan. Virtually his house is the seat of all business of the *Tatars.*

(ii) *Ungr's* assistant is *tonglu* which office is inherent in *Lungkumr* clan.

(iii) The third position is occupied by four leading men called *tezungpur*; all business transactions of *minden* are initiated by them. The senior most among them is called *tazungtibe.*

(iv) Four men called *tokongpur* occupy the fourth position.

(v) The junior members are called *shosanglak*, who occupy the last position.

Mongsen system :

(i) The board is called *minchen* and the members are collectively called *samen.*

(ii) The head of the *minchen* is called *tsungba* which assignment is hereditary in Mongsen Tsungr clan. His house is the seat of all business of the *samen.*

(iii) *Tsungba's* assistant is *tonglu* who succeeds him.

(iv) Four *samens* occupy the most important position and the senior-most is called *chuchong.* They are the leading men of the *minchen* and all transactions are initiated by them.

(v) Four men called *tokong* occupy the position next to *samen.*

(vi) The other members who occupy the last position are called *chamitzar.*

It is to be noted that though at Waromung Mongsen system of political organisation is followed, it differs from the system described by Ao in one important aspect. In this village there is no *Mongsen Tsungr* clan to provide the *tsungba.* Here, they have two *tsungbas*—one for *Impang* (Upper *khel*) and another for *Imlang* (Lower *khel*). The eldest male member of *Kupza* clan of Mongsen division is the *tsungba* for *Impang* and the eldest male member for the *Wazakum* clan of Changh division is the *tsungba* for *Imlang.*

The fact that there is a *tsungba* from each division seems to be of great significance. It shows that though Mongsen system of political organisation has been adopted, political power has not been monopolised by the Mongsens. It is a unique pattern of integration of two groups.

The study made so far reveals that neither dialect nor political domination provides the minimum platform for organisation of the community into the divisions. This should not however mean that the structure is a nebulous one without diacritical elements characterising each moiety, wherever it is found.

While with reference to the situational context, both the moieties adopted each other's dialect and political system, it appears that they considered certain matters, to wit, dress, food and manner of performance of some rituals, as symbols of their separate identity. In this matter Ao (p. 7-8) writes as follows :—

Merit ceremonies—The main features are same but description is different :—

Description—Chungli (i) *Nashi Achi* (ii) *Mepu Amen* (iii) *Sauchi* (iv) *Waro Pokim.*

Mongsen—(i) *Sepupet* (ii) *Aokkika* (iii) *Atzutzu,* (iv) *Mepule.*

Dress and tatoo—Patterns and designs of dress and tatoo are remarkable to distinguish between Chungli and Mongsen.

Food—Chungli enjoys almost all kinds of food whereas Mongsen refrains by custom from polluted food.

At Waromung it was found that whereas people of Mongsen division do not eat stomach of pig, there is no such restriction for the people of Chungli division. While dressing hair, Chungli women bind the bun round with black thread and strings made of own fallen hair ; but Mongsen women use strings of white thread.

With this appraisal of the ramifications of the grouping of the Aos in two moieties, it is proposed to re-examine the Ao tradition of origin and migration to different areas.

As already noted, the people of Waromung believe that the Aos originated from six rocks at Chungliyimti. From three rocks came out the male progenitors of the three phratries, Pongen, Longkum and Jami and from the remaining three rocks came out their female counterparts. It is to be noted that the names of the phratries primarily belong to the Chunglis. The Mongsens do not have names of their own for the phratries and have adopted the phratry names of the Chunglis (Mills, p. 21). It was enquired whether the people believe that the progenitors of the Mongsens and the Chunglis were the same or different. If they were the same when did the division take place ? If they were different from the very beginning how could they have originated from the six rocks at Chungliyimti ? As there are three phratries in each moiety and as the male and female progenitors of each phratry emanated from a different rock, there should have been twelve rocks at Chungliyimti, if the progenitors of the Mongsens and the Chunglis were different.

When pressed in such details, the confused answer of the villagers is that they are not aware of all the details, but their tradition is that, all the Aos, no matter whether *Chungli or Mongsen* originated at Chungliyimti. They have a vague idea that the Mongsens originated first and later on from the same rocks came out the Chunglis. The names of the progenitors of Pongen, Longkum and Jami phratries are Tongpok, Longpok and Longjakrep respectively. As Longpok came out first *Pongen* phratry is seniormost in precedence. This phratry enjoys many privileges of seniority for instance when the village council requires a person to kill an animal as fine, the lion share of the meat goes to the members of the council belonging to this moiety. Next in order of seniority is *Longkum; Jami* holds the last position.

Now coming over to the tradition of settlement and migration, the villagers state that after emerging out of the earth, the Mongsens settled at Kubok, a vacant site near the Dikhu river within the territory of Mokokchung; the Chunglis on the other hand settled at Chungliyimti itself. As the Mongsens began to harass the Chunglis, the latter under their leader Shiluti, raided the Mongsen village, and forced them to come to Chungliyimti and live under surveillance in a separate *khel*. Though living side by side for generations, they were united into a single people, though they retained some distinctive traits as well.

From Chungliyimti, the Aos began their invasion of the territory, occupied by them at present. They crossed the river Dikhu and the majority among them settled at Kortang—a vacant site within the territory of the village Ungma. A small group pushed on without settling at Kortang and formed the village Longkum. In due course, the settlers of Kortang also further pushed forward; one group founded the village Ungma, another founded the village Sutsu and yet another the village Kupza. These restless people were not settled down even in these places. They were constantly pressing north-westward and some of the villages in the extreme north-west are not even hundred years old.

This tradition of settlement and migration as recorded at Waromung is not, however, accepted by all the Ao villages. There is some dispute among the different villages about the order of precedence in settlement and this dispute is not just an academic one. The mother villages are entitled to ceremonial offering of meat annually once, from their respective daughter villages. The people of Waromung also receive some such offer from a few daughter villages that are situated to the north-west of Waromung. Sometimes, the question of jurisdiction over a particular territory is also related to the question of precedence of settlement. The Aos are therefore very cautious, that while discussing the tradition of origin they do not commit themselves against the interest of their own group.

This caution is exercised even more, while discussing the tradition of origin and migration of the different clans. Only old persons, well versed about the traditions of the past would discuss such matters publicly; others would not dare to open their mouths. For giving information, which is considered to be wrong from the point of view of the clan, one can even be fined to the extent of Rs. 50/- by the village elders. Hence even if one can be persuaded to speak something about one's own clan, it is almost impossible to make people speak about other clans. It was therefore found very difficult to collect information about the tradition of origin of the different clans.

The myths of origin of some of the clans show belief in totemism. The Wazakum clan trace their origin from a hornbill. Once a woman, named Langkungla was weaving on the *sungland* (open platform) outside her house, when a hornbill flew over her head and dropped a feather on the loom. She tucked the feather into the top of her skirt near the waist and became pregnant. In due course a son was born to her. He was named Bandang and became the progenitor of Wazakum clan (*Waza*=bird; *Kum*= form). Before conversion to christianity no member of the clan would see or touch a dead hornbill. They would not also wear hornbill feathers. Now there is no inhibition in this matter. As mentioned earlier, the Wazakum clan belongs to Pongen phratry. The villagers do not appear to be much bothered about the fact that the myth of origin of the clan from hornbill requires to be reconciled with the myth of origin of the pongen phratry from a rock at Chungliyimti.

Smith (p.50) has made a mention of an Ao clan, named Ongsichair which means "children of a lime fruit"

The Kupzar clan of Waromung was originally known as Longchar, which means "eater of stone" (*Long*=stone, *char*=eat). It is said that one of their ancestors had chewed a stone like a leaf.

In contrast to the above cases, some clan names are obviously not totemistic in origin, for instance the Molir clan. In the legendary past, when raiding the Mongsen village Kubok, Siluti, leader of the Chunglis, captured a boy, and instead of taking his head, he took the boy alive to his own place at Chungliyimti. Siluti had no child of his own; he brought up the boy as his own son. He was so attached to the boy, that it became like medicine (*moli*) to him. The descendents of this boy are therefore called Molir.

Regarding the other clans in the village, myths and legends of origin could not be obtained.

At Waromung, there are only two phratries out of the three. These two are Pongen and Longkum.

The clans and their numerical strength under each phratry are indicated below.

Table 1—Clans and their numerical strength

Pongen Phratry		Longkum phratry	
Name of clan	No. of persons	Name of clan	No. of persons
1	2	3	4
Wazakum	504	Molir	313
Aier	140	Kupzar	184
Jarir	61	Imchener	15
Pongener	1	Lemtur	84

Though in this village only 4 clans are found under Pongen and Longkum phratry each, in other villages a number of other clans are found under each of these phratries. List of clans among the Aos, under these two phratries as well as under the third phratry Chami, as recorded by Mills (p. 13) is furnished in Annexure A. Here it may be mentioned that according to the villagers, sometimes the same clan is found in different villages under different names, but they know in a general way which clan names are equated with one another; and as boys and girls belonging to the same clan are regarded as brothers and sisters, they never marry in clans which are considered to be same though known by different names.

In the village under survey, the people are of the view that originally not only the clans, but also the phratries were exogamous units. At present phratry exogamy has broken down. For instance, a number of marriages have taken place between Kupzar and Molir clans, both belonging to Longkum phratry. The villagers do not have any clear idea, how and when the change was brought about.

Relation between division of the community into phratries and clans on the one hand, and division into the two moieties, *viz.* Chungli and Mongsen, on the other, was examined in this village. Out of the four clans under Pongen phratry, only one, *viz.*, Jarir belongs to Mongsen division; similarly out of the four clans under Longkum phratry only one clan, *viz.* Lemtur belongs to Chungli division. It is difficult to say whether this is of any significance, unless a comparative study is made in other villages.

Smith (p. 50-51) has made a reference to the view of Dr. Clark that originally the people belonging to the two moieties would not intermarry. The barrier was removed only after a young couple paid the price for social intransigence with their lives. The boy and girl belonged to two important families of their respective moieties. As usual, when they wanted to defy the social rules, the society showed its mailed fist. Once they ran away from their homes and passed the night together in the house of a friend. In the morning, they were found dead—for no apparent reason. The dead bodies were taken to their respective homes—which were far apart from one another. According to Ao Naga custom, the bodies were placed on the upper parts of their respective dwelling houses and smoking fires were kept underneath to dry the bodies. It was then found that "columns of smoke ascending from each house drew towards each other and comingled." This was regarded as a sign from the unknown, to allow such union in future. Orthodoxy had to give way to the new vision; and perhaps this helped the process of fusion of the two groups. At Waromung, however, the people have no idea that marriage between the Mongsens and the Chunglis was ever restricted in the past. At any case, at present there is absolutely no restriction on this account.

It was enquired whether there is any hierarchy of status among the different clans. 40 heads of households were asked to name the different clans in order of hierarchy of status. Four heads of households expressed their inability to indicate any hierarchy; the rest gave their opinion. But in most of the cases they confined their opinion to two or three names. Altogether seven clans, out of the eight in the village were mentioned by the villagers. One clan, *viz.*, Pongener was left out by all. It was explained by the villagers, that as there was only one person in the village belonging to this clan, it was practically nonexistent socially. In all affairs of the village this clan was merged with Wazakumer clan.

The status score for each of the seven clans mentioned by the villagers was calculated in the following manner. As seven positions were to be assigned to the seven clans, the total score for the first position had been arbitrarily put at 7; in the second position at 6, and so on. For the last, *i.e.*, the seventh position the score was 1. The actual score for each clan had been calculated by multiplying the score for a particular position with the percentage

that the persons indicating that position bear to the total number of persons mentioning the name of the clan. Thus for instance Kupzar had been mentioned by 18 persons and all of them had assigned first plea to it; hence its score was $7 \times 100/100 = 7.00$. Molir had been mentioned by 11 informants, out of which 2 (*i.e.* 18% of the informants mentioning the clan) had assigned it first place, 7 (*i.e.*, 64% of the informants mentioning the clan) had assigned it second place and another 2 (*i.e.*, 18% of the informants mentioning the clan) had assigned it third price; hence the score for molir was $7 \times 18/100 + 6 \times 64/100 + 5 \times 18/100 = 6.00$.

The actual score obtained by each clan, through the above procedure is indicated in the statement below.

Table 2—Status scores of clans

Name of clan	Total No. of persons by whom the clan has been mentioned	No. of persons by whom reported to be in status							Status score obtained by the clan
		1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Kupzar	18	18	..	..	..	..	..	..	7.00
Wazakumer	18	16	2	..	..	..	..	..	6.89
Molir	11	2	7	2	..	..	..	..	6.00
Jarir	11	..	3	6	2	..	..	..	5.09
Imchener	10	..	2	..	4	4	..	..	4.00
Aier	11	..	..	3	3	2	3	..	2.75
Lemtur	9	..	..	3	2	1	1	2	1.08

It is interesting to note that Molir clan, though numerically largest in the village, occupies the third position in the social ranking; on the other hand the first position in social ranking is occupied by the Kupzar clan, which is third numerically.

The villagers were asked, what factors determined the social rank of the various clans 35 persons replied to the question. According to 31 persons status of clans is determined by the time of its settlement. The earlier, the time of settlement of a particular clan, the higher is its status. According to 4 persons, seniority of the phratry to which the clan concerned is affiliated is the determining factor. As Pongener was the first phratry to have come out of the rock at Chungliyimti, the clans belonging to Pongener phratry have higher status than the clans belonging to other phratries.

But none of these two reasons seem to satisfactorily explain the ranking order as found in the village. If time of settlement is the determining factor, why is it that Molir is not ranked first in the village? Alongwith the Kupzars they were the original settlers of the village; numerically also they are in an advantageous position, and one would expect that they would be ranked first.

Here, a question may arise, whether the ranking order, as obtained through statistical device correctly reflects the position in the village? In this matter information of another type may also be considered. What are the privileges of higher status and to what extent these privileges are associated with the various clans? The villagers pointed out four privileges :—

(1) Right of the eldest male member of the clan to be the *tsungba* or head of the *minchen* for ceremonial purposes, (2) right to have larger share of meat killed during ceremonial occasions, (3) larger representation in the village council, (4) right of being appointed as *gaonbura*. At Waromung out of these four privileges, the first two are confined to Kupzars and Wazakumers only; the Molirs do not enjoy these privileges. The third privilege is enjoyed by no clan exclusively; the Kupzars, the Wazakumers and the Molirs have right to elect two representatives each, in the village council. Other clans are represented by one representative each. As the Molirs are numerically the largest clan, this is hardly a privilege for them. The fourth right is also equally shared by the Molirs with the Kupzars and Wazakumers.

The above empirical data confirm in a general way, the ranking order obtained through the statistical device. But these do not throw any light on the question why the Molirs have been relegated to the third position.

The alternative suggestion, that phratry affiliation, is the determining factor, does not also appear to be tenable. In that case all the four clans belonging to Pongener phratry would have higher status than Kupzar, which has been ranked first, though it belongs to Longkun phratry.

The foregoing analysis, indicates that in addition to the factors indicated by the villagers, other factors have intervened, which have played a more crucial role in determining the social status and privileges

of the various clans. On being specifically asked, a villager suggested that the terms and conditions on which the various clans migrated to the village might have played a determining role. Perhaps only through an inter village study, it will be possible to gain more insight in this matter.

Now, leaving aside the intricacies of social alignment of the people of the village, a brief notice will be taken of the appearance and language of the people, before passing over to a few institutions like head-hunting, bachelors dormitory, age group system, *etc.* which find mention in all standard ethnographic monographs on the Nagas.

No systematic Anthroposcopic study was made in the village. Data from authentic published sources are, therefore, included here just to give an idea about the physical characteristics of the people concerned.

According to Mills (p. 27-30) "while there is no appreciable difference in appearance between persons of Chongli, Mongsen and Changki groups; Aos have a distinct average appearance of their own which distinguishes them from other tribes. The average height of the men is about five feet eight inches, the women being some two inches shorter. In colour the Ao, like other Nagas varies from light to darkish brown. Faces of pale, yellow type are not common, but men and women with a distinct ruddy flush are often seen; and in no tribe have I seen so many men with red noses. The cephalic index of the tribe is 78.88 and the nasal index is 81.42. Wavy hair is the rule and in some individuals it is strongly curled. Perfectly straight hair, as is seen among the Semas, is exceptional".

George Olivier, summarising the Anthropometric data collected by Dr. Kauffman on 199 Nagas including 26 Ao Nagas, has stated as follows:— (1958 : p. 105-110)—"The Nagas of Assam are— population belonging to the fellow race whose characteristics are :—

Sub medium height.
Mesocephalic head.
Euryprosopic face.
Mesorrhine nose.
Brownish yellow face.
Neat Mongolian form of eyes.

None of the subjects showed any Negritoid characteristics. All seem to be primitive yellows, can be connected (according to the admitted classification) either to the Indonesians (attenuated yellows) or to the dolicho-Mongol type, or to proto-Mongols".

It is to be noted that there are some significant differences between the observations of Mills and Olivier. Whereas the measurement indicated by Mills puts the Aos in the category of tall; Olivier has categorised the Naga tribe as a whole, as sub-medium in height. Again whereas Mills has emphasised the darkish tinge in the skin colour of the Aos, Olivier has mentioned the brownish yellow face of the Nagas.

As no systematic observation was made during the survey, it is rather difficult to hazard any opinion but in a general way it can be stated that the Aos of Waromung tend to be of medium height rather than being tall and that in skin colour brownish yellow is more common.

The languages and dialects spoken by the Nagas, have been classified by the Linguistic Survey of India as the Naga group of the Tibeto-Burman family. According to Elwin (p. 12-13) "in spite of very complicated and numerous dialectical variations, there is a general similarity in the languages and dialects spoken by the Nagas." He further states that "the Naga languages possess a number of features which differ from those common to the general Tibeto-Burman family. They are, as Mr. Das Shastri, a Philologist who has worked in North-Eastern India, for a number of years, points out, highly tonal; the vowels do not conform to any known definite category and appear to be indistinct, the consonants, specially when they occur at the end of words, are glottalized; aspiration characterizes liquids and nasals, locative variety predominates in the case system and the conjugational pattern present an extremely rich variety of moods and well classified tenses ; negatives are mainly prefixed or suffixed, infixation occurring in a few instances; classificatory terms, both numerical and nominal, are in use.

Within the group "lexical resemblances between Angami, Sema, Lhota, Ao and Meitei (Manipuri) have been noted. Morphological resemblances between Ao and Meitei, Angami and Kachari, Ao, Angami and Mikir; and Ao, Angami and Kachari are very striking."

In the village under survey, no study was made of the structure of Ao language. It is, therefore, not possible to make any comment on the observations of Elwin.

It has already been mentioned that among the Aos there are two main dialects *viz.* Chungli and Mongsen and that in the village under survey Mongsen dialect is the mother tongue even for people belonging to Chungli division. For the Ao tribe as a whole however Chungli is the dominant dialect. Smith (p. 116) has estimated that three-fifth of the people speak Chungli and the rest speak Mongsen. Chungli dialect is in an advantageous position as the Christian missionaries first came in contact with the people speaking Chungli dialect and wrote books in that dialect. Now all the written literature of the Aos are in Chungli dialect and all educated Mongsen speakers automatically learn it. At Waromung it was found that practically all the adult males and females knew Chungli dialect, though they did not speak it in their homes. The services are held in the church in Chungli dialect and the deliberations are also in Chungli dialect. In contrast, the deliberations in the village council are in Mongsen dialect. Thus through the historical accident of first contact with the Christian missionaries, relationship between Chungli and Mongsen dialects has developed two new diamensions:-(a) in a sacred secular dichotomy of dialects, Chungli belongs to the sacred category and Mongsen to the secular category, (b) in an elite and non-elite dichotomy, on the basis of education, Chungli is the dialect of the elite and Mongsen is the dialect of the non-elite, at Waromung. The analysis shows that in competitive situation, Mongsen is the losing side. The model however may be further complicated later on by the ideology of Naga brotherhood, which may necessitate recognition of a Naga language as the Lingua franca for all Naga tribes. In that case Chungli may have to give place to some dialect of some other Naga tribe and consequently it may lose the vantage position that it enjoys at present in relation to Mongsen dialect. It is, however, very difficult at this moment to predict the future in this dynamic context.

The Naga tribes are undergoing a process of rapid transformation. It will be possible to gain some insight about this through the study of the changes that have taken place in a few important institutions in the village under survey during the last three generations.

It has already been stated that the people of this village were not involved in head-hunting during the last three generations ; the last head-hunting took place more than eighty years ago. It would be of some interest to note what were the concepts underlying the practice of head-hunting and what changes have taken place in the life of the villagers as a sequel of the cessation of head-hunting.

Four old men of the village were asked, what according to them were the reasons for head-hunting in the past. Three stated that the people believed that it would bring prosperity to the village. When asked to amplify the point, they stated that in the past their people had a strange belief that head was the seat of fertility and that the more the number of heads taken from enemy villages, the better was the prospect of crop. They further stated that, in addition to this economic motive, 'there was a social motive' as well. Those who were successful in head-hunting were recipients of much honour. They had the right to wear certain dresses and ornaments which ordinary men could not wear. They could also assume special names which they could pass on to their descendants. There is for instance a lady in the village, named Imnakokla (*Imna* means two villages, *Kok* means defeated and *la* indicates female) who had an ancestor who had carried on successful head-hunting in two villages. For this ancestor, craze for immortality was undoubtedly a great driving force. It is obvious that there were many more who were drafted to the risky game of head-hunting for the satisfaction of their ego. In fact out of the four persons interviewed on this matter, one mentioned satisfaction of vanity as the sole motive.

Smith (p. 71) has mentioned some additional reasons. These are (i) blood revenge which demanded at least a head for a head, (ii) securing immunity from sickness, (iii) pleasing the god Lizaba. These reasons were not however mentioned by anybody at Waromung.

According to the villagers, in spite of the diverse motivations, head-hunting and intervillage feud came to an end due to the strong action taken by the British

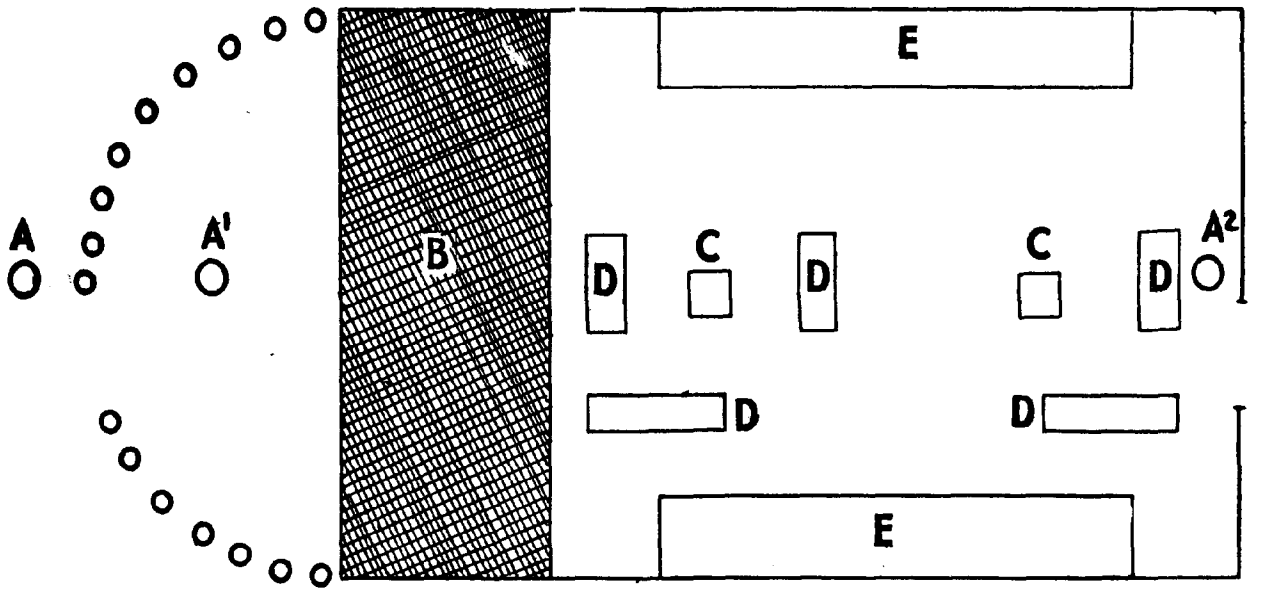


Illustration 1

Ground plan of the Areju

A A bamboo post outside the building

A^1 The central post with carvings

A^2 The back post

B The bamboo matting elevated structure

C Fire places

D Sitting benches

E Sleeping benches

Government. and the preachings of the American Baptist Church Mission. Ultimately education helped to wean them away from the old way of life.

Asked about the changes brought about due to stoppage of head-hunting the following were mentioned by the four old fathers.

Table 3—Change due to stoppage of head-hunting

	Nature of change	Number of informants
1	People are more free to move about for cultivation, visiting market, *etc.*	4
2	More frequent intervillage marriage	3
3	Disappearance of morung Institution	3
4	No war drum and no wood carving symbolising the achievements in head-hunting	4
5	Less labour to guard the village	1
6	Less village Sentries	1
7	Less active habit among the people	1
8	Less discipline	1

The changes indicated by the old fathers are self-explanatory. Some of these will however be further discussed in different contexts.

Here two institutions, viz. *morung* and age-group system, which were very much interlinked with head-hunting and intervillage feud would be taken up for consideration.

Even as late as 30 years ago, *morung* or *areju* (bachelors' dormitory) existed in the village. The term *morung* is used for this institution among all Naga tribes, but while speaking among themselves, the Aos call it *areju*.

The building of the *areju* of the upper *khel* was near the gate but within the village fence. It was about 15 metres long and 7.5 metres broad at the front. The rear portion was slightly narrower. The height also was not the same in the front and the rear. The front gable was 5·5 metres above the ground, and the rear the height was only about 3 metres above the ground. The eaves of the thatched roof came right down to the ground covering the walls and protecting those sleeping inside, from sudden spear thrust, at night. The walls were made of solid bamboo pieces, fixed in the ground very close to one another, and tightened with cane ropes. A diagram giving the ground-plan of the areju when it was in existence is furnished in illustration(1).

A=a bamboo post outside the building, which may or may not be placed
A^1=the central post with carvings
A^2=the back post
B=the bamboo matting elevated structure
C=fire places
D=sitting benches
E=sleeping benches

Except for two small doors—one at the front and the other at the back, there was no entrance to the *areju.* Even through these doors, it was not possible to walk straight inside the *areju.* Immediately after the front door was placed a tubular structure made of bamboo mattings. It was fixed to wooden beams and extended from one side wall to another. The height of this structure was about 1.20 metres and it was difficult for the enemies to cross it quickly. The main post of the *areju* was at a distance of about one metre from the front door. It was covered with crude carvings representing elephants, tigers, snakes, horn bills and human heads. A little beyond the main post were the sleeping benches made of wood or bamboo. There were two fire places on the beaten earth floor,—one nearer the front door, the other at the back. The first one was meant for the senior members and the second one for the junior members.

Generally the building used to be renewed every six years and repaired once in between. Construction of a new *areju* was a very important event in the life of the community. The members would first collect over a number of days, the materials for this huge construction. They would also purchase pigs and cattle to be sacrificed during the occasion. The old building was pulled down when everything was ready. Next day, the animals were ceremonially killed, by the old men of Wazakum and Kupza clans. At the time of sacrificing each animal, they would say "may my sons flourish and grow like cane-shoots and banyan trees and become wise as those, in this *areju.*" Each of the old men was given a lump of about one seer meat of the sacrificed animals, for performing the above duty.

After, all the animals were sacrificed the seniormost

member of the *areju* dug the hole for the front post and two other persons would at the same time start carving the post. These two persons could neither be unmarried, nor those whose wives were pregnant at that time.

The carvings would be smeared with shoot and blood of the sacrificed animals by a senior member of the *areju*.

Generally it took 3 days to complete the construction and on the last evening a grand feast used to be organised in which the members of the *areju*, and a few old men invited by them, used to participate.

Further, for six days at the time of construction of the building, *genna* or taboo against communication with outside and performance of various types of activities used to be observed.

Near the *areju*, was the shed for the long drum, which has already been described in Chapter I. The drum was under charge of the *areju*. It is said that enormous labour was required to make the drum and drag it to its site. It used to be shaped and carved in the forest before being brought to its site. All the males of the village, beginning from the new entrants to the *areju* to the seniormost village elder, would participate in making the drum and bringing it to its spot. This was an occasion for great merriment accompanied by almost endless flow of liquor.

Wooden rollers were placed under the drum, so that it could slide on them, when being moved to the village. When near the destination, it was dragged along slanting framework of logs laid transversely, to produce great resonance, which could be heard from distant villages. Blood of animals sacrificed on this occasion would at this time be smeared on it, accompanied by the following incantation:

	English Version
Lata Tsungi Nudangku Saroni;	Moon and sun we are talking to you.
Yongkong taru Zunuangni;	Let good people grow in this village.
Araasu Terauni	Let there be no epidemic and pestilence.
Lanu taru sooangni	Let good young generation grow up.
Tsaksung misung Jauangni	Let there be prosperity.
Mangko moauangni	Let us be blessed with heads.
Aku sati Moauangni	Let us be blessed with tigers and elephants.
Pongitela tenemtebong Moauangni	Let us be blessed with the wild bear and hornbill.

After the drum was placed on the site selected for it, it was fenced round which could not be removed or the drum could not be beaten till the youngmen raided an animal village and brought a human head to the village.

The drum was always placed with the slit at the top and while beating the drum, the members of the *areju* used to line up along its side. One stout fellow would give the time with two levers which he raised and allowed to fall on the drum, while others struck on the edge of the slit with large wooden drum-bells. There were different signals to indicate alarm of danger, occasion of merriment, *etc.*, and as it was beaten, the people could know from a distance, what was happening.

Sometimes, offerings were made to the drum, in times of drought.

Though the drum ceased to be a ceremonial object almost a generation ago, it continued to exist as a relic of the past. But in 1957, it was burnt during political disturbances in the area.

It must have been noticed that in these linked institutions of head-hunting and bachelors' dormitory along with its paraphernalia, the youths of the village played a vital role.

It was possible for the youths to play their role in an organised manner through an institution called *yangren* or age-group system. Under this system all boys and girls born within a period of three years were grouped together under one *yanga* (age-group). On attaining the age of 12-14 years, the boys used to be admitted to the *areju*. No sacred rituals were performed at the time of admission. The admission used to take place just before Moatsu festival and each candidate was required to collect thirty bundles of reed, to be used as fuel in the *areju*. The new entrants to the *areju* were called *sungu yanga* or simply *sungu*. The girls were not admitted to the *areju*, but they also were considered as *sungu yanga*. The boys addressed male members of own age-group as "*kuyanga*" (age-group mate); for the girl members the term used by the boys of the same age-group was "*yangalar*". Similarly a female used the terms "*kuyanga*" and "*yangalar*" for female and male members respectively, of her age-group. Except for a few, there were no names for the various age-group; hence generally the age-groups were known by the names of the senior most members concerned.



Plate No. 6 Unmarried girl's dormitory under the control of the Church, the main function of which is to segregate the sexes

The *sungurs* or the new entrants had various menial duties to perform, till they were relieved after three years by a new group. They were put under strict discipline and worked like slaves for the elders. Frequently their bravery was tested in the night; for instance they were required to go to the graveyard or to the haunted places alone. Sometimes they were asked to go to the jungle in the mid-night without any weapon and fetch bamboo shoots. This group passed on to the next higher group *tenapang* (age of blossom) as a new group was admitted to the *areju*. It was now their turn to bully the new entrants, in the same manner as they were bullied by their predecessors. After being *tenapang* for three years, they became *terara* or large *yanga*. They were then almost free from menial works and were allowed to participate in the discussions on matters relating to the management of the *areju*. They were however required to maintain the flower garden of the *areju* and keep the surroundings neat and clean. After three years they became *persanger*. They were no longer bound to sleep in the *areju*; and if they so desired they could marry. After another three years they became *chuzen* (old men of the *areju*). By this time most of them were married persons; they would no longer sleep in the *areju*; but even then they continued to have contact with it. The married members of this age-group were called *archuninger* (man of *areju*). Those of them who were not married, were at liberty to visit the girl's house.

When head-hunting was prevalent in the area, *terara*, *persanger* and *chuzen* age-groups formed the chief fighting force. *Sungu* and *terapang* were considered to be too young for such risky game.

Life was not, however, always tense and trying for the inmates of the *areju*. More frequently than not, they could spend their nights dancing and singing; only when there was an alarm of lurking danger, things became different.

After a man crossed the age for serving in the *areju*, he was considered to be a village elder, but he could no longer interfere with the internal affairs of the *areju*. Any attempt to do so, would make him liable to pay a fine. He could however become a member of the village council in course of time.

In the *areju* there was no formal election or selection of office bearer. The various functions devolved automatically on the members of the different age-groups. It was the collective responsibility of each age-group, to discharge its prescribed duty. It appears that the senior most member of each age-group, enjoyed certain prerogatives, but it is very likely that in a situation, which obviously required initiative, drive, and dash as well as courage and skill to a very great extent, effective leadership rested with the individuals with these qualities of heart and head. Unfortunately definite information on this matter is not readily available.

Though the institution of *areju* has disappeared from this village, pale substitutes of *areju* and the age group system still continue. There are at present two dormitories,—one for the boys and another for the girls, in each of the three *khels* of Waromung, under the control of the Church. For each of these dormitories, an honorary Superintendent is appointed by the Church. The main function of these dormitories is to ensure segregation of unmarried boys and girls.

The boys and girls begin to sleep in the dormitories of their respective *khels* on attaining the age-group of 12-14, and till their marriage they are expected to sleep there. Every night there is a roll-call and absentees are required to give satisfactory explanation.

In addition to these dormitories under the Church, there are two dormitories under the village school,—one for the male students, and another for the female students. Superintendents for these dormitories are appointed by the school.

In the age-group system there are 21 *yangas* or (age-groups of three years each) starting from *sungu yanga i.e.* the age-group 12-14. The first seven age-groups *i.e.* the persons belonging to the age-group 12-34 are collectively known as *arijuninger* (men of *areju*). They constitute the chief working troop in connection with the common activities of the village, like annual clearance of the road (*yintipi*), repair of the school building, *etc.* As in the traditional pattern, even among the *arijuningers*, the harder works are assigned to the youngest age-group. In addition to communal activities, of the village, the *arijuningers* are expected to lend their hands, for porterage work when required by the government. Sometimes therefore they are known as coolies.

Next to the *arijuninger* age-group, is the age-group *rionsanger*. It covers people of the ages 35-59. They are the mature persons of the village, and take active part in the general meeting of the villagers.

The next age-group is known by the term *olangozen* (old men). This age-group covers people of the ages 60-74. Only minor responsibility is assigned to them in the common affairs of the village.

The people above the age group *olangozen* are known by the term *pati pangmi* (priests). There is no upper age limit for *pati pangmi*. After the age of 75 people remain *pati pangmi* till death. No duty is formally assigned to them; and they are not fined in case of absence from work. But some of them voluntarily participate in the communal activities of the village. Obviously these aged people know that it is only through identification with the youth that they can become ageless.

This discussion about what the individuals are expected to do for the society, at different stages of their growing up in age, would naturally lead to the discussion about what the society does during the crucial stages in life cycle of an individual.

Three crucial stages, *viz.*, birth and socialisation of a child; marriage and satisfaction of sex, and death, will be examined here.

Birth and socialisation of a child

The practices connected with birth and socialisation of a child were mainly studied by interview method, and were supplemented by personal observations of the investigator.

Pregnancy is recognised when the monthly course stops. According to the people, though there cannot be conception without sexual union, blessings of God must also be there for having a child. It was put to the informants, why premarital sex relation does not always lead to conception ? One old man suggested that some may use contraceptives; but others thought that it was God's will. It seems that the people do not recourse to abortion.

An enquiry was made about the preference for son or daughter during the first birth. Two persons were of the view that in this matter there is no general norm; the individuals vary in their preferences. On the other hand two others were of the view that people prefer to have a son during the first birth, as they are anxious to have somebody who would take up their own place in due course. Desire to multiply the number of clan members, was also stated by them, as a reason for preference for son. Asked, whether sex of the child can be manipulated during conception or in the womb of the mother, all the informants replied in the negative.

Recognition of pregnancy does not involve any immediate change from the routine way of life. The expectant mother carries on her normal activities till the last moment. There are a few cases in the village, where labour pain started on the way to the field. They however avoid carrying heavy loads during the advanced stage of pregnancy. No special diet is prescribed for the expectant mother, but she is required to observe certain restrictions. For instance, she should avoid eating twin fruits or else she may give birth to twin children. She should also avoid eating tortoise. It was not enquired what harm would follow if these restrictions are disregarded. She also avoids eating hot chillies towards the advanced stage of pregnancy; but it appears that there is no supernatural belief connected with it.

Further, it was stated that an expectant mother should avoid the sights of dying animals, monkeys and big snakes, otherwise blindness may be caused to the baby in the womb. The expectant father is also subjected to some restrictions. He is to forego sexual relation with his wife towards the advanced stage of her pregnancy. Like his wife, he also cannot eat twin fruits. He is debarred from many ceremonial activities and he cannot kill animals including domestic animals, lest the spirit of the latter may enter the womb and cause birth of the baby with animal shape. Even the Christians observe these restrictions at Waromung.

In addition to these taboos, there are no rituals in the prenatal period.

When the labour pain starts, they make certain preparations. A few pieces of clean clothes are kept ready and water is also kept boiling. Further a fowl is cooked, for being given to the mother after the delivery is over. Her mother and mother of her husband remain by her side. The husband stays away from the place of delivery.

Normally birth takes place in a dark corner of the main living room; no partition wall or screen is fitted to ensure seclusion. But the male members and the children keep away at the time of the delivery. There are however two or three households with additional small apartments in the main dwelling house. In such households the small apartments are temporarily used as delivery rooms.

During the delivery, the expectant mother remains in a semi-squatting position and she is supported at the back by the female members attending to her. After the delivery is over, the umbilical cord is cut by a bamboo strip. Out of the four cases studied in details, in two cases, this was done by the husband, in one case by the mother and in another case by an elderly female neighbour. It was stated by the villagers that generally severance of the umbilical cord is done by the husband; but it can be done by others as well.

At the time of severance, the umbilical cord is held by the left hand, and the bamboo strip is drawn against it by the manipulator with the right hand. Previously for cutting the umbilical cord five bamboo strips were used in case of males and four in case of females. After the operation was over these were tied in a bundle and put in palm leaves over the bed of the parturient to ward off evils. Now, this practice has been given up by most people. There is another custom which also is observed by very few people at present. After severing the umbilical cord, the father puts a little musticated rice into the mouth of the new born baby saying "no spirit can take this baby. This baby is ours and no spirit can lay hand on it."

When the placenta comes out, it is put in a basket by the parturient herself; and then it is buried slightly away from the house in a pit about 60 metres deep. The burial of the placenta is always done by the husband.

The period of confinement of the mother of the child is not guided by any concept of pollution. In one household it was reported that the mother went to the field even the next day after the delivery. In another household she was confined to bed for three days. On the other hand in two households the periods of confinement were 2-3 months. Health of the parturient is the guiding factor in this matter.

Concept of pollution however regulates the behaviour of the parturient in a different manner. For one month she should take her meal with bamboo spoons, as her hands are considered to have been polluted by touching the placenta.

The father is also subjected to certain restrictions. He should not go out for hunting or fishing on the day of the delivery or on the next day.

The name giving of the child takes place on the third day. Generally name of some of the departed persons of the father's clan is given. The names of the persons who died in war or were killed by tigers are however avoided. As far as possible names of persons who died young are also avoided. In one family it was stated that the father of the new born baby, requested his father to select the name. The latter indicated a panel of names which belonged to the clan, but without any living member with the names. One out of those names was to be given to the child. The final selection was made by the parents of the baby out of this panel.

An enquiry was made about the additional expenses incurred by the different households during birth of the last child. Only one household reported that they had to incur an additional expenditure of Rs. 3/- for preparing chicken soup for the mother. The other households reported that no additional expenditure was incurred by them.

It was however found that in almost all the households chicken soup and long pumpkin, boiled in water, are given to the mother after the delivery, so that she can recoup quickly. It is a dimension of their social attitude that they do not consider the expenses incurred in this connection as additional expenditure.

Immediately after the birth, the baby is washed with slightly warm water and is wrapped in a dry cloth. The mother and the new-born baby generally sleep near the fire-place, so that the baby does not catch cold. The various households reported that during the first week after birth, the new-born baby is washed once or twice a day with tepid warm water. Afterwards, during the first two months, some households wash the child once a day; but others do not do it regularly. One household reported that they washed the last born baby in the household 3-4 times weekly. It appears that after a lapse of 3-4 weeks, they become negligent about keeping the child clean. One household reported that they washed the baby born in the household twice a week with cold or hot water according to the season. Others reported that they did it less frequently.

Generally no oil is rubbed on the body of the child, only in case of stomach ache mustard oil is rubbed.

The baby is breast-fed during the first three months; afterwards boiled rice chewed to almost liquid state by the mother is passed on to the mouth of the child.

Generally there is no fixed time for feeding the child. It is done 4-5 times a day. During the suckling period of the child, the mother avoids chillies and fern leaves, as these are supposed to cause stomach-ache to the child.

During the first four months, the child is carried in the arms. After that, it is carried on the back, fixed with a piece of cloth.

All the households reported that during the first year no attempt is made to regulate micturition and passing of stool on the bed. They try to gradually train up the child after it is more than a year old. In this matter, it appears that there is no definite pattern, as to who would take the initiative. One household reported that in case of the last baby born in the household, the father took the initiative. In other households the initiative was taken by the mother.

An enquiry was made about the frequency of difficult and protracted labour. It appears that such cases are very rare, and the people of Waromung do not have any traditionally laid down behaviour to meet such situation. Beliefs and practices connected with still birth and barrenness were also considered. Every body stated that still birth was rare in the village and barrenness was also not very common. They ascribed these to the ill luck of the woman concerned and did not think that any remedy was possible.

It is in this social climate of resolute acceptance of natural and supernatural hazards, without being excessively bothered with the problem of tackling the same, that an Ao Naga child grows up in this village. He gradually realises that the prime concern of his elders is the question of tackling the fellow human beings, either as friends or as foes; and almost unconsciously he imbibes their world view. He comes to learn that to be able to successfully tackle the problems of human relationship, one must be completely identified with one's group through disciplined action and disciplined behaviour. Blind acceptance of group authority becomes the highest value in this setting; and deeds of great bravery and sacrifice are perpetrated through the complete abnegation of the individual.

This description of the situation is only a construct,—an abstraction from the empirical data which have already been furnished and which will follow. But this may perhaps give a glimpse of the silhoutte of the total situation, though not with hundred per cent accuracy.

As an Ao Naga attains the age of 12-14, he is considered ready for baptism. Baptism takes place only on Sundays in the village. There is no auspicious day or occasions for this. The Pastor, in consultation with the deacons fixes a convenient date and announces the same in one of the services in the church, two or three weeks in advance. During this time those who are to be baptised submit their names to the Pastor. In one of the usual services on a Saturday night they promise before the congregation to keep away from sinful deeds and to become good Christians.

On the fixed day at about 8 O'clock in the morning the Pastor, Deacons and other interested villagers visit the Tsupalong stream along with the boys and girls to be baptised. They sing songs from Ao hymn book and then offer prayer led by the Pastor or one of the Deacons. After that, the Pastor enters the water in the stream, while others go on singing the hymns. Then the childern who are to be baptised are called one after another, to come near the Pastor, and sit in the water. The Pastor holds the child and asks, "do you want to be baptised"? The child replies "yes". After that the Pastor offers prayer and then with both his hands presses the head of the child under the water for a second or so. The child then goes out and another boy or girl takes the place. About 15 to 20 children are baptised at a time and it takes about two hours to complete this ritual.

At about 11 a. m., the devotional service is held in the church. The baptised boys and girls sit together on the front benches, and the Pastor delivers a sermon on the significance of baptism. Then Lord's Supper is served in the church. This includes very small pieces of bread and a little quantity of grape water. The pieces of bread symbolise the flesh of Jesus Christ and the grape water symbolises his blood. The latter is obtained from Calcutta by the Missionary of Impur and distributed among the local Churches. The Lord's Supper is taken by only those who were baptised earlier or on the day of the ceremony; no person who is not baptised can partake of the Lord's Supper.

The villagers are aware that baptism symbolises the death and resurrection of Lord Jesus, but then it has an additional meaning as well. It is the threshhold to a new life—life of the adults; it is the functional substitute of *areju*.

Now the boy is to take up step by step, the adult

roles. The process is smoothened by the age-group system. And then comes the time when the "new man" is awakened to a new interest,—woman. But unknown to him, the Society has taken hand, in regulation of his sex life, much earlier. We shall now turn to the consideration of the same.

Sex and marriage

Even at the age of six or seven, an Ao boy of Waromung is vaguely conscious that girls are somewhat different. A visitor can easily observe that the boys and girls of this age-group frequently play separately. Not that anybody tells them to play separately, but they can see queer,—even if indulgent, wink in the eyes of the elders, when an unrelated boy and a girl are very much intimate. They also know that the "great boy"—the charismatic elder of their imagination is of course nothing but a "great boy,"—must be able to do deeds of great bravery outside, and the "good girl,"—yes "good girl" because "great girl" would be a great monstrosity in their world view,—must be a goody goody little woman, ever ready to help and obey at home. With contempt they would shun the company of the goody ones and they would keep company only of the heroes. Not that there are no breaches, in this neatly drawn orbit, but they are exceptions; and exceptions are as common among the boys as among the elders.

The girls in their turn, know that the boys are always after mischief; and perhaps when not after mischief, they are dull. Though the girls would like to hear the —stories of the heroic exploits of the boys,-tearing the wings of the nameless blue bird, twisting the tails of the monkey, climbing the top of the *jamun* tree and so on, they prefer to keep among themselves.

Even at home, a boy of seven or eight would like to sleep separately from the girls. He knows that his fourteen years old elder brother sleeps in boys 'dormitory which is different from girls' dormitory, and he is not prepared to accept the indignity of sleeping with girls, simply because God has unjustly made him small.

When the boys and girls are about ten or eleven years old, segregation by sexes is encouraged by the elders, particularly by the mother. One household reported that initiative in this matter was taken by the father's mother, though she lived in a separate household. At this time the boys and girls are also vaguely conscious of the meaning of the segregation, and certainly they would like to show that they are "men" and "women" enough to require such segregation.

Segregation is however only negative image of sex for the children. Positively sex would also mean inculcation of certain attitudes and specialisation of certain functions.

In all the four households where special enquiry was made, obedience was mentioned as the most desirable quality for both boys and girls. Honesty was mentioned for both, in three households. But bravery was mentioned exclusively for the boys. Similarly amiability was mentioned exclusively for girls in all the households.

As regards specialization of function, very great emphasis is given to knowledge of basketry in case of boys; and knowledge of weaving in case of girls. But in case of boys and girls below 12, much skill, or even any skill is not expected. Just an inclination on their part, makes the parents happy. But as they grow up, much of their reputation depends on their skill in these areas.

As the boys grow up, they are after reputation in another area as well—the heart of woman. Free mixing between young men and women is allowed, and undoubtedly they themselves cherish it very much. Previously there was hardly any bar to physical relationship before marriage : now it is discouraged by the Church, at least until betrothal. But it is interesting to note that all the village elders who were asked whether looseness in the sex life is on the increase or decrease, stated that it was on the increase. One stated that looseness in sex life is only a part of the general looseness in every sphere of life, which is the characteristic of the modern age. Another thought that increasing looseness is the outcome of spread of civilization in the area. Others would not aver any reason; simply they feel that looseness is on the increase.

Without entering into the controversy, whether looseness in sex life is on the increase or not, it can perhaps be stated in a general way, without much risk of being incorrect, that attitude in this matter has more hardened now-a-days, specially among the educated section.

Usual age of marriage for a boy is twenty four to twenty eight and for a girl it is eighteen to twenty four. Before deciding his mind about a particular girl, a boy would have friendly relationship with a number of girls.

But this need not necessarily mean physical relationship with them. At a later stage he would pop to his selected one, more frequently directly, or sometimes through an intermediary.

Before making his desire known, the boy sends out subtle feelers to know the attitude of the parents of the girl. He also tries to know, though in less subtle and indirect manner, the attitude of his own parents. He gradually proceeds, after being sure of his ground, on both the sides. Sometimes a brave youngman, who is less gallant in this field, is helped and encouraged by the elders. In one household it was reported that the boy could make progress only with the assistance of his father's sister. According to the villagers, it is not uncommon to see that a youngman in quandary, is encouraged by the parents of the girl.

After the girl gives her consent, the thread passes over to the mothers of the boy and the girl. They meet and talk and if all go well, a formal emissary is sent from the boy's side,-normally the mother's brother *langpathang* of the boy. Even if the parents of the girl are agreeably inclined, they would feign reluctance at first. They would say that their daughter is ignorant and idle. It is only during the second visit of the *langpathang*, that the parents of the girl would accept the proposal. The villagers explain that, the first rejection is only to strengthen the future position of the girl

After the proposal is finally accepted, and the boy is sure that he has been successful to net in the girl, he would go out one day, with friends and relations to show his skill in another field. They would go to the stream to catch fish with poison. A very little portion of the catch would be kept for the household of the boy, and a much larger portion would be carried by the *langpathang* to the parents of the girl. They would return a portion to the *langpathang*; most of the rest is presented by them to their own relations and friends. At the same time fish is presented to the girls of the daughter's age-group. This presentation of fish is called *tsanak kaba*, and after this the couple is regarded as formally engaged. In the past, after this they used to sleep together in the girls' dormitory and were expected to be faithful to one another.

According to Smith (p. 55), at the time of betrothal, it is usual for both the parents to agree to pay a number of pigs or cattle in the event of breach of promise. At Waromung such agreement is not necessary. If after *tsanak* the girl is enticed away by some other man, then the enticer is forced by the village council to give seven pigs as compensation. To the knowledge of the villagers only two such cases have taken place in the village;—one about 16 years ago, the other much earlier.

Further, according to Smith (p. 55) usually marriage took place, one year after the betrothal. There is no such hard and fast rule at Waromung at present.

After the betrothal is over, the boy and the girl are expected to take some interest in the economic affairs of both the households. The boy helps the father of the girl in construction of house, jungle-cutting and other works. He visits the house of the girl almost every night. The girl also helps his mother in domestic chores and agricultural work.

Marriage generally takes place in December and January. Before that, a separate house must be built for the new couple. The parents of the boy, get it done with the help of relatives and neighbours. The parents of the girl help by sending a few bundles of thatching grass. They also send at this time some meat as present. Sometimes they give one pig, with which the boy entertains the persons who come to help him, in constructing the house.

After construction of the new house, the couple would start cutting of the jungle for their separate cultivation. Thus they would first create the economic base for their home, before fixing the date of marriage.

The actual date of marriage is fixed by the couple in consultation with their parents. In the past, three days before the marriage, the boy's side used to send the *langpathang* and two friends to enquire about the marriage payment expected by the bride's parents. This payment was called *chamen* and generally consisted of a good dao and ten baskets of paddy. If the wife deserted the husband within four months of the marriage, half the *chamen* was returned to the husband; if the husband deserted the wife within four months of the marriage, she was entitled to the entire amount of the *chamen*. If they separated after four months, no party was required to make any payment. In recent years, the system of of payment of *chamen* has been completely given up.

One day before the marriage verbal invitations are sent to relations and friends on both sides. On the bride's side, the father's sister's husband, or mother's

brother would carry the invitation from house to house. On the boy's side also relations of the same category would go out to invite the people. The invitees include the *gaon buras*, church workers, teachers and other special functionaries in addition to the relatives, friends and neighbours.

Finally comes the wedding day. From the dawn, age-group members and other members of the girls' dormitory begin to pour into the home, newly constructed for the couple. Similarly the age-group members and other members of the boys' dormitory also gather there. They sing hymns the whole day; they throw jokes at each other and the time passes on in endless spree. Previously these songs used to be highly amorous in nature ; but now as the younger people are all Christians, they generally sing hymns from the hymn books. The jokes that they throw at each other, are however not always Christian jokes. In addition to merry making, the girls go on wrapping betel nuts in leaves, locally called *amtsa*, for distribution among the invitees in the night.

At noon, food is served in the households of the bride and the groom, to their respective guests. As a matter of good form, the parents leave the charge of managing the affairs to some close relations and neighbours. Cows and pigs are killed according to the number of invitees. Generally two cows and two pigs are killed in the household of the groom and one cow and one pig, in the household of the bride. Meat is generally cooked on this occasion, with bamboo pickles. Alongwith meat, rice is served.

In addition to food, betel-leaf and tea are served off and on to the invitees. In non-Christian households rice-beer is preferred ; but the Christians won't take it.

The invitees bring small presents, consisting of bamboo baskets, cooking pots, cups and plates, clothes etc. Some make a small cash payment. The couple select some of the presents for their own use in the new house ; some of these are kept for the parents and the rest is distributed among close relations and others who help in managing the marriage ceremony.

In the evening, takes place, the ceremonial part of the marriage. It is done differently in Christian and non-Christian households.

Among the Christians the solemnisation of marriage takes place immediately after dusk in the church building. As the village church remains open on Saturday and Wednesday, the Christians generally select these two days for marriage. Though the church remains open on Sunday also, marriage on Sunday is avoided, as this is the day for worship. At the fixed time, the bride and groom with friends and relations arrive at the church ; a service is held by the Pastor, as any other usual service. Then takes place, the oath taking ceremony. The Pastor asks the congregation to give evidence of the moral character of the couple. One of the Deacons (usually pre-arranged) stands up and says that they are good Christians and would like to be married according to the rules of the Christian marriage. Another Deacon seconds the proposal. Thereupon the Pastor, addressing the congregation says, "the marriage day is a happy and exhilarating occasion in the life of a person. Marriage is something ordained by God and those who marry according to the law of God are blessed." He also quotes excerpts from the Bible, and then he asks the couple to stand up from their seats and hold the hands of one another. As the couple remain standing, holding the hands of one another, the Pastor too addressing the groom says "Brother Mr. . . . . , do you promise that, the girl who stands by your left side and whose right hand is being held by you will be your wife till death ?

Groom—Yes.

Pastor then addresses the bride "sister.....do you promise that, the boy who stands by your right side and whose right hand is being held by you, will be your husband till death ?

Bride—Yes.

After this the Pastor addresses both—"Do both of you promise to love each other in times of trouble, poverty as well as in abundance and to be faithful to each other throughout life ?"

Both—Yes.

Pastor—As both of you have taken these oaths by the name of the Holy Bible, as ordained by the word of God, I, in the name of Father, Son and Holy Ghost, allow you two to be husband and wife henceforth,—you are no more twain, but one flesh. Therefore what God hath joined together, let not man put asunder."

After this, they are asked to sit. The Pastor says the hymn number from the hymn book. This being sung by the congregation, a benediction prayer is offered by the Pastor and the service is dispersed.

After the oath taking, the people move in a procession to the newly constructed house. Here also a short service is conducted by the Pastor, after which betel nuts are distributed among all present. Tea and meat are also served to all. Then the crowd disperses ; but the members of the bride's dormitory stay back. They sleep with the bride in the newly constructed house. This is their last night with her. The next morning, the couple is left alone, to begin life's new journey together.

In non-Christian households, the solemnisation of marriage takes place in a different form. In the evening three old women of the bridegroom's clan enter the new house and lit a fire with a firetong or strike a light by iron and quartz ; they then send for the bride. She comes from her house in a procession, first would come six girls of her age-group (*yanglar*) carrying a basket full of wood (*sungko*) ; a basket of paddy, three baskets of rice, a lump of meat, a new winnowing fan ; a packet of salt and two cooking pots. The bride wears her best garments and ornaments and if she is daughter of a rich man she carries with her a *dao* (bill-hook) with a convex working edge. When the party enters the house, the members are given food and drink and all kinds of jokes are showered on them. After some time the groom accompanied by his father, *langpathang* and a few friends comes to the house. The father sacrifices a cock and looking at its entrails tries to divine the luck of the married couple. Friends and relations come and drink and make merriment till late at night. After they leave, the *langpathang* and a few friends of the groom remain. A few friends of the girl also pass the night in the new house. None of the friends of the bride should however belong to the clan of the bridegroom. In the morning, as in Christian marriage, all leave and the newly married husband and wife have their own time.

An enquiry was made in four households about the expenses incurred during the last marriage of a son. Three households reported expenditure ranging from Rs. 300/- to Rs. 450/-. One household reported that it had spent Rs. 900/-. The main item of expenditure is entertainment of guests. The household spending Rs. 900/- stated that they had to entertain more than 400 guests.

It was examined, how the various households met the cost of marriage. All the households reported that the expenditure was met partly out of their own savings, and partly they had to depend on other sources. One person who was working as a driver outside and married in the village, received some contribution from his father and brother who were staying in the village. One household paid one year after the marriage, the price of cows sacrificed during the marriage. One household had to incur some cash debt and one household got some assistance from the bride's household.

Compared to fresh marriage of bachelors and spinsters, marriage of widows and widowers is a very pale affair. Practically there is no ceremony. The village elders and a few functionaries are informed and then they begin to live as husbands and wives. Widow remarriage is however considered to be desirable by all, and Church is also in favour of it. The villagers practise both senior and junior levirate. There is also no bar to marrying deceased wife's elder sister or younger sister. Polygyny or polyandry are however not allowed. Even the non-Christians do not practise these. The observations of Smith (p. 56) also confirm this information.

Divorce is allowed and is practised. There were 13 cases of divorce in the village at the time of the survey. There were also many cases of temporary separation, but it was expected that reconciliation would take place in those cases through friends and intermediaries.

When a couple does not get on well, the usual reason given is that the *tiya* (luck) are at variance (*tie mechens*). If the wife can prove that some other woman is responsible for diverting the attention of her husband, her clan people demand a fine from the other woman. According to Smith (p. 56) "in case of a man found guilty of infidelity to the wife, it was a common practice for the wife's sib, if strong enough, to kill the husband's pigs and wreck his house. In one village, a certain woman enticed away the husband of another, leaving her with two small children. There upon the aggrieved woman took the bead necklace of the despoiler of her home and crushed the beads in her rice-huller, a practice sanctioned by Naga custom". At Waromung however there is no case of husband's pigs being killed or house being wrecked by the people of wife's clan. Any case of crushing of the bead necklace of the woman responsible for detraction has not also been reported. There are however a few cases of the husbands being fined by the village council, for their slip.

When separation becomes inevitable, the whole property is divided between the man and woman. This is

a very complicated affair and relatives from both the sides participate in the discussion. Of paddy, the man gets two shares and the woman only one. All cattle go to the man ; if there is more than one pig, the woman gets one or more according to the number. The fowls are considered to be female share ; but it is considered to be good form on the part of the woman to leave one or two, for the man. Spears are considered to belong exclusively to the man; but if there are more than one bill-hook (dao), the woman gets one. A portion of the cooking utensils and most of the mats and baskets are taken by the woman weaving looms and yarn are also taken by her. Each is allowed to retain his or her own clothes, dress and ornaments. Foodstuffs like fish, meat, dried bamboo pickles, chillies, salt, *etc.* are left in the house for the man ; but if there is enough of these, the woman may also take a share. The landed property is not divided ; it remains with whosoever is the owner, but the crop grown by joint labour is equally shared. They try to divide without rancour and bitterness ; but perhaps it is not always possible.

The children live with the mother, after separation. But as they are grown up, they may live with the father as well.

The home is thus broken ; but it does not remain broken for a long time. In almost all the cases, they remarry. In fact in many cases, divorce is effected only to be able to take up another partner.

There are certain factors which regulate selection of partners in all marriages,—fresh marriages of bachelors and spinsters or remarriages of divorces, widows and widowers. These will be briefly considered here.

As already noted, marriage within own clan is impossible among the Ao Nagas, even though these boys and girls belong to different villages. Marriage with parallel or cross cousins is not also allowed. A person was fined a few years back for having illicit sex relation with father's sister's daugher. In fact, marriage or sex relation with persons within three degrees of relationship, on father's side or mother's side, is not allowed.

An enquiry was made about attitude towards marriage, with Aos of other villages as well as with other communities.

It was stated that there is no restriction against marriage with Aos of other villages. In fact there are five cases of marriage with Aos of other villages. But during the days of inter-village feud such marriages were almost impossible. Hence practically all the marriages used to take place within the village only. The people have been accustomed to this practice, and even now they prefer to marry within the village.

As regards other communities, every body stated that they do not consider it desirable to marry a non-Ao,—not even a girl belonging to other Naga tribes like Angami, Sema, *etc.* But in this village itself there is an exception. An Ao boy of this village has married a plain Assamese girl. He is a mechanic and lives at Tejpur. But sometimes he brings his wife to the village home and she is accepted by the village community. It appears that when the villagers state that they do not countenance marriage with non-Aos, they state the ideal but in actual practice they are less orthodox and more accommodative.

It has already been stated that, with marriage, starts an altogether new establishment, and a new journey of life. We shall now consider the journey's end,—death.

Beliefs and practices connected with death

There is hardly any sphere of life of the people of the village, where greater change from the past has taken place, than in the practices connected with death. This is contrary to the hypothesis of the ethnographers that the practices connected with the funeral rites are the hardest points of a culture, which do not easily change.

Accounts of the funeral rites as practised in this village in the past and at present are furnished below.

In the past the dead body was kept in the front room (*tiyang*) of the house for six days. It was placed on a bamboo platform, under which logs were kept burning continuously, so that the body could be thoroughly smoked during these six days. All these days, the household would observe *genna* and would cut off all transactions with the outside world. On the sixth day, the body would be carried to the disposal ground, where a platform had already been constructed by a few old men of the clan. It was the custom to expose the body on the platform till its decomposition.

The disposal ground was by the side of the village road, and platform for the dead body, was constructed after each death. The platforms were usually about 5 ft. high and were of the size of a single bed in length and breadth. Roofs with low eaves were constructed over the platforms and their shapes slightly differed according to the status of the dead. In case of a rich man, a decorative cloth was hung in the front. Before removing the dead body to the disposal ground, an old man of the clan who slept in the house in the night, would bring out the corpse from the front room, by the door and remove the dust, then the body would be wrapped in a new cloth and placed on the bier. Four old men carried it to the disposal platform. The members of the household-specially the younger ones, would not accompany the dead body. A basket containing rice, meat, cups and dishes and other things that might be required by the deadmen in the other world was carried by one of the nearest relatives and kept hanging on the platform.

This account lacks in many details, because the custom of disposal by exposure has been given up about 60 years ago; now there is hardly any one in the village who observed in his childhood all the details or who recollects all the details.

Now even the non-Christians bury their dead. But there is an element of continuity with the past in their case. They put on the graves, roofs similar to those constructed over the corpse platforms in the past. Save and except this, it is all different.

At present, after death, neither the Christians, nor the non-Christians would keep the dead body in the house for 6 days. They are anxious to dispose of it as early as possible.

Two case studies of funeral rites were made. In one case, the male head of the family died five years ago at the age of 71. One year before that his wife and eldest son had died. His death was ascribed to the shock of bereavement. No supernatural cause was considered responsible. In another case a woman aged 35 died 5 years ago. She died due to poor general health and irregular monthly course. No supernatural cause was ascribed to her death also. The villagers are of the view that death is caused by natural causes and supernatural forces have hardly anything to do with death.

In the first case, when it was obvious from the condition of the breath, that death was imminent, the close relations were informed. There was no last minute attempt to save the life, as it would be of no avail. The name of the patient was called aloud when he was going to sink, one of his sons half raised him and said "go joyfully to the other world. Do not be displeased with us. We have tried our best". If the parents are alive, generally this is said by the parents. But as his parents were dead, one of the sons had to do it. Immediately after the death, the body was covered with a piece of new cloth.

As the news spread, almost all the members of the *Khel* and also relations and friends living in other *Khels* gathered in the house of the deceased. They distributed various items of work among themselves. The face was washed and mustard oil was applied on the hair. The coffin was prepared with planks available in the house. In the meantime some young people were despatched to dig the grave in the burial ground. There is no clan-wise or family-wise demarcation of area in the burial ground. But people like to bury the dead, near the graves of the close relations if possible, the site is selected accordingly. In the present case, the grave was dug near the grave of his son.

After every thing was ready, a short prayer was offered in the house, near the dead body. The Pastor conducted the prayer. In his absence, such prayers are conducted by one of the deacons.

When the dead body was placed in the coffin covered by a new cloth, spears and *daos* (bill-hooks) used by him, during his life time were also placed inside the coffin. At this time, loud wail burst out from the relations and friends. The dead body was brought out of the house by the main door with the head in the front. In fact while carrying to the graveyard the head always kept to the front.

In the graveyard also a short prayer was offered by the Pastor, before the body was laid in the pit. After the prayer, the Pastor threw a handful of dust on the coffin saying "out of dust we were made and to dust we return". After him, a few oldmen did the same. Then the grave was covered with earth.

After the burial was over, everybody returned to the house of the deceased. They were offered tea and before they dispersed, there was a discussion about his



Plate No. 7 Front entrance to a typical Ao house with a neatly thatched palm-leaf roof and bamboo walls and door ways handsomely woven with wide bamboo strips. The house at the right features a roofed verandah

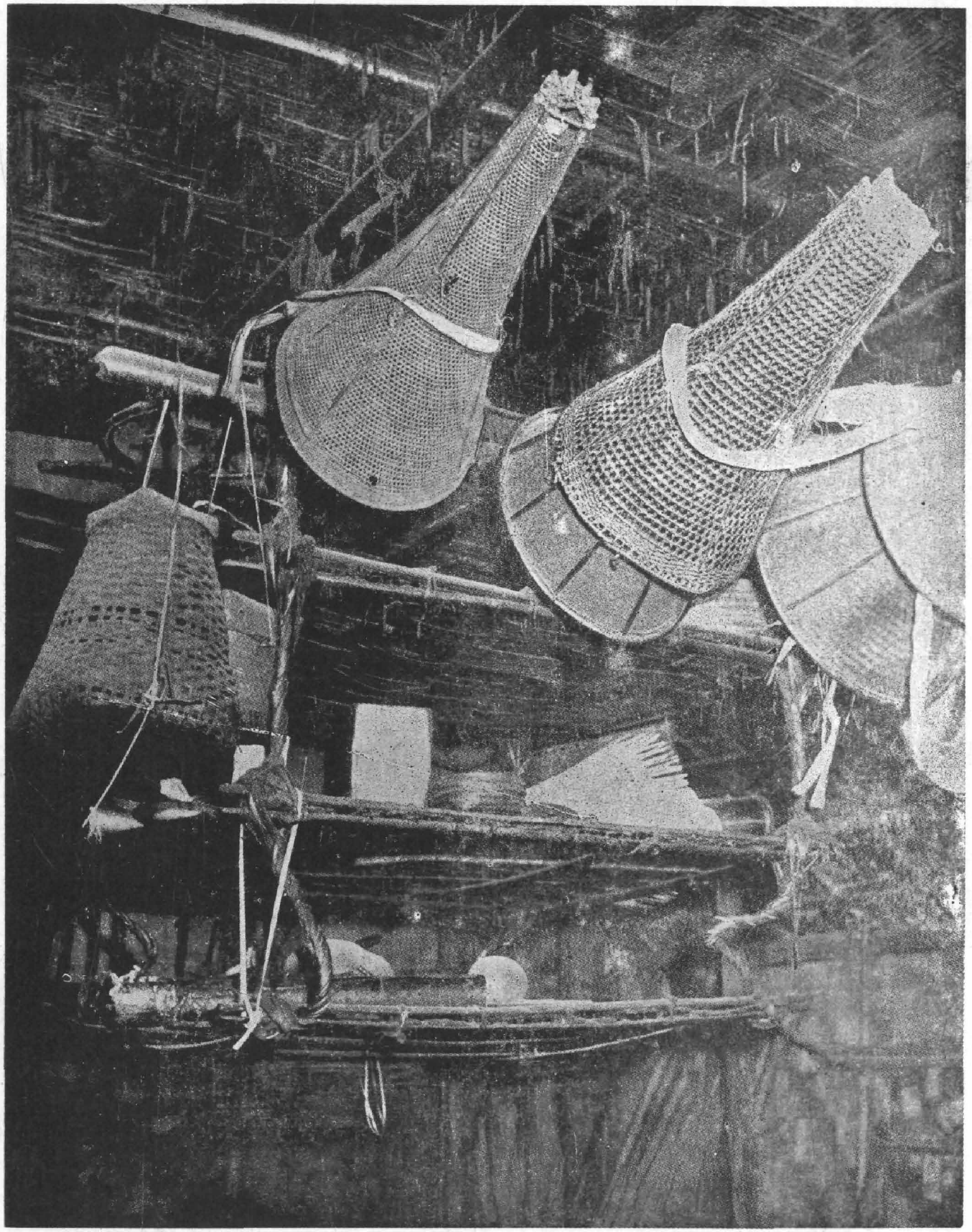


Plate No. 8 Interior of a typical Ao house showing carrying baskets made of bamboo strips and tiers of bamboo shelves hanging from the rafters. The shelves are used for storing eatables and other household articles

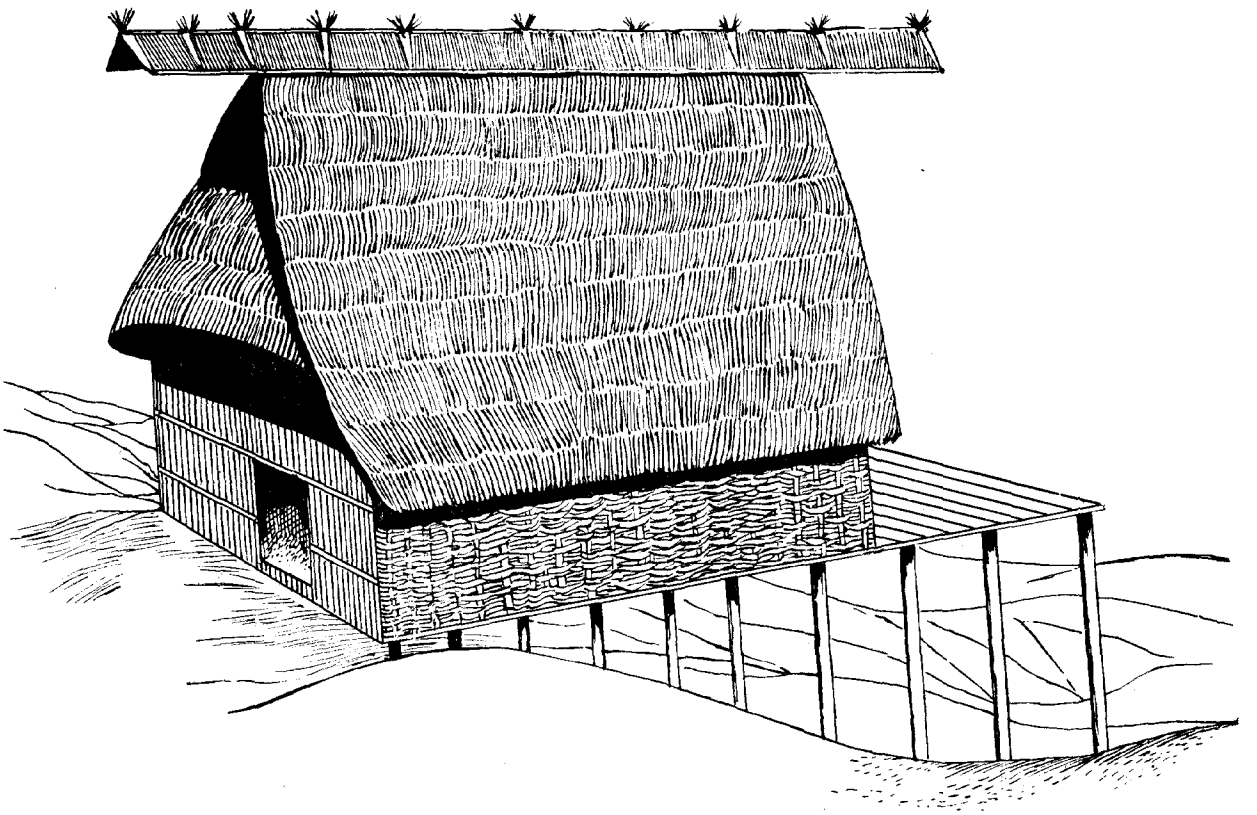
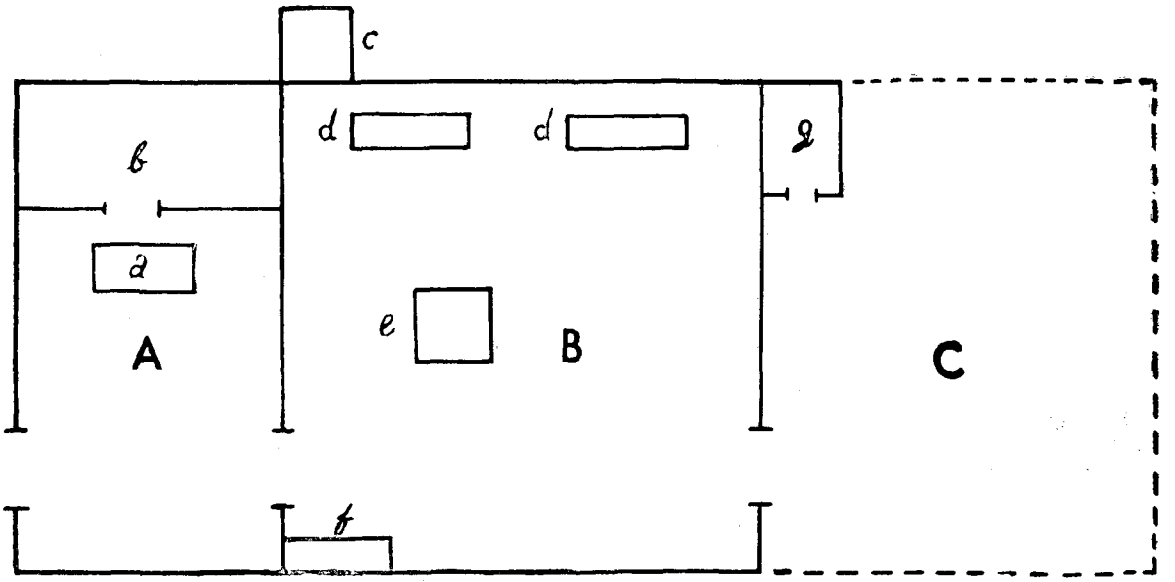


Illustration No. 2
Exterior of a house



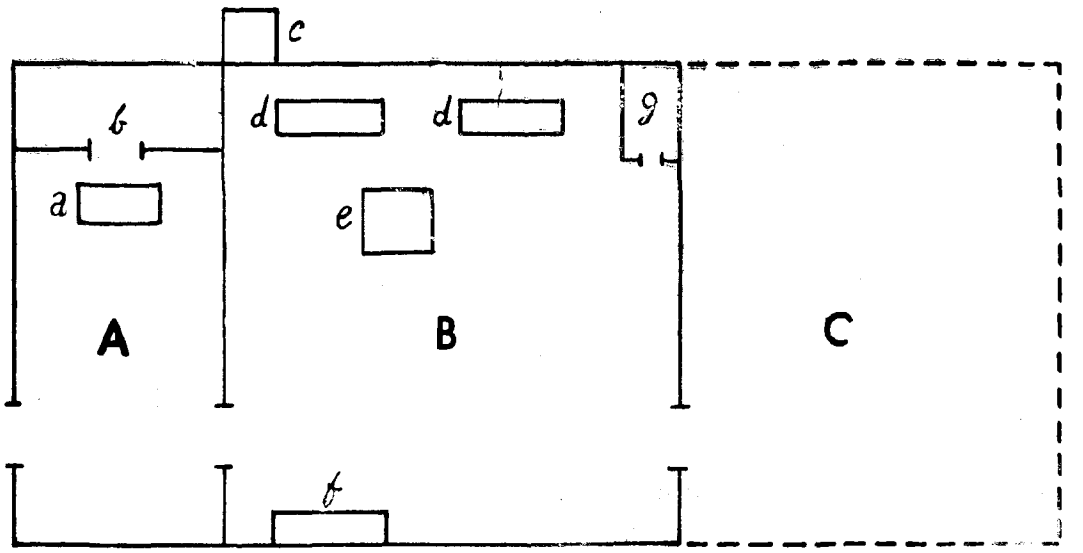


Illustration No. 2 A

Ground plan of an ordinary Ao house

A Tiyong

B Kitsung

C Sunglang

a. Pounding table

b. Place for pigs

c. Place for fowls

d. Beds

e. Fire place

f. Water storage

g. Monglu

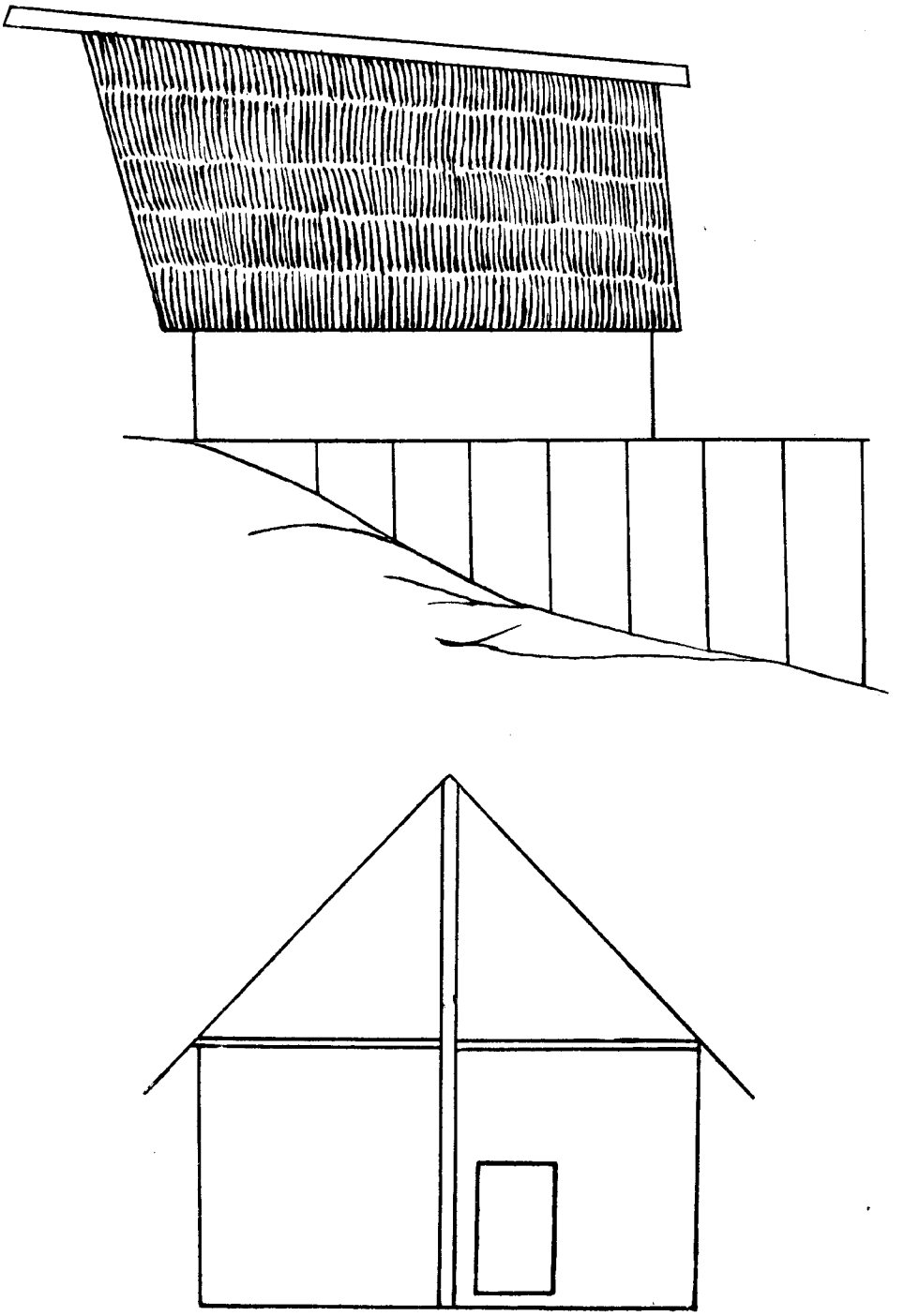


Illustration No. 2 (b)
Elevation and cross section of an ordinary Ao house

assets, debts, *etc.* for future record. At the same time, some young men were sent to bring a memorial stone. It was about 1·20 metres high, 0·75 metres wide and 7·60 cms. thick. When the stone was brought, some people, who had the requisite skill, carved the name of the deceased and a cross on the stone. It was then taken to the burial ground and placed on the grave, on the same day.

In the case of the woman whose funeral rite was studied, there was no significant difference from what has been described above.

After death, for kins like husband, wife, son, daughter, father, mother, *etc.*, the period of mourning is two days, if the deceased is an ordinary person, and three days, if he is a rich oldman. In the latter case, even the daughter's husband observes mourning. During this period, the mourners do not go to the field for any work. At the end of the mourning period, the members go to the river and catch fish and take their meal there. There is no other purification ceremony.

One household reported that the expenditure connected with the burial ceremony was Rs. 300/-, out of which Rs. 95/- were spent to purchase a cow and Rs. 65/- to purchase a pig for the feast. Remaining Rupees 150/- were spent for purchasing rice and other items.

It was also stated that, in case of still birth or death within a few days after birth, the body is disposed of only by a few relatives and immediate neighbours and practically no expenditure is incurred.

In case of death by drowning or by being killed by tiger, the body is buried in the place of death. It is neither brought home nor is carried to the burial ground.

With this brief description the practices connected with death, the discussion on the interaction of the society and the individual in different crucial events in the life cycle of an individual is completed. During this discussion from time to time passing references have been made about material equipment like house, dress and ornaments, *etc.* It is proposed to give a complete picture of the same, before passing over to the discussion on economic life in the next chapter.

Housetype and associated elements

In the village all the Ao houses for dwelling purpose look more or less alike. A typical house is about 10·60 metres long, 5·50 metres wide and 6 metres high from the floor. There is a small front-room (*tiyang*) at the ground level, followed by the large main room (*akitetsung*) on piles. At the back there is an open platform (*sunglong*).

In the front room, the ladies carry on husking of grains. The pounding table (*achem*) which is a solid piece of wood with a hole is placed here. Fowls, pigs and dogs are also kept in this room in separate box like chambers. Further, this room is used for storage of fuel wood.

The floor of the main room is made of interlaced split bamboos and is supported on poles. In the centre is a rectangular space of beaten earth, about 1·50 metre × 1·20 metres in size. This is the hearth. There are three stones (*mesuku*) in the hearth to support the cooking pots. Low wooden benches for sitting are laid around the fire place. These are about 2·5 metres in length, 30 cms. in breadth and 15-15 cms. in height. From the central beam are suspended three bamboo shelves (*Kosa*), one above the other, about 1·20 metres above the fire place. On the lowest one, are kept meat and fish to be smoke-dried ; on the other shelves are kept bundles of salt, pots, spoons, baskets of chillies and other necessities. At the extreme corner, on the right hand side of the main door are placed 20 to 30 barrels of bamboos, for storing water. One corner of the main room, towards the open platform is partitioned off and is used as dressing room for adult children, or as sleeping room for students, when they come home during vacations. The main door is at the front ; there is a small door, leading from the main room to the platform at the back.

The platform is a sort of parlour for the family members. Here grains are spread on mats for sunning; the weaving operation of the ladies is also carried on here.

This general pattern obtains almost in all the houses in the village. Two houses are slightly different. In each of these two houses split bamboo pieces are made to cross one another and are fixed on the ridge of the roof ; further, the front eve comes down almost to the level of the ground. The owners of these two houses had performed feast of merit in the past, and the above arrangements show their special status.

New houses are generally constructed immediately before marriage. Actual construction of the building does not take much time, but collection of the materials for the building is quite time consuming. The long roof trees (*apong*) and the side poles (*perr*) are kept ready even one year before the construction. These are made out of trunks of very long slender trees, called *akhu*, which grow mostly in the fields. Other materials like bamboo and palm are also collected from the groves of the households concerned, some days before the construction, so that when the work starts, it is not impeded for want of raw materials. Palm leaves are cut on a day immediately after the full moon or after the dark of the moon ; it is believed that otherwise insects and pests will attack them.

In old days, while selecting the site, a magician (*rachenlar*) used to be consulted, whether construction of the house in the site would bring good luck or bad luck. Now this is not done ; not even by the non-Christians. Now the people are more concerned, whether the site is airy and sunny or not.

When the construction starts, friends and relatives come and help in the work. They are served with tea, off and on, and at noon they are given food ; no payment is made.

First the central post and the rear post with notches at the top are erected. At the same time holes are dug at some distance from one another, in which supports or *penjangs* for the platform of the house are placed.

In the past, before erecting the post, the owner of the house used to break an egg and offer the same to house god (*Kimung tsumgren*) saying 'let this site be a lucky one, let there be no illness ; let us live here in peace'. Now this custom has been given up even by the non-Christian.

After the supports or *penjangs* for the two side beams along the length of the platform are placed in the holes, the side beams are tightly fitted on them. In between these beams and parallel to them, are placed a number of stout wooden rods, about 8" in diameter each. These are also kept in position by wooden supports or penjangs. On this structure, stout wooden rods are placed breadthwise at a distance of 1·5—1·8 metres from one another. On these are placed bamboo poles, close ceiling is fitted at the time of construction of a new house. It is done after a few years.

After the construction of other parts of the house is over, the roof is covered with palm leaves. For this purpose the leaves are torn into four pieces and clamped across bamboo sticks in two rows, thus making a thick fringe. These are then fitted in lines, one hanging over the other, beginning from the eaves upwards. At the top, the fringes of the leaves are covered with thatching grass across the entire length of the ridge.

Two sketches, one showing the different constructional elements of the house, another showing the method of tearing the palm leaves for covering the roof, are given in illustration No. 3 and 4 respectively.

The people consider it a bad omen, if it rains over the floor, after it has been fitted to the frame work of the house. Hence, as soon as the frame work is complete, they make a haste to cover up the roof.

As already indicated the new house is occupied on the day of the marriage. In one case however it was found that the house was constructed six months after the marriage.

During construction of house, the father of the bride renders some token assistance, by sending a few bundles of thatch and some meat.

In the past, under certain circumstances, the people used to abandon their houses. Death by drowning or by being killed by wild animals was considered to be "*menen*" or pollution and the houses were abandoned in case of such a death. Not only the house was discarded, everything in the house was also discarded. Further, the family members were required to stay outside the village residential area for five days. Temporary sheds were constructed for them by relatives. Before entering this shed, the wife of the deceased would first enter five small sheds of green fern leaves to ward off the evil spirit that might haunt her. During the night members of the bachelors' dormitory used to guard the shed.

Food and other requirements were also generally supplied by the relatives. In the meantime a new house used to be constructed by the villagers, for being occupied at the end of the period of isolation.



Plate No. 9 An Ao householder splitting the palm leaves into four equal parts right upto the petiole for thatching the roof of his house

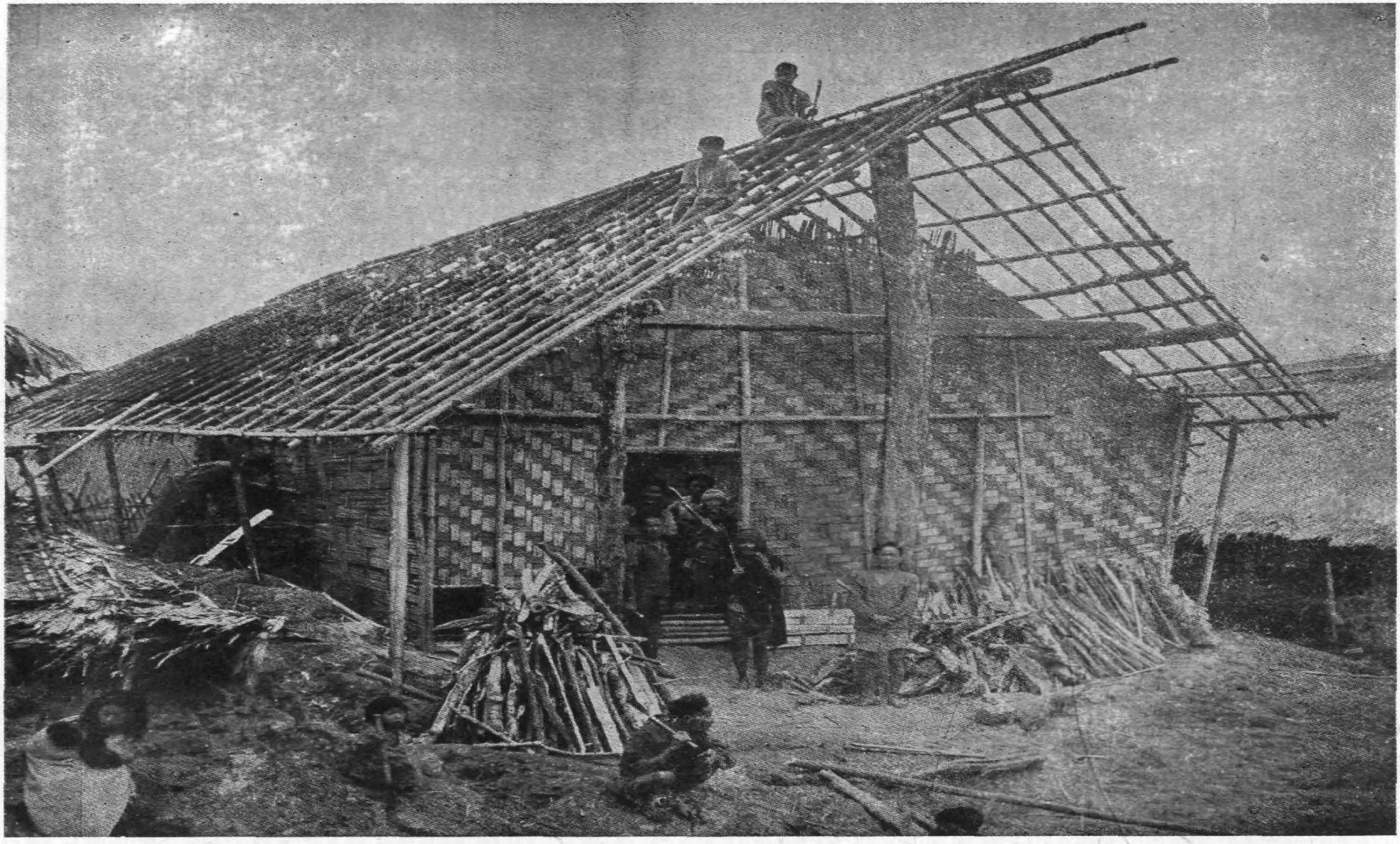


Plate No. 10 An Ao house under construction, the walls of which, previously placed in position, are woven with wide bamboo strips in twilled design at the front and simple check design on the side, which is visible. The incomplete roof will be thatched with sago palm-leaves. At the entrance of the house are seen the builders with their tools and the building materials



Plate No. 11 Front entrance of the house of a well-to-do person. The basic structure is made of solid wooden logs and beams ; the walls are made of woven bamboo strips and the roof is thatched with palm-leaves. At the door there is a block upto the height of about 1·5 ft. made of bamboo cuttings with a ractangular piece of wood at the centre

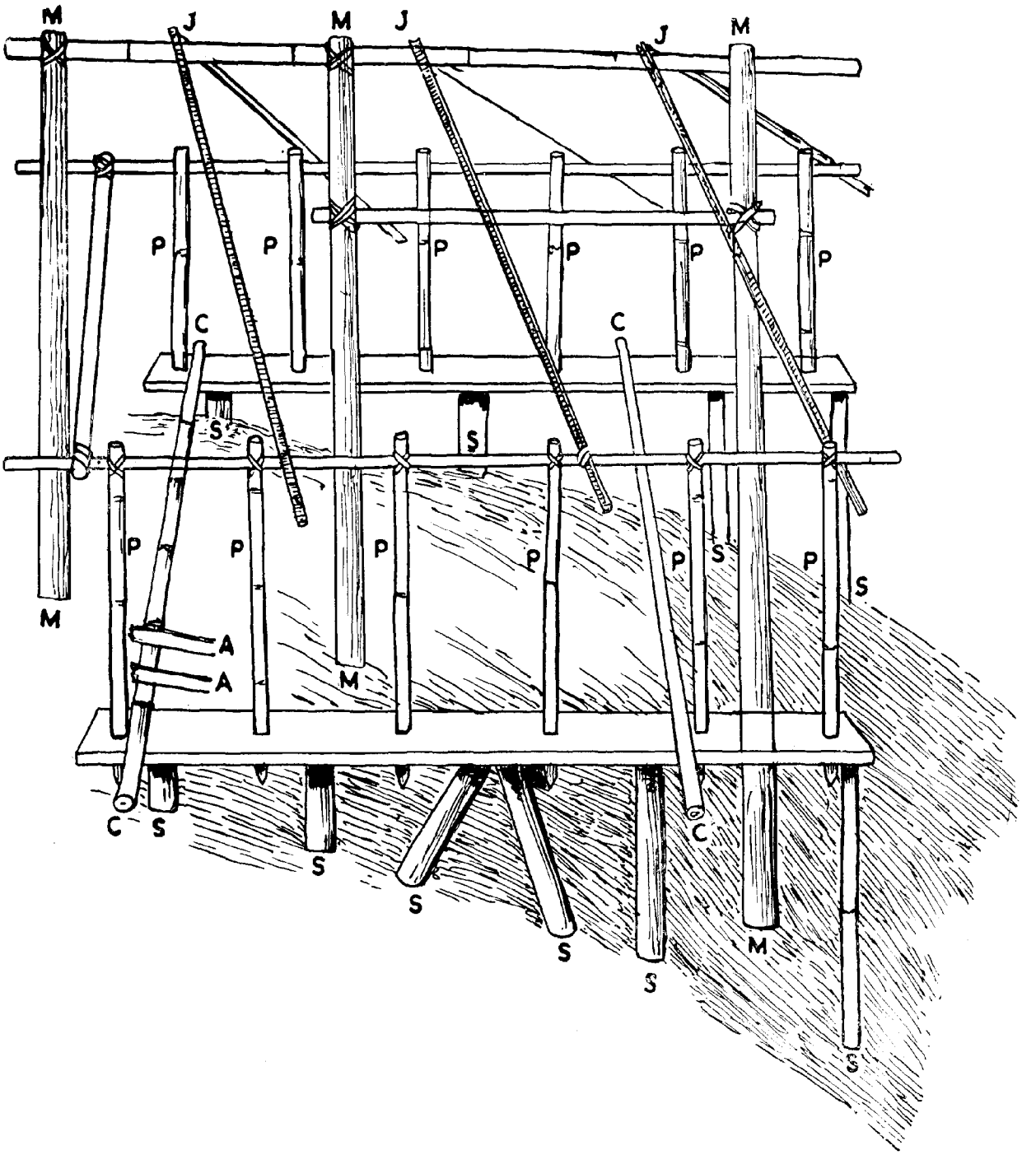


Illustration 3

A house under construction

S. Support or penjang

M. Central pillar or Tongla

P. Posts or Tongpi

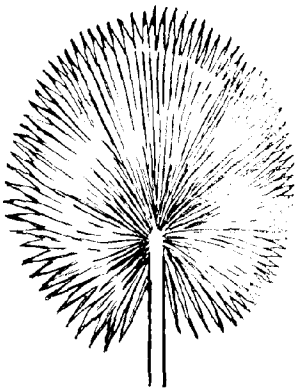
C. Wood placed over the beam

A. Bamboo placed very closely over the round wood upon which the floor is matted

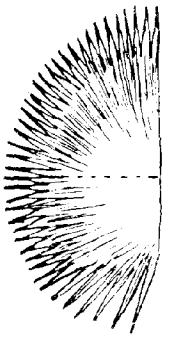
J. Jeppo

Illustration 4

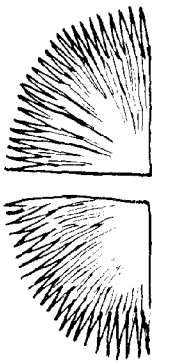
Procedure of thatching the roof with sago palm leaves



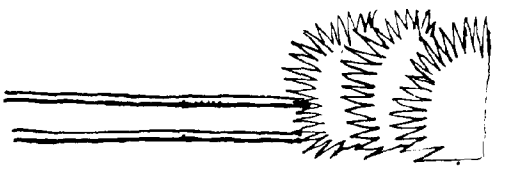
1 Full Sago palm leaf



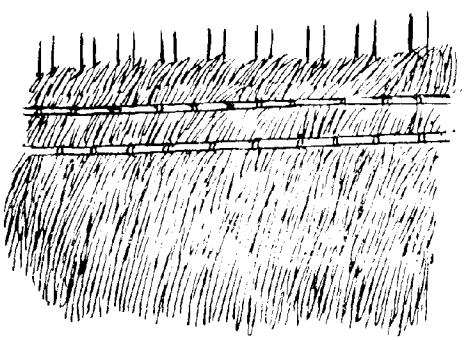
2 Made half by tearing it through the middle with the hand



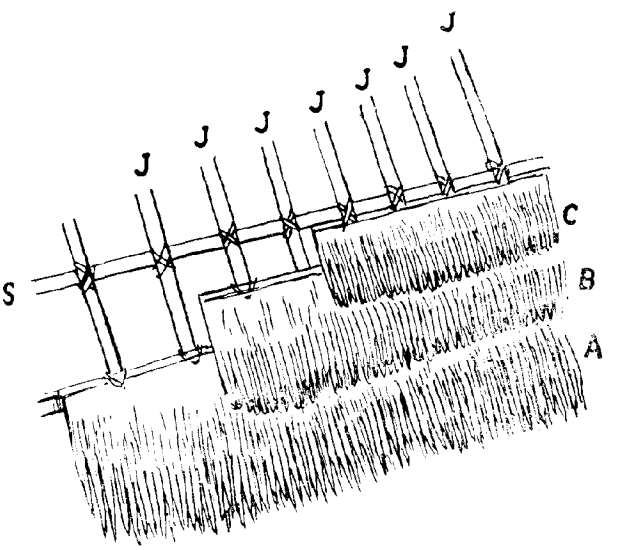
3 The half leaf is again cut into two pieces to make it one quarter



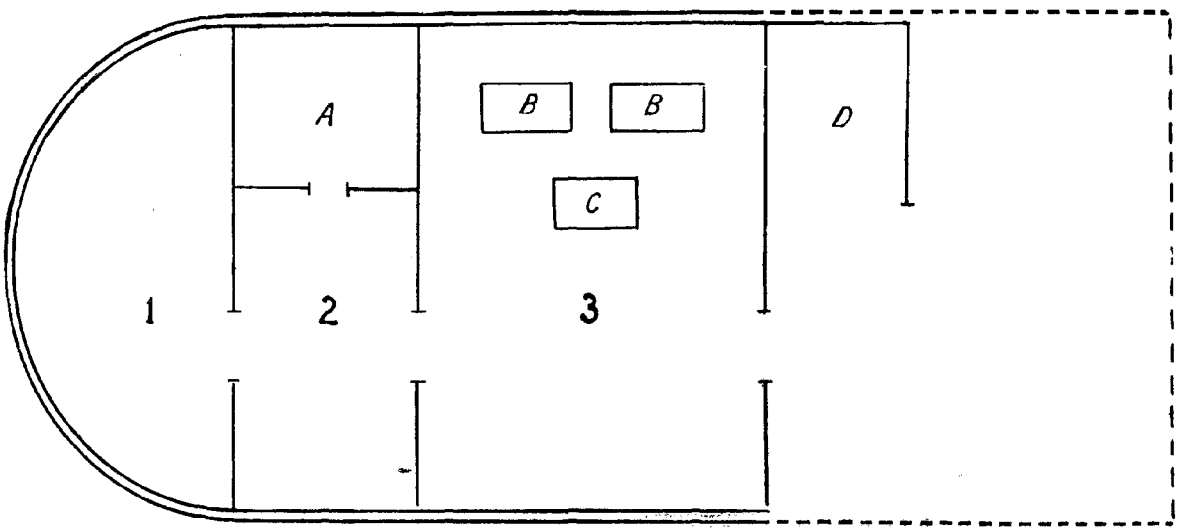
4 The quarter pieces of leaves are arranged on two split bamboo sticks



5 When the leaves are placed along the whole length, another two sticks are placed over the leaves and the corresponding sticks are tied with bamboo thongs. This gives an appearance of a fringe of leaves, the fringe being about 10 ft. long



6 Procedure of thatching the roof. J—represents the ribs on one side. S—is the bamboo pole placed parallel to 'perlang'. A, B, C—indicate the three Lrings of leaves placed on the ribs, one over the other



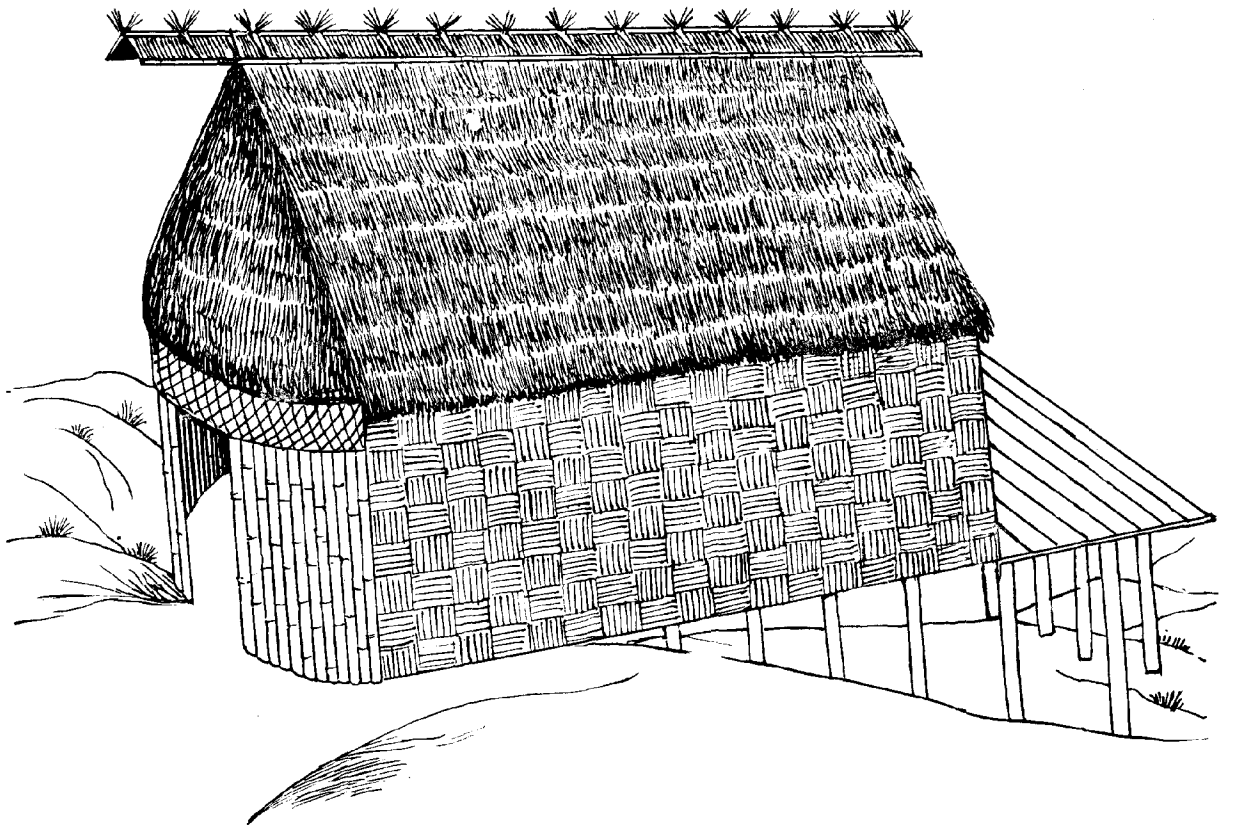


Illustration 5

A rich man's house and its ground plan

Death of a woman during child birth, was also considered as *menen* requiring the house to be abandoned. But her husband had to pass through six sheds of fern leaves instead of five. He had to observe period of isolation for six days, after which he had to stay in the *areju* (bachelors' dormitory) for three months.

This practice of abandoning the house has been completely given up, now. The last two cases of abandoning the house took place around 1920. In about 1918, a non-Christian male died of drowning, and in about 1920 a Christian woman died during child birth. On both the occasions, their respective houses were abandoned. Since then three males and 2 females have died in circumstances, which according to the old concept can be considered as *menen*, but the houses were not abandoned.

Particulars about the doors and windows and other important elements were studied in respect of 40 houses—each of which is owned by a separate household. Due to various difficulties, all the data could not be recorded in a uniform manner for all the houses. Whatever data were recorded are indicated below.

In two houses, the doors are made of wood, in the remaining houses--these are made of bamboo. There is no window in any of the houses.

One of the houses has a compound in the front without any fencing ; the rest do not have any compound. 13 households have separate structures away from the houses for storage of grains. The remaining households store their grains in the residential houses. All the households keep their poultry and pigs in the front rooms of their houses. Two households have separate cattle sheds. These two households are among the 13, who have separate granaries.

11 households have latrines ; 6 households have latrines for children only. The remaining households are without any latrine. These latrines are small temporary sheds, with a few logs laid for sitting. The walls are made of leaves of sago palm or bamboo matting. Latrines have been introduced in this village only during the last few years ; this explains why the majority of the households are without latrine.

For 1 household source of drinking water well is within a distance of 90 metres for 16 households the distance is between 91 to 182 metres, for 14 households it is between 182 to 728 metres and for 1 household it is more than 728 metres. For 3 households the information was not recorded. 21 households reported that they use rain water as well, for drinking purposes.

20 households reported that they use the same source of water for drinking and washing purposes. 18 households reported that whereas along with others they draw drinking water from wells of their respective *khels*, they go to different stream-lets for washing purposes. For 2 households the information was not recorded.

From four households cost of construction and other relevant data were collected. Income of these four households vary from Rs. 47/- p.m. to Rs. 72/- p.m. The market value of the houses varied from Rs. 800/- to Rs. 900/-. Market value of the house belonging to the household with monthly income of Rs. 72/- p. m., is Rs. 900/- ; on the other hand market value fo the house belonging to the household with income of Rs. 47/- per month is Rs. 800/-. But market value of another house belonging to a household with income of Rs. 71/- per month is also Rs. 800/-. It, therefore, appears in a general way, that there is no correlation between income of household and market value of house. The period of construction has been overlooked for the purpose of this rough estimation.

In all the four households, some construction and repair works have been done during the last 5 years. Two households used bamboos belonging to own land and two households had to supplement bamboos of own land by bamboos purchased from fellow villagers. One household purchased bamboo at the rate of 15 pieces per rupee in 1961, and another household purchased at the rate of 20 pieces per rupee during the same year. The rate is determined by the quality and type of bamboo. For instance *longmi*—the thicker variety is much costlier than the thinner variety *ashi*. Again *ashi* is costlier than *anna*. In all the households the other materials were obtained either from own field or from village forest without any payment.

All the households reported that at the time of construction, they took about 5 days to complete the work. Each day, about 60 relations and neighbours

rendered customary assistance. They were entertained with tea and meat in the morning at the time of the commencement of the work ; and with rice and pork at noon. The male relatives and neighbours helped in the actual construction work, and the female relatives helped in preparation and serving of food.

Household objects

As dress and ornaments, and also tools and implements will be discussed separately, they are not being considered here.

In most of the households there are no chairs and tables. These are found only in the houses of the school teachers, Pastor of the church and a few other educated persons. In ordinary households only three or four low benches can be found.

In most of the households two beds and one box are found.

Compared to the furniture, the utensils are slightly more varied. In the past, earthen pots were in general use ; but now aluminium pots are fast replacing them. During the survey, it was reported that almost every household had one or more aluminium utensils like *degchi* or big pot for boiling rice and *yabo* or plate. But aluminium pots have not completly replaced the earthen pots. Curry is mostly cooked in earthen pot. The people believe that meat cooked in earthen pot becomes softer and gives a special flavour.

Like the aluminium pots, the aluminium plates also do not have complete sway. Rectangular shaped bamboo plates and round wooden plates are found in many households. Enamel plates are also commonly used.

For taking tea, the people prefer bamboo cups to aluminium cups or enamel cups. Spoons are also made of bamboo. Water is carried and stored only in thin bamboo barrels.

In many households, a half burnt bamboo tube is found hanging from the shelve over the fire place. In this tube (*sungaong*) tea is boiled for household members as well as the visitors.

In the four households where cost of construction of house and other particulars were collected, an attempt was made to prepare inventories of the household objects. The objects, other than dress and ornaments and also tools and equipment, as found in these four households are indicated below :—

Table 4 : Inventory of household objects

Category of objects	Name of objects		No. of households out of the 4 studied that own the object	Average No. per household	Remarks
	English name	Local name			
1	2	3	4	5	6
Utensil	Bamboo barrel	Tsushi	4	20	
	Bamboo cup	Marok	4	6	
	Bamboo spoon	Yiknu, Yiju	4	2	
	Earthen pot	Ali chips	2	2	
	Aluminium cup	Marok	4	2	
	Aluminium plate	Yabo	4	6	
Lighting	Lantern	Milen	4	1·5	
Fuel	Fuel wood	Asung	4	..	
Furniture	Wooden chair	Chawhi	2	0·5	Each of the two households has 1 chair
	Wooden bench	Menjen	3	3·5	
Musical instrument	Nil		..	..	
Sports goods	Nil		..	..	
Transport	Bamboo basket	Aki Aku	4	4	
Bed	..	Yipjen	4	2	
Blankets	..	Kampul	4	2	



Plate No. 12 Wood and bamboo household utensils carved by the Ao villagers and an earthen pot produced by the stripping technique since no wheel is used

The position observed in the four households confirms the general impresssion that the material equipment of the population of the village is not many. It also indicates that there is no significant difference among the households belonging to different income levels in the possession of material goods.

Food and drink

In three households items of food taken during seven days, were recorded. There are indicated below :

Table 5 : Items of food taken during 7 days

Item	No. of households where taken	Category of households
1	2	3
Rice	3	Poor, average, rich
Cold Rice	2	Average, rich
Rice water curry	1	Rich
Pulses	1	Rich
Fresh bomboo shoots	2	Poor, average
Dried bamboo shoots	2	Average, rich
Taro	1	Average
Taro chatni	1	Rich
Taro leaves	3	Poor, average, rich
Soma leaves	1	Average
Fungis	1	Rich
Pumpkin curry	1	Rich
Other vegetables	2	Poor, average
Dried fish	2	Poor, average
Rotten fish	1	Average
Crab	1	Poor

It is not possible to draw any conclusion from the above statement ; but it gives a range of the items consumed by families belonging to different income levels, during a period of three days.

Further information collected through observation as well as group discussion are furnished below:

Rice is the staple food of the village. Most of the people take meals three times a day,—in the morning at about 6 to 7 a. m. at noon and in the night. Each time, about 0·25 k.g. rice is taken by an adult. Vegetables are taken according to availability. Sometimes, the poor people eat rice, only with salt and chillies. All the households eat fish, meat and egg, but naturally the frequency depends upon the economic condition. Further, though there is no taboo against meat as such, certain types of meat are not taken by people of certain categories. For instance pig's stomach and bamboo rat is taboo for Mongsen people but not for Chungli people. Before the advent of Christianity, the people of Wazakum clan would not eat the meat of hornbill ; now of course this restriction is not observed.

In some households' it was reported that the female members do not like to eat the meat of goat, monkey and dog, not because these are taboo but because these do not suit their taste. In one household it was found that the female members do not eat the intestine of any animal, because they do not like it.

Meat generally taken is of pig, goat, deer, cow, monkey, elephant, porcupine, bamboo rat and various types of birds. Flesh of tiger is never eaten.

There is no restriction in food on the basis of marital status and age. But generally the young people do not eat phiya bird, as it is believed that in that case their hair will become gray. The study in four families shows that there is some seasonal variation in consumption of food. The same is indicated in the statement below :

Table 6 : Seasonal variation in consumption of food

Item of food	No. of households where taken during Jan-March	April-June	July-Sept.	October-Dec.	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
Rice	4	4	4	4	
Dried leaves	2	..	..	..	
Dried bamboo shoots	3	1	4	4	
Taro leaves	3	..	..	..	
Pumpkin	3	..	..	..	
Pulses	2		4	3	During April-June they are engaged in shifting cultivation and are not able to go to market to purchase dal
Meat	4	3	4	2	
Green vegetable	..	3	3	..	
Fungus	..	3	..	..	
Crab	..	3	3	2	
Fish	1	2	4	3	

The seasonal variation depends on availability of food items and not on any taboo.

Food is generally prepared and served by the female members of the household but the male members also assist occasionally. There is no age or sexwise segregation while taking food. The members of the family sit near the fire place and take food together.

In the morning, both the morning meal (*nibatsuang*) and mid-day meal (*nitongtsuang*) are prepared at the same time. Generally people like to take boiled vegetables and dried fish with rice in the morning. When they go to the field they carry their food with them. Sometimes, they collect fresh vegetable in the field, cook the same and take with cold rice brought from home. For the children, the mother leaves a little meat or fish and rice at home. The night meal generally consists of rice and curry of fresh vegetables collected from the field. If vegetables are not available, sometimes pulses are taken.

The medium of cooking is water ; oil and ghee are rarely used ; some families use oil or ghee hardly once in a year.

Method of preparation of some of the items is indicated below :

Rice—Unhusked paddy (*atsank*) is first dried in the sun ; then it is pounded in the pounding table. Husks are then removed by the winnowing fan. The rice (*atsung*) is stored in a box or big pot, *tsangong*. While cooking, water is first heated to almost boiling point, and then some portion of the water is removed to a separate pot. After that, required quantity of rice is put in the boiling water. If necessary, hot water which is kept in a separate pot, is added subsequently, till the rice is properly boiled. The pot is then removed from the hearth and placed over hot ash, so that the gruel may be dried in slow heat. Rice is now ready for eating, and is called *atsa*.

Meat (*asa*)—It is boiled in water with salt and chillies. Sometimes leafy vegetables are added. Meat is also smoke-dried for future use. In more affluent households, smoke dried meat is preserved throughout the year.

Fish (*anga*)—Like meat, fish is also boiled in water with salt and chillies. Smoke dried fish is very common in every household. Sometimes it is sold at the rate of 10 pieces per rupee. The price is same for all varieties of fish.

Bamboo shoot (*ejak*)—These are found in plenty in the forest. The scale like sheath is removed from the sprouts and the pulps are brought home. The leafy shoots are cut into pieces and put into big bamboo barrels or earthen pots and then requisite quantity of water is poured to cover these pieces exactly. This process is called *echen*. After being soaked in water for two days, the pieces are cooked with chillies and salt. Curry of bamboo shoots forms a very delicious item of the food of the villagers.

Very frequently bamboo shoots are preserved for use througout the year. They are pounded in a large pounding cup (*etsutem*) cut out of a solid lok. The pounded mass is sometimes stored as it is in a bamboo barrel. Sometimes it is wrapped with leaves and placed on a loosely mashed bamboo basket. A few stones are then put on the pounded mass and as a result of the pressure of the weight of the stones, a sour juice comes out of it. The juice is boiled with chillies and salt and eaten with rice. After a week or so, the pounded mass called *ejak*, is taken out of the basket, and the remaining juice is squeezed out by hand. It is then spread on a mat to dry. When dried properly it is called *eji* and is stored in baskets for future use.

Other vegetables—In addition to vegetables like taro, gourd, lentils, brinjals, gingers, *etc.*, produced in their garden, the villagers consume mushroom and wild roots and tubers collected from the forest. These vegetables and roots and tubers are abundant in summer and rainy season ; but there is shortage during winter. The villagers therefore, are careful to dry a part of the summer vegetables like taro steams and taro leaves and other roots and tubers for future use.

The method of cooking of these vegetables is very simple. These are just boiled in water with salt and chillies.

Snacks—Almost all the households prepare various kinds of snacks as well. Often these are made of bits of fish or meat very highly spiced with chilli. Another popular snack is, *ngatsu mayong* or paste made of rotten fish. It is purchased at Naginijan bazar and is preserved for a year or more.

Drink—The Church is strongly against consumption of alcoholic drink by its members. Hence majority of the Christians abstain from it. Only a few elderly

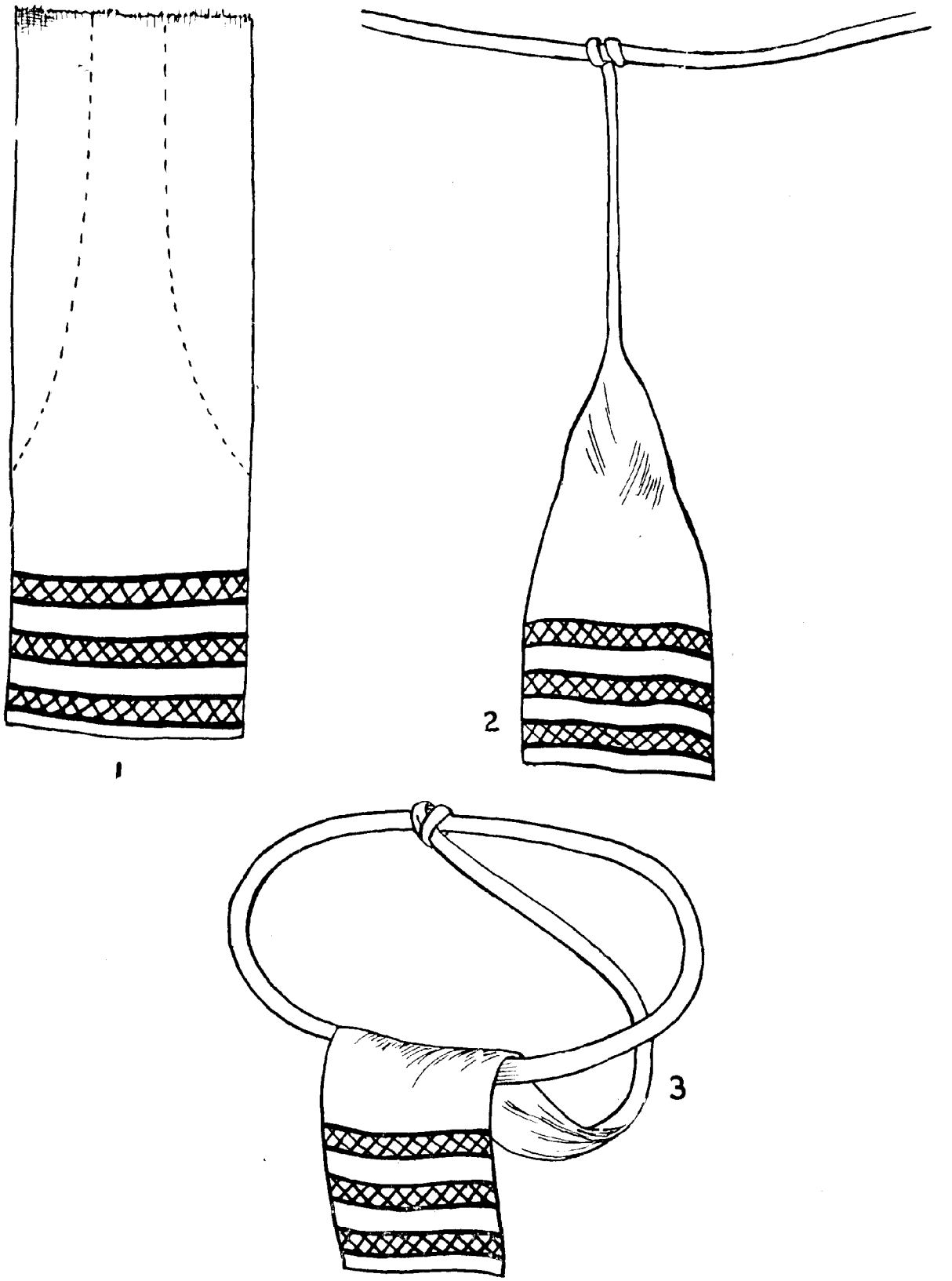


Illustration No. 6
Suma or angen (Lion cloth)

1 The cloth is woven as shown
The dotted lines show the manner of cutting
2 The finished product
3 Manner of wearing

persons among the Christians indulge in it. The non-Christians however take rice-beer or *ayu* regularly. The boiled rice is mixed with yeast and is kept for three days in big earthen jars. The mouth of the jar is kept tightly closed for about 4 days, during which period fermentation takes place.

Tea is the most common drink among the villagers. For the older people, a cup of tea after every meal is a must. During the agricultural season, plain tea is taken in the field three times or four times a day, by all. Normally however the women and the children are not so much addicted to tea.

Dress

An inventory of dress was prepared in four households. The particulars are furnished below :

Table 7 : Particulars of male dress

Object	Material used	Brief description	No. of house holds owning the object	Total No. owned	Range of price for each	Source	Use	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Suma or angen	Cotton		4	4	Rs. 2·00 to 3·00	Mokokchung bazar	Cover pelbic region	
Sunaksu	Cotton		2	5	Rs. 9·10 to 10·00	In one h. hs. woven by daughter, in another purchased in the village	Body cover	
Blanket	Cotton		2	2	Rs. 10·00 to 17·00	Naginijan bazar	do	
Yongtsungsu	Cotton		1	2	Rs. 12·00	Woven by daughter		
Su	Cotton	3 pieces of cloth 5′ × 1¼′ stitched together	1	3	Rs. 8·00 to 12·00	Woven by daughter	Wrapper	
Tsungkotepsu	Cotton		1†	1	Rs. 40·00	Mokokchung bazar	Wear during special occasion	

Table 8 : Particulars of female dress

Supeti or Shirt	Cotton		4	11	Rs. 12·00 to 20·00	Woven at home	Ordinary shirt	
Sunak	Cotton		4	8	Rs. 10·00 to 12·00	do	Wrapper	
Subosu	Cotton		1†	1	Rs. 8·00	Mokokchung bazar	do	
Blanket	Cotton		3	3	Rs. 7·00 to 9·00	Naginijan bazar	dc	

† Rich

The above statements show that in case of male dress there is greater dependence on outside market, but in case of female dress most of the items are woven in the village itself.

It also seems that some items of dress are found only in rich households.

Description of the various items of dress as found in the four households specially studied, as well as other items observed in the village though not found in these households, is given below.

Suma or angen—It is the loin covering used by Ao males. The main portion of the *Suma* consists of a piece of cloth—about 1·2 metres long and 25 cms. wide. It is generally blue in colour with varying designs. One of the commonest designs consists of broad red horizontal stripes on the dark blue background. To one end of this strip is attached another piece of cloth which is generally woven by the women of Ungma and sold in Mokokchung bazar. In one type, the garment is entirely white without any design. This is woven by the females of the village. In each garment the extra

piece is folded from the opposite end and sewn into a narrow stripe, forming a flap at the ornamented end. Sewing is done in the village by hand or by sewing machine. Tailors who do the sewing with machine, charge 75 n.p. per piece. A sketch of the garment is furnished below :

The various designs have symbolic meaning. Some indicate the man's wealth and status in the society, some indicate that the wearer or his father or both have performed mithun sacrifice ; some again show that the wearer has become successful in war. There are also designs to show that a man has sacrificed mithun and also has become successful in war.

The villagers informed that the designs are not uniform in all the Ao villages. Different designs have been adopted in different villages to convey the same situation.

Tsungko tepsu—It is a dark shawl with 5 or 6 red bands at the top and the bottom, as well as in the middle on white background. Exactly at the middle of the cloth, is a white band painted with figures in black, which include circles representing human heads. Men of Molir clan of Mongsen moiety were forbidden to wear this cloth. Another Mongsen clan, *viz.* Mongsentsunger, which is found in other villages, was also forbidden to wear this cloth. Now such prohibitions are ignored, specially by the Tusunger people.

Chuchusubang—This can be worn only by the males of Molir clan—irrespective of whether they have done head hunting or not. The cloth itself is red, with very narrow dark blue bands and a broad white medium band embroidered with large red lozenges. Sometimes the blue bands indicate that the wearer has not only taken heads, but that he has done mithun sacrifice as well.

Ayakusu—It is a dark blue cloth with red bands and broad light blue medium band.

Subosu or Sunkasu—For day to day rough use, the decorated clothes described above are not worn ; a plain white cloth (*subosu*) or a plain blue cloth (*sunkasu*) is worn. *Sunkasu* is woven with dark blue thread. Sometimes when a white cloth becomes dirty, it is dipped in dark blue dye. Such a cloth is called *subusurem*.

Wayi—A cowrite apron made in Ungma village used to be worn by some persons who were wealthy and successful in head hunting.

Anu or sutsukum—It is the women's skirt and consists of a piece of cloth,—1 metre to 1·5 metres long and about 60 cms. wide. It is wrapped round the waist, with one top outer corner tucked in the side of the hip. The cloth is generally dark blue in colour, but is ornamented with red bands and various designs. These designs vary from village to village and within the same village, from clan to clan. Further, these designs conveyed various events in the family concerned. Daughter of a man who has done mithun sacrifice wears a distinct and more elaborate design than that found among the commoners. Even if she marries a poor man she retains her right to wear the cloth distinctive of her father's status. Similarly the wife of a man who has made mithun sacrifice, has the right to wear cloth with distinct designs.

Anu or skirt of a little girl—Upto about the age of 5, a cotton string is wound round the waist of a little girl. At about the age of 5, she is given her first skirt, which may be white or dark blue.

Asu or body cloth of a woman—Until a woman has born her first child, she is to wear her body cloth tightly round the body under the armpit. She cannot expose her breasts, till she is a mother. The body cloth is usually white or dark blue in colour.

Supeti—This is used as a cover for the upper part of the body and consists of two pieces, worn separately and joined together. The two pieces are red in colour with decorated stripes in various colours, to indicate the clan of the wearer.

Sunak—This is a piece of black cloth worn by women in home.

Headgear and footwear

In the past, elderly persons who have been successful in head hunting, used to wear a sort of skull cap made of bear-skin (hirenkep Korang) which was decorated with small tusks of boar. The tusks were arranged to form circles.

Another type of cap (*Tankhu Korang*) was made out of the skin of black bear, taken out of the hairy portion of its neck and shoulder. It used to be bound

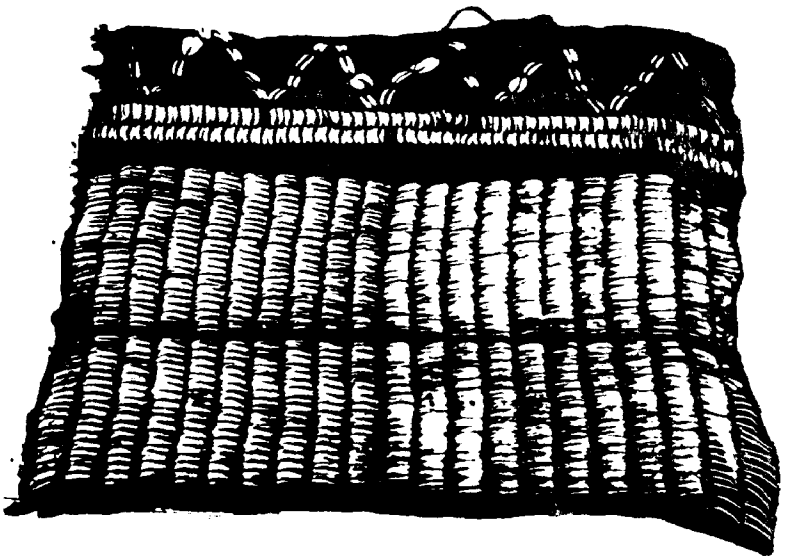


Plate No. 13 A black cloth apron which used to be worn by wealthy persons or those who were successful in head hunting. The top of the apron is sewn with cowrie shells in a zig-zag design, below which are sewn two horizontal lines of vertically placed cowrie shells. The bottom of the apron features a wide band of horizontally placed cowrie shells sewn together to form vertical lines

to a circular frame of cane. The ends of the cane frame, were joined by a string at the back of the head, so that the circumference could be adjusted to fit the wearer. A few upright bamboo pieces were also loosely fitted to the cane frame and hornbill feathers were stuck to these bamboo pieces.

At present the skull caps have almost disappeared from the village. A few pieces are found only as the relic of the past.

If the head cover is disappearing, the footwear is becoming more and more popular; canvas shoes purchased at Naginijan or Mokokchung bazar are very common among the educated males. Females in general and elderly uneducated males however do not use footwear very frequently.

Ornaments

Ornaments used by males

In the past, the ear of a man used to be pierced in three places–the lobe, the concha and the top of the fossa of the antihelix. The piercing of the lobe, was a part of the birth rites but the other holes were made just before a boy took his place in the *areju*. Any male relation or friend of the family could perform the operation. A red hot wire was pushed through the lobe—the blade of bill-hook (*dao*) being held behind the ear to prevent injury to the head. The hole used to be kept open with little plug of cotton wool and gradually increased in size by increasing the size of the plug. Ultimately the hole used to be made big enough to take the wade of cotton wool, *Kumba maro*.

As soon as the injury caused during piercing the hole was healed, all Chungli children and the children of poor Mongsen parents used to wear a pair of little ornaments, *naro* of red hair of dog and small black feathers from the nape of the bird toucan (Rhytidoceros Undulating). In case of boy, six hairs and six feathers were used to make the ornament; in case of girl the number was five of each. Feathers of toucan were used, because though the body of the bird was entirely dark its tail was milk white and it was thought that by using its feather the child would be wholly good and not a mixture of good and bad. After the ornament was used by a boy for 6 days, or by a girl for 5 days—it was thrown away. This ornament is called *wazamaro*.

A son of rich Mongsen parents used to wear in the lobe of ear, tufts of red goat-hair with a small bead hanging at the end of of a string (*tangchang maro*) tied to the ornament. This was often worn till a boy become member of the *areju*.

Many people used to wear a necklace (*saba*) made of one or two pairs of tusks. Necklace made of three pairs of tusks could be worn only by the people who had taken a number of heads.

Persons with claim for higher social status on some or other ground, used necklaces of long conchshell beads (*seratlik*). These were made from the inner part of conchshell and were bought from Angami traders.

About 7 cms. broad ivory armlets (Khambang) used to be worn by many. In Chungli group it was the birth right of men of Pongen and Longkum, phratries to wear ivory armlets on both the arms if they had the wherewith to buy the same. But a Jami man had to perform mithun sacrifice, if he wanted to wear ivory armlet. In the olden days even mithun sacrifice was not enough. A jami man was required to have atleast one hundred heads to his credit before he could wear even a single armlet; and he was required to make further display of his wealth and powers before he could wear two. In the Mongsen moiety Lemturs and Kupzars had the right to wear ivory armlets on both arms. Yinchenchar, Alapachar, Yungpur, Tsitir, Walinger, Mongsentsunger and Longchachor clans of this moiety, which are not found in the village under survey, had also similar right. The Aier clan had the right to wear one armlet. A man of Lungtsuchar clan could wear one if he had performed the mithun sacrifice once, and he could wear two if he had performed the sacrifice twice. Men of Molir clan had no right to wear any armlet under any condition. This may be because of the fact that the Molirs are descendants of Moli who was originally a servant. The men of Ochichar, Kichuchar, Anichar and Mingsangchan clans, which are not found at Waromung, were also under the same restriction.

Some Aos of the village used a gauntlet of cowrie with red hair fringe. It is called *khap*.

Another handsome ornament is *khaplang* or enemy's teeth. It was sometimes used as a breast plate; but usually it was used across the shoulders on the back. The frame was a piece of flat wood, some

25·5 cms. long; it was narrow in the middle, broadening to about 12 cms. at the ends. The edges both at top and the bottom were curbed and were fitted with lines of *cowries* representing teeth. The space between the rows of *cowries* represented the tongue and the palate and was covered with finely plaited red cancand yellow orchid stalk. At the two sides of the *khaplang* and at the bottom were fitted fringe of red goat's hair to represent blood streaming out of the mouth of the sticken foe.

Now all these ornaments have almost disappeared from the village. During the survey it was found that in the village as a whole there were only three old males who were using ornaments. Only two types of ornaments were found with them; *saba* and *tanku*, their prices varied from Rs. 6/-to Rs. 12/-

Ornaments used by females

In contrast to the ornaments of the males, a number of ornaments are still found among the females. These are as follows—

Yongmen—These are large brass rings and are pressed on either side of the head to keep the hair in position. They pass through the holes at the top of the fossa of the anti-helix and are held in place by a string joining them and passing over the top of the head. The hole in the ear is bored when the girl is first tattooed ; the operation being made with a sharp red hot iron.

In Chungli moiety all women of Pongener and Longkum phratries, save those belonging to Lemtur clan of Longkum phratry, may wear this ornament. But it is forbidden for all women of jami phratry. In Mongsen moiety, all women except those belonging to Lungtsuchar clan are entitled to wear the ornament.

Tongpang—This ear-ornament can be worn by every women. It is a crystal, cut to size and well polished. It is also called *maibongmaro*, after its supposed place of origin. A good pair costs about Rs. 90/- to Rs. 100/-. It measures about 5 cms. by 4 cm. and is about 1·27 cm. thick with square corners. There is a round hole in the middle, and there is a slit upto the edge. The hole of the ear to which the *tongpang* is fitted is bored at the infancy of the girl and is gradually enlarged with cotton wool and woolen plug till it is of the appropriate size.

Alik—Necklace-Several types of necklaces are worn by the females. Some of the more important ones are described here.

Mechentsu—It consists of plain strings of cornelian beads.

Lakapwangkum—It consists of spikes of conchshell with cornelian beads, between each spike.

Mejungchashi—It consists of trumpet shaped bodies of lead-alloy with cornelian beads between each trumpet shaped body. It is of foreign manufacture.

Zuptong lik—It consists of brownish beads and is restricted to daughters and wives of men who have performed mithun sacrifice.

Kichen—(bracelets) Previously women used to wear heavy brass bracelets. Now these have been completely given up and they wear plastic bracelets purchased from market.

Hair style and body decoration

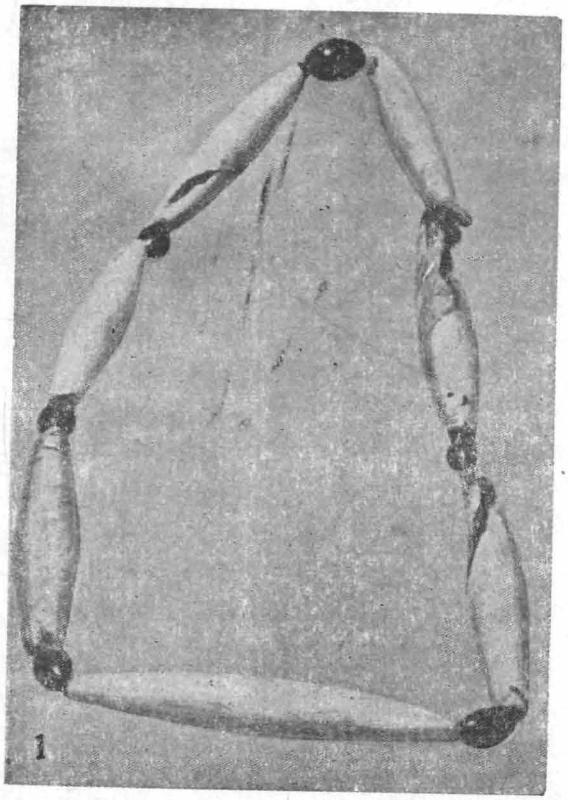
Hair style—In hair-style considerable change has taken place during the last one generation.

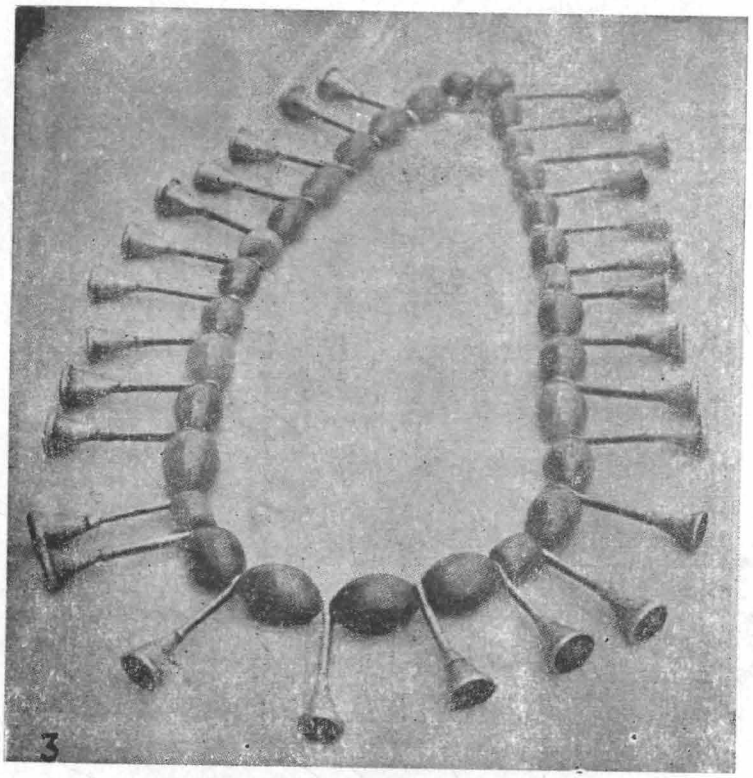
The traditional pattern of hair dressing is called, *Ao hemohi*. According to this pattern the little boys have their hair entirely shaved except for a triangular tuft left in the front. On their attaining the age of three or four hair is allowed to grow on the skull but it is shaved upto a line, level with the upper top of the ear. The hair of the crown is trimmed so that it does not hang below this line.

Now, only the elderly persons keep their hair in the traditional pattern. The younger people keep their hair upto the nape, exactly like the people of the plains.

Hair style of the females has also changed. In the past, young girls had their hair shaved completely; but now they allow their hair to grow right from the birth. Grown up females tie their hair in a bun at the back. In this, there is some difference between the women of Chungli and Mongsen moieties. The women of Chungli moiety, bind the bun with black thread and string made of their own fallen hair, whereas the Mongsen women use strings of white thread. Some women take great care of their hair. They arrange their hair in such a way as to make a loop hanging above the bun. Hair pins purchased from the market are used to keep the hair in position.

Tattooing—During the last 30 years tattooing has been almost completely given up in this village. There









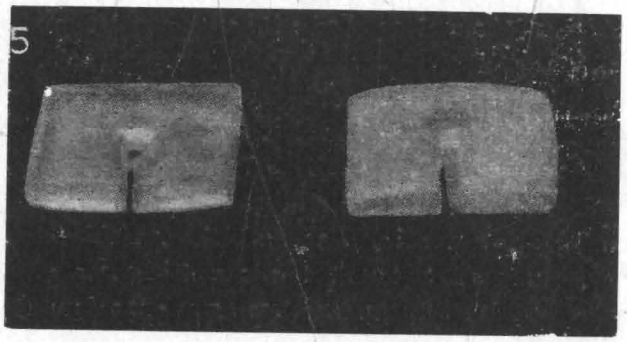


Plate No. 14 Ornaments used by Ao women

1 Yepdongzuk—Necklace made of barrel shaped hollow shells and round and oblong blue coloured glass beads

2 Waragkumzuk—Necklace made of green blue ceramic beads inter-spersed with some of mother of pearl, at the lower end of which the beads are strung through the tops of six tiger teeth

3 Sungshi—Necklace made of polished cornelian beads between each pair of which has been strung an elongated brass-bell

4 A solid brass bracelet procured from an outside market

5 Tongpang—A pair of crystal ear ornaments procured from Assam



Plate No. 15 Two elderly Ao women, one wearing two strings of cornelian beads and the other wearing a sungshi—the necklace similar to the one described in plate–14. Both of them are wearing typical Ao head ornaments made of brass about the size of curtain rings. These are worn on either side of the head and held in position by joining strings which pass through holes at the top of the anti-helix. They are also wearing crystal ear ornaments

is hardly any woman below the age of 35, with tattoo mark over any part of the body.

In the past tattooing was compulsory. Tattooing of a girl used to commence at about the age of 10-11. It took about 5 years to complete tatooing over ihe different parts of the body. In the first year the legs were tattooed upto the knee; the next year her chin, chest and the fronts of her shoulders were completed; in the third year the calf portion was covered; in the fourth year the knees were tattooed and in the fifth year the wrists and stomach was tattooed. The tattoo designs varied from clan to clan, but the most common elements consisted of four vertical lines on the chin, chain of lozenges from the throat to the lower portion of the breast, inverted on the front portion of the shoulder and stomach; lozanges and solid squares on the wrists; lozenges on the lower part of the legs and a sort of arrow pattern on the knees.

After the first year's tattooing a girl was regarded as a full-fledged member of the community. At this time her ears also were pierced, for receiving the ear ornament, tongpang.

The operation of tattooing was carried out by old women in the jungle at the outskirt of the village. No male could be present during the operation. There were very few villages where women with knowledge of tattooing existed. These women therefore, moved about from village to village during December and January. These months were preferred for tattooing as the sores were healed quickly during winter. One old woman of Chuchuyinlang was particularly famous for her skill, many people used to send their daughters there for being operated by her. The knowledge of the art was hereditary in the female line. The mother used to transmit the skill to her daughter.

The instrument used for puncturing the skin consisted of a little bunch of cane thorns fitted to a wooden holder which was inserted like an adze-head into a piece of stalk of a plant called *chenru*. Sometimes stalk of another plant called *pangchala* was also used. The pattern to be tottooed was marked by the old woman on the skin of the girl with a piece of wood dipped in colouring matter; then the marked out pattern was punctured all over with the adze-like instrument till the blood came out. As it was a very painful process, the girl used to be held firmly to the ground all the time. The puncturing was done by lightly striking the puncturing instrument with the root portion of *chenru* plant. It is a particularly heavy plant with a shappy hall like root. After puncturing was done and the blood was washed off, black colouring material was applied. Then the sore was left to be healed up gradually.

The colouring matter was made from the sap of the bark of a tree called *mapthi*. This was collected in a pot and boiled over fire. A leaf or a bit of a broken pot was put over the pot when the sap was boiling. The soot like thing which accumulated on the leaf or broken pot was collected and mixed with *madu*. It was then ready for use.

Till the sores were healed, the girls were not allowed to eat anything but rice, bamboo pickles and birds meat. Further, They would not eat cane berries or *chenru* berries till the new rains had washed the earth; clean that is, till about April. If instead of *chenru* plant, *pangchala* plant was used for hammering the puncturing instrument, the girls would refrain from eating *pangchala* berries.

CHAPTER III

ECONOMIC LIFE

"The people of this village are agriculturists first and agriculturists last" said an educated young man of the village. He is almost correct. There are only a few households whose primary source of livelihood is not agriculture; but even they practise agriculture as a subsidiary means of livelihood.

Coming down to individuals, it is found that agriculture, like an affectionate mother, draws everybody towards her. Even the school-going children run down the fields after the school hours. In the morning between 6.30 a.m. to 7.30 a.m., the villagers proceed to the field in ceaseless lines and groups. They carry cooked rice with them; and work the whole day oblivient of the sun and the rains. At noon, they collect some vegetables or roots or tubers that grow in the field or in the adjoining forest and prepare side-dishes to be taken along with rice. After a short break for the meal, they again resume their work, which continues till the dusk.

Agriculture is not merely their source of livelihood. It is their way of life. This would be obvious from their system of reckoning time, space and capacity.

The year or *akum* is divided into four seasons viz, (i) *majila* (sowing season) corresponding to spring (ii) *meyu* (weeding season) corresponding to summer (iii) *chalipang* (season of harvesting and eating) corresponding to autumn and (iv) *mongpu* or *asukwa* (season for drying of crops or cold season) corresponding to winter.

When the voice of the cuckoo or "*phakophako*" is first heard in the land, the *majila mopang* or spring begins and the people start sowing. The appearance of the dew is taken as the beginning of winter.

The villagers have a system of counting months by lunar cycle, but only four months, which are connected with important agricultural activities have names; others are referred to as the first month, second month, third month and so on.

The four months which have names are as follows :

Chalipang lata—the month of new rice and fruits.

Urangba lata—the month of fencing.

Moatsu lata—the month of moatsu festival.

Am lata—the month of leaves.

The first month of the year commences when the bird *aketuju* begins to sing in the area. This corresponds with the last part of June and first part of July.

The different hours of the day are also related to different activities,—the central one being agriculture. These are indicated below:

Menang ankhung—First cock-crow.

Anetbenankhung—Second cock-crow.

Asembenankhung—Third cock-crow. The housewife leaves her bed at this time to cook the morning meal, which is taken before going to the field.

Nungjangsangwa laba—appearance of dim light in the horizon.

Nivazungia—First glimpse of light.

Nivatsuangmapang—Morning meal time before going to the field ; it is about 6–7 a.m.

Aluninger wasep—The time when the workers should have gone to the field ; it is about 9 a.m.

Teruto—about 11 a.m. ; the time when the village becomes lonely as the people are engaged in work in the field.

Ajem naro—about 12 noon ; the time for break of work in the field and taking of midday meal.

Ajem mangar—early afternoon.

Ubok risu—about 5 p.m. ; the time for preparation of food for pigs.

Jemdang—evening.

Tsungizaro—sunset.

Aya tsuangmapang—about 7.45 p.m. ; the time for night meal.

Yipsen mapang—about 8.30 p.m ; the time for going to dormitory.

Aki chirep—about 10 p.m. ; the time for closing the house.

Tiyiprep—about 11 p.m. ; the time for deep slumber.

Ayaterem—midnight.

Even the midnight and the time of deep slumber are not always unrelated to agriculture. The dreams that they dream during their sleep would tell them whether the site selected for cultivation is good or not ; in case of bad omen they are prone to shift the site.

As in case of time, space is also related to agriculture. The area of a plot is estimated by the quantity of paddy seeds broadcasted.

One *yimkhi* or basket containing 18·5 kgms. paddy is used as the standard. If a man is asked how big is his field, he would state that he had broadcasted so many *yimkhis* of paddy.

Distances are also measured in terms of rice dumps or *chakmelen*. The rice dumps are temporary sheds constructed at stages, on the way from the fields to the village. Ordinarily the distance from one dump to another is roughly 1·6 k.m. ; but in steeper areas the distance is shorter.

Long distances are however considered in terms of miles and not in terms of rice dumps. But this is obviously a result of culture contact.

Another deviation from the pattern is in regard to small objects. The size of the small objects is computed with reference to the different parts of the body like arm stretch, breadth of palm and so on, and not with reference to agricultural products. (The details are furnished in appendix B). But the capacity of containers of various size are again reckoned with reference to agricultural product. The measures are indicated below :—

Tsuaktemkhi—a big conical basket which can hold nearly 19 kgs. of paddy ; this is generally used while giving loan.

Yimkhi—a smaller basket similar to *tsuaktemkhi* holding about 14 kgs. of paddy.

Puamelok—a basket holding about 7 kgs. of paddy.

Changket melok—a basket holding about 2 kgms. of paddy. A *changket melok* full of paddy is a day's wage for a person.

Piya melok—a basket holding about 1 kg. of paddy.

The relation among the different measures can be restated as follows :

2 Piya meloks—1 *changket melok* (paddy earned as wage for 1 day).

3 **Changket meloks**—1 *Pua melok.*

2 **Pua-Melok**—1 *Yimkhi*

8 **Changket meloks**—1 *Tsuaktemkhi.*

Weight of objects is also related to agricultural activity. The unit for measuring weight of objects is *songti* or the weight of meat or salt due to a man as wage for four days. It roughly comes to about 2·80 kgms. The sub-divisions of *songti* are as follows :—

1 Terama	= 1/2 *Songti*
1 Poaratang	= 1/3 *Songti*
1 Changkolong	= 1/4 *Songti*
1 Changkolong Chatang	= 1/8 *Songti*

For weighing objects in terms of the above measures bismer type of weighing beams with fixed fulcrums are used. These weighing beams are kept in the house of the *unger*.

In the past all weighing used to be done in terms of *songti* and its sub-divisions only. Now, however, maunds, seers and poua are more frequently used as the units of measurement.

Notwithstanding the modern changes, it is obvious from the above, that the perception of the life situation is influenced to a very large extent by their pre-occupation with agriculture. Before, however, examining the various questions relating to agriculture, it is proposed to consider the industrial classification of the population, the working force and the occupation pattern, so that the problems of agriculture can be seen in appropriate context.

According to the 1961 Census industrial classification of the people of the village is as follows :

Table 9 : Industrial classification of the people

Total population			Workers		
Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
788	816	1,604	406	336	742

Distribution of workers as										
Cultivators		Agricultural labour		Construction		Other sources		Non-workers		
Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Total
7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
228	335	Nil	Nil	1	Nil	177	1	382	480	862

It can be seen from the above table that 76% of the total workers are engaged in cultivation 24% are in other services and 0·1% are in construction.

For 1951 Census or earlier, villagewise data are not available. It is, therefore, not possible to compare the present position of the population as a whole with earlier published data.

Analysis of the working force

From table 9, it can be seen that 46% of the total population are workers. If seen in terms of sex distribution 52% of the total male population and 41% of the total female population are workers.

In rural India, the population in age-group 15–59 is considered to constitute the labour force. Distribution of the total population of the village by age and sex is not available. Hence it is not possible to indicate the labour force and the participation rate of the labour force in the economic activities in the village. But during group discussion in the village, it was stated by all, that barring a few physically disabled persons and full time students, everybody above the age of 15, was economically active.

Detailed study of the working force was made in 40 households. The position is indicated below:

Table 10 : Workers and non-workers by age and sex
(Based on study in 40 households)

Age-group	Total population			Workers			Non-workers		
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
All Ages	**91**	**84**	**175**	**53**	**52**	**105**	**38**	**32**	**70**
0—14	28	32	60	4	6	10	24	26	50
15—59	42	41	83	29	35	64	13	6	19
60 & over	21	11	32	20	11	31	1	..	1

From the above table it is found that 60% of the total population are workers. There is some significant difference between the males and the females. Among the males 58·3% are workers ; the corresponding number among the females is 61.9%.

With reference to labour force or population in the age group 15–59 however, an altogether different picture emerges out. Whereas, the labour force of the households covered by the survey is only 83, the working force is 105 or 125·9% of the labour force. This high participation rate in the active economic life is due to the fact that 10 persons out of 60, below the age of 15 and 31 persons out of 32 above the age of 59 are economically active.

The nature of activity of the non-workers was also studied in these 40 households. The same is indicated below :

Table 11 : Non workers by sex, broad age-groups and nature of activity
(Based on study in 40 households)

Age-group	Total non-workers			Full time students or children attending schools			Persons engaged only in household duties			Dependents, infants & children not attending schools and persons permanently disabled		
	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	**70**	**38**	**32**	**45**	**26**	**19**	..	..	..	**25**	**12**	**13**
0—14	50	24	26	28	14	14	..	..	..	22	10	12
15—59	19	13	6	17	12	5	..	..	..	2	1	1
60 & over	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1	..

From the above table, it can be seen that out of 70 non-workers of all ages as many as 45 are full time students. In the age-group of 15–59, out of 19 non-workers, 17 are full time students. Out of these 17, 12 are males and 5 are females. Only 1 male and 1 female in this age-group are non-workers ; both are mentally deranged. In the age-group over 60, only one person is economically inactive. He is a male and is physically disabled.

The high proportion of working force among the population undoubtedly reflects their social attitudes. Four elders were asked about the age when the children should begin to take interest in the economic activities of their families. All indicated that from about the age of 12 or so, both boys and girls should help in agricultural activities and fetching of fuel from the forest. They should also help in husking of grains and looking after the domestic animals. Non-agricultural activities like drawing of water, looking after younger brothers and sisters are expected to start much earlier. Thus through a continuous process of slow adaptation and training they are prepared, almost unaware to take their part in the struggle for existence. Economic life is only an extension of their life, without any sudden change of role or any sharp break from other aspects of life.

Occupation pattern

Data relating to the various aspects of occupation were collected from 40 households ; these are analysed below:

Table 12 : Distribution of households by main occupation
(Based on study in 40 households)

Main occupation	No. of households engaged in the main occupation
Agriculture	35
Teaching	2
Road labour	1
Smithy	1
Pastor	1
Total	**40**

All the above households carry on animal husbandary, collection of jungle produce, basketry, weaving and fishing in addition to their main occupation. They practise these mainly for their own consumption. But two of these households carry on weaving for sale also ; similarly two households carry on fishing for sale, in addition to own consumption. Some households reported other subsidiary occupations. These are indicated below :

Table 13 : Subsidiary occupations (other than basketry, weaving and fishing) associated with main occupation
(Based on study in 40 household)

Name of main occupation	No. of households having the mian occupation	No. of households where agriculture is subsidiary occupation	No. of households where pottery is a subsidiary occupation	No. of households where nursing is a subsidiary occupation	No. of hhs. where work as chowkidar is a subsidiary occupation
1	2	3	4	5	6
Agriculture	35	..	1	1	1
Teaching	2	2	..	..	..
Road labour	1	1	..	..	..
Smithy	1	1	..	..	..
Pastor	1	1	..	..	..

If animal husbandry, collection of jungle produce, basketry, weaving and fishing are taken into consideration, it is found that these, alongwith agriculture, constitute an occupational complex which persists in every household. This seems to suggest value-orientation of the people towards self-sufficiency at the household level. There are only two occupations, *viz.*, pottery and smithy, which indicate specialisation of function at the village level. But even the households engaged in these occupations have agriculture and the associated occupations of the complex described above, either as principal or as subsidiary means of livelihood. It, therefore, appears that while they satisfied useful needs of the society, they took up the occupation of smith or potter, not because they required food grains, clothes, *etc.* in exchange, but because they were induced by

some other mechanism operating in the society. The precise nature of this mechanism is not clear.

The other occupations *viz.* teaching, road labour, nursing and religious service as Pastor have been introduced in the village, during the last three generations and represent the non-traditional sector of diversification of village economy. These occupations though exist in the village, depend on the regional, if not, national economy and social structure for their origin and support.

Recapitulating the foregoing analysis it can be stated that diversification of occupations exist in the village at three levels ; first at the family level, reflecting the self-sufficiency of the household for most of the primary needs of life ; second at the village level within the traditional framework, providing for some of the essential needs of the community without leading to complete division of labour and third in the non-traditional framework, linking the village with the regional and national economy.

Study of occupational pattern in the village would naturally require examination of the distribution of technical skill, occupational mobility, job satisfaction and other related questions.

Distribution of skill

As allready indicated, basketry and weaving are practised in all the households. All the males aged 12 or so and above, know basketry; but naturally those of younger age-group are not so skilful. Similarly all the females aged 12 or so and above, know weaving ; but only a few elderly ladies are known for their superior skill. Education does not appear to have brought in much change in their association with the craft. Even the schoolgoing males and females try to know something of basketry and weaving respectively. But more frequently they try to know these, now-a-days, as a matter of necessity and not as a matter of pride of achievement, as in the past.

There are 13 females in the village practising pottery. Only one was covered by the sample selected for survey.

Occupational mobility

(a) **Change of occupation of the same individual**—Occupation history of 72 persons aged 30 and above is available. 69 persons have always been in the same occupation. 3 persons changed their occupation once. Out of these 3 persons, one worked as teacher, one as Pastor and one as interpreter outside the village. The teacher and the Pastor wanted to settle in the village and take to cultivation. They gave up their occupations and returned to the village. The interpreter was working at Mokokchung. After retiring from the job he came back to the village and settled down to agriculture.

(b) Difference between occupation of father and occupation of son—In case of 11 households out of the 40 households surveyed, either the father or the son of the head of the household, is living in a separate household and is economically active. Out of these 11 cases, in 10 cases the occupations of the fathers and the sons are the same ; in 1 case the occupations are different. In this case, the main source of livelihood of the father is cultivation and the main source of livelihood of the son is work as Pastor. But even the Pastor has cultivation as a subsidiary means of livelihood.

There are three other cases in the sample covered by the survey, where the sons have deviated from the occupations of the fathers ; but in these cases the fathers are not alive. Out of these three cases, in two cases the sons are engaged in teaching and in one case the son is a road labourer. In all these cases the fathers, when they were alive, were engaged in cultivation.

Another measure of occupational mobility is provided by the fact that more than 60 persons from this village are now working outside in various professions. Most of them are in Govt. service, either as P.W.D. road labourers or as regular job holders ; some are in business. The details about these persons could not be collected. But it is known that they are sons of cultivators.

Job satisfaction and nature of aspiration

38 persons responded to the question whether they are satisfied with their present occupations. 33 persons are satisfied with their present occupations and 8 are not. Out of the 33 persons satisfied with their present occupations 25 are cultivators, 1 is Pastor, 2 are teachers, 1 is road labourer and 1 is smith. All the 8 persons not satisfied with their present occupations, are cultivators. One of them wants to be a chaukidar, or a peon ; one wants some unspecified Govt. service. Others are not sure of what they want to be.

Out of these 38 persons, 30 have sons and 29 have daughters. 26 persons have indicated their aspirations for their sons and 24 persons have indicated their aspirations for their daughters. These are shown below :

Table 14 (a) : Aspiration for sons with reference to occupation of father.
(Based on response from 26 persons)

Occupation of father	Number that want son to be						
	Doctor	Engineer	Teacher	Unspecified officer	Unspecified military man	Unspecified educated man	Un-certain
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Cultivation	4	..	3	2	1	9	2
Pastor	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
Teacher	..	1	..	..	..	..	..
Smithy	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Road Labourer	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
Total	**5**	**1**	**3**	**2**	**1**	**12**	**2**

Table 14 (b) : Aspiration for daughters with reference to occupation of father
(Based on response from 24 persons)

Occupation of father	Number that want daughter to be				
	House wife	Nurse	Unspecified Govt. servant	Unspecified educated person	Uncertain
1	2	3	4	5	6
Cultivation	1	10	1	6	2
Pastor	..	..	..	1	..
Teacher	..	1	..	..	..
Smith	..	..	..	1	..
Road labourer	..	1	..	..	..
Total	**1**	**12**	**1**	**8**	**2**

It is interesting to note that none of the fathers wants his son to be in his own profession. Even the teachers do not want their sons to be in teaching, and the Pastor does not want his son to be a Pastor. It is also to be noted that none wants his son to be in any of the traditional occupations of the village. But it is also significant that many do not have crystallised attitudes about the future of their sons. 2 are completely uncertain ; 12 want their sons to be educated, but they do not have any idea about what they would like their sons to be ; 2 want their sons to be officers but they do not know about the category of officers, 1 wants his son to be in the military but he also does not know what category of post he would like his son to have, in the military. These uncertainities do not reflect any conflict of choice ; but these show vague, if pathetic awareness on the part of the fathers, that there are many possibilities about which they are ignorant. In other words in many cases, the fathers do not believe that they can have much say in determining the future courses of their sons ; they are interested in the education of their sons, and after that it is frequently beyond their competence to form any view. Only about three occupations, *viz.* doctor, engineer and teacher, some people have definite opinion. 5 persons want their sons to be doctor, 3 want their sons to be teacher and 1 wants his son to be engineer. It would have been interesting had the factors determining the relative frequency of choice among these three occupations been known ; but due to shortage of time, no investigation was carried out on this line.

The aspiration pattern in case of the daughters bears some similarity with that in case of sons. Only 1 father wants his daughter to be a housewife. Excepting this single case, none wants his daughter to be in any of the traditional occupations of the village, like weaving, pottery, etc., As in case of sons, many are again uncertain about what they want their daughters to be. 2 are completely uncertain ; 8 want their daughters to be educated and beyond that they have no idea and 1 wants his daughter to be in some unspecified Govt. service. In contrast, however, to the position observed in case of the sons, definite opinion, where such opinion has been formed, has veered round a single occupation, *viz.* nursing. 12 persons, or in other words 50% of the interviewers want their daughters to be nurse. Out of these 12 persons, 10 are cultivators, 1 is a teacher and 1 is a road labourer. It therefore, appears that the aspiration to see their daughters as nurse prevails among almost all the strata of the population of the village.

Unemployment

Out of the 40 households surveyed, 4 households reported that they have members who are seeking jobs, 3 males and 2 females are covered by these 4 households. All of these belong to the age-group 15-24

and are seeking jobs for the first time. They are literate, but none has passed matric examination. Among the male job seekers, one wants to be Assistant Sub-inspector of Police and one wants to be employed in Cottage Industry Deptt. The remaining one has not specified the job wanted by him. Out of the two female job seekers, one wants to be a dai or helper in the hospital and the other is not sure what job she can have.

Work records of two families

Work record for the various members of a poor household were maintained for six days beginning from 17th to 22nd June 1963. Work records for the members of another household of average means was maintained for three days, beginning from 7th May to 9th May, 1963. The records are furnished at appendix C. On analysis of the records it is found that in both the families none of the members aged above 12 remained economically inactive on any of the days for which the records were maintained. In the household with average means, one son and two daughters read in school. But they helped in agricultural activities and collection of wood, after the school hours. In case of both the households, the agricultural fields are at a distance of 4.8–6.4 k.m. and the adult male and female members worked in the field, for 8–10 hours, every day.

These work records, though for a short duration, confirm what was stated earlier about the place of agriculture in the life of the villagers. Young and old—all are drawn towards it. The various facets of agriculrure will now be taken up for consideration.

Land resources and land utilisation pattern

As indicated in Chapter 1, the territory of the village covers approximately 77·7 sq. k.m. No land survey operation has been carried out in this village, it is, therefore, very difficult to give any accurate idea about the land utilisation pattern. A very rough estimate is however furnished below.

Table 15 : Land utilization pattern

Land under cycle of cultivation (Losa)	appr.	49.21 sq. k.m.
Land under bamboo and palm groves (Yokya)	appr.	10.36 sq. k.m.
Habitation area	appr.	2.59 sq. k.m.
Land under permanent vegetation	appr.	30.36 sq. k.m.
Other land including road, waterways, etc.	appr.	5.18 sq. k.m.

Out of about 49·21 sq. k.m. of land under cycle of cultivation, approximately 5·18 sq. k.m. or 1/10 th of the area are annually brought under cultivation. As the people of the village practise shifting cultivation, the entire territory is covered by rotation in ten years. A plot brought under cultivation by slash and burn method, is cultivated for two years continuously, after which it loses its fertility, and is allowed to be fallow for about 10 years. The lands in the river valleys are however more fertile, and sometimes the rotation cycle for cultivation of land in river valleys is less than ten years. As however, one has to cover long distances through thick forests to reach the river valleys only young people prefer to cultivate land in such areas. Some plots in river valleys, are also used for growing pan leaves and orange on long term basis. Thirteen years ago, an attempt was made to introduce wet cultivation on extensive scale in the river valleys ; but it failed. The rivers are very deep and it is difficult to irrigate the land in the river-valleys from the rivers.

Ownership of land—With reference to ownership there are three types of land in the village, *viz.*, village common land or *Jimli* ; clan land or *Kidongli* and individual land or *Jorili*. Proportion of different types of ownership of land with reference to land utilisation pattern is indicated below:

Table 16 : Proportion of different types of ownership of land with reference to land utilisation pattern

Land utilization pattern	Percentage of total land under particular pattern of use owned by		
	Village	Clans	Individuals
1	2	3	4
Shifting cultivation	25%	35%	40%
Terrace cultivation	..	20%	80%
Land under bamboo and palm groves	25%	40%	35%
Habitation area	..	40%	60%
Land under permanent vegetation	60%	20%	20%
Water ways and other land	100%	..	..

The above is a very rough estimation, but its indications are clear about certain aspects. Forest land under permanent vegetation, water ways and other land are mostly owned by the village community ; in contrast, large portion of the land under bamboo and palm groves and land under shifting culitvation are owned by individual households ; to a slightly leeser extent lands of these categories are owned by various clans ;

only one fourth of land under shifting cultivation and one twentieth of land under bamboo and palm groves are owned by the village community. In case of terraced cultivation, four fifth of the land are owned by individual households and only about one fifth are owned by clans. Homestead lands are mostly owned by the various clans. There are a few sites in the midst of clan land which belong to individuals.

As regard clan lands some clarifiaction seems necessary. Though, during enquiry. the people are apt to show different plots as belonging to different clans, it would be wrong to consider that the plots are owned by all the members of the clans concerned. In fact the clan lands are owned by persons belonging to the same lineage within the clan. These are undivided properties of common ancestors, and are therefore, essentially family lands in their origin. In other words there are only two types of ownership of land in the village, viz. village common land and private family land, which may or may not have been partitioned among the descendants of the common ancestors.

An attempt was made to determine how some portion of the land under shifting cultivation came to be regarded as property of individual families, whereas other portions continued to be considered as village common land. The villagers do not have any clear idea about this matter.

Proportions of clan lands or undivided lineage lands considered to be owned by the various clans are indicated below.

Table 17 : Proportion of land owned by various clan

Name of clan	Shifting cultivation land owned by the clan as p.c. of total quantity of shift-cultivation land owned by the various clans	Bamboo and palm grove land owned by the clan as p.c. of the total quantity of bamboo and palm grove land owned by the various clans	Population of the clan as % to the total population of the village
1	2	3	4
Molir	39%	30%	38.3
Kupzar	12%	22%	11.4
Wazakumer	32%	22%	31.2
Jariy	4%	10%	3.8
Aier	9%	9%	8.7
Lemtur	3%	2%	5.2
Imchener	1%	5%	.9
Pongener	..	..	0.1

This again is a rough estimation, but this shows that whereas compared to their population, the Kupzars, Jaris, Aiers and Imcheners have more land both under shifting cultivation and bamboo palm groves, Molirs have more land under shifting cultivation, but less land under bamboo and palm groves; Kupzars, Wazakumers and Lemturs have proportionately less of both types of land ; Pongener has no land at all. Imformation about how slightly disproportionate concentration of land has taken place in the various clans, is not readily available. It would require reconstruction of the economic and social history of the village in greater details ; this has not been possible during the rapid survey.

Pattern of ownership of land was studied in 40 households ; for two households the data were not clearly recorded ; and two households did not have any land of their own. The data for the remaining households are analysed below.

Table 18 : Distribution of households with reference to size group of holdings of various categories of ownership

Category	No. of households occupying						
	Less than 1 acre	1–2 acres	3–4 acres	5–6 acres	7–8 acres	9–10 acres	above 10 acres
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Village common land	..	--	..	...	..	..	3
Clan land	1	2	2	4	1	3	7
Family land (owned)	...	5	1	7	7	3	6
Family land (leased in)	..	5	3	1	...	..	..

From the above table, it is found that out of the 38 households for which data are available, only 3 households have village common land under occupation; 20 households have clan common, and 29 households are family land under occupation, 9 households are occupying leased in land.

The lands owned by these households have been put under different types of use. These are indicated below:

Table 19 : Lands of different catagories owned by the households surveyed and acrerage under different types of use

Category of ownership	No. of h.hs. occupying	Acreage under: Permanent cultivation including orange groves, betel wines etc.	Shifting cultivation	bamboo and palm grove	Uncultivable fallow	Uncertain	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Village common land	3	..	9	..	..	...	..
Clan land	20	0.5	38	473	8	..	..
Family land (owned)	29	18	39	172	13	..	..
Leased in land	9	19	5	..	..	..	..

It is found from the above that shifting cultivations carried on almost equally on clan land and family land ; on the other hand bamboo and palm groves are mostly situated on clan land. 0.5 acres of clan land where permanent cultivation has been introduced has been converted into terrace field with permission of other co-owners ; family owned lands and leased in lands under permanent cultivation are actually orange groves and betel vines. Altogether there are 14 such plots of land in the village, out of which 13 are betel vines and 1 is an orange grove.

An enquiry was made about the period of occupation of land. Two households from whom data relating to size of holdings were collacted, could not be covered for the present purpose.

The data in respect of the other households are furnished below.

Table 20 : Period of occupation of various categories of land by 35 households surveyed

Category of land	2 years or less	3-12 years	13-25 years	26-50 years	More than 50 years	Period not specified
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Village common land	..	..	..	..	..	3
Clan land	5	..	..	..	3	8
Family land (owned)	1	..	..	..	1	24
Leased in land	7	..	..	..	..	..

The persons who could not specify the period of occupation of their lands, stated that, for generations the lands under reference, are in their possession and they would not like to hazard any guess.

Method of acquiring right over the lands under present occupation was also enquired in the above 35 households. The particulars are furnished below.

Table 21 : Method of acquiring right over land by various households

Category of land	Number of households acquiring right by: Inharitance	Lease	Purchase	Permission	Reclaming the forest	Unspecified
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Village common land	..	..	..	..	..	3
Clan land	9	..	...	7	..	..
Family land (owned)	17	..	3	...	2	5
Leased in land	..	5	..	2	..	..

It is interesting to note that all the cases of purchase are during the present generation.

The terms and conditions of leasing in land were studied in six households. These are as follows :

Table 22 Terms and conditions on which land is leased by various households

Advance payment of paddy	Payment in kind after harvesting	Payment in cash after harvesting	Free
1	2	3	4
1	1	2	2

In all the above cases lands have been leased in for two years for shifting cultivation. The rate of payment is Rs. 3/- to 4/- in cash or 2 tins of paddy in kind.

Out of the 40 households covered by the survey, 1 household reported that it had mortgaged 1 acre of land to a fellow villager. This household had taken 10 baskets of paddy on loan, but had failed to repay the same. Hence one plot of land was given to the creditor for cultivation for two years as recovery of the loan.

One important aspect of land ownership pattern is the number of plots held by the various households. The particulars available for 28 households are furnished below:

Table 23 Number of Plots field by various households

Category of land	No. of households having					
	1 plot	2 plots	3 plots	4 plots	5 plots	More than 5 plots
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Village common land	3	..	..	..	..	..
Clan land	3	3	..	1	1	1
Family owned land	2	5	7	2	2	2

It can be seen from the above table, that in many cases the particulars are not available. But even the incomplete data, give some insight about the position in the village. It shows that whereas in case of clan land, most of the families own one to two plots, in case of family land, two to three plots are more commonly owned.

An attempt has been made to relate the number of plots to the number of adult male members in 20 households. The result is furnished below.

Table 24 Number of plots as related to number of adult male members

Number of adult male members	Number of households having			
	1 plot	2 plots	3–5 plots	More than 5 plots
1	2	3	4	5
1	1	3	8	4
2	...	...	3	1

The size of the sample being too small it is not possible to derive any definite conclusion from the above data. It may however be noted, for whatever is its worth, that whereas 25% of the households with 1 adult male member have 1 to 2 plots each, none of the households with 2 adult male members has less than 3 plots each.

Information about the nature of rights enjoyed by the households over the lands on which their home steads are situated, were recorded in 38 cases. Only in 16 cases, the households concerned are the owners of the lands on which their home steads are situated ; in 22 cases the homestead lands belong to others. In all the 22 cases, the lands have been occupied only during the present generation. Out of the 16 cases where the homestead lands are owned by the households concerned, in two cases only, the ownership rights were acquired during the present generation. In the remaning cases the rights were acquired earlier, and were transmitted through inheritance. A table showing the method of acquiring right over the homestead lands, both owned and unowned is furnished below.

Table 25 Method of acquiring right over homestead land

Owned land		Unowned land		
Number of households that acquired ownership through		Number of households that acquired occupancy right through		
Inheritance	Purchase	Will of owner	Unconditionally	Unspecified
1	2	3	4	5
14	2	11	10	1

The 11 cases, in which the households have been allowed to settle on the lands of others are tenants-at-will and will have to vacate the lands as and when required by the owners ; on the other hand in the 10 cases of unconditional settlement the households concerned are not expected to be called upon by the owners

to vacate the lands. In most of these cases, the owners are close relations.

In 37, out of the 38 cases, the size of the homestead land is less than 1 acre, only in 1 case it is about 3 acres.

The people are not required to pay any land revenue. But every household pays Rs. 2/- annually as housetax. This is collected by the village council and deposited in the office of the Circle Officer. The *gaon-buras*, incharge of collection of house-tax are paid 25% of the tax as commission.

With this background information about the land and man relationship in the village, it is now proposed to go into the details of agricultural activities in the village.

Type of agriculture and trends of change

Shifting cultivation by slash and burn method is by far the most important type of agriculture followed in the village. As noted earlier about 5.18Sq. Km. area is annually brought under shifting cultivation, whereas the area under wet cultivation by terracing the fields is only about 2.5 acres. In addition, about 20 acres of land are under orange groves and betel leaf groves, and about 10.36 Sq. Km. are under bamboo and palm groves.

In five households, the details of agricultural activities, including the changes in relative importance of various types of agriculture, at different periods, were studied.

1 household informed that prior to second world war, it used to bring about 2 acres of land under shifting cultivation; during the years of war, it used to carry on shifting cultivation over about 2.5 acres of land, due to increase in number of working members in the family. About five years ago, it reduced the area of shifting cultivation mainly because of the disturbed condition created by the activities of the hostiles. In 1961-62 again the area under shifting cultivation was extended to 3 acres. During this year the hostile activities had abated slightly and the punitive action of the Govt. was also much less.

Three other households reported that, they extended the area of shifting cultivation during the war. About five years ago they also reduced the area of cultivation, due to the disturbances caused by the hostiles. In 1960-61, two house-holds further reduced the area under shifting cultivation by about 5 acre each, as they tried to take up terrace cultivation on experimental basis at this time. In 1961-62, they further extended the area under terrace cultivation by about 8.5 acres each. Another household also took up terrace cultivation during the same year. The last household was previously doing some kitchen gardening; but it gave up kitchen gardening in 1961-62, when it took up terrace cultivation.

Out of the five households studied, only one household has not effected any change in the extent of area under cultivation, except in 1959-60. During that year, along with all other households in the village, they also reduced the area under shifting cultivation. But subsequently the same extent of land as before was brought under shifting cultivation by them. They have not taken up terrace cultivation or kitchen gardening.

These five case studies show that slight change in the area under shifting cultivation is effected, on consideration of availability of working hand in the household. In recent years diversion to terrace cultivation has also tended to reduce the area under shifting cultivation. But as noted earlier, terrace cultivation has been introduced in the village, only on a very nominal scale. Hence it has not affected the practice of shifting cultivation to any significant extent. Political disturbances caused by the hostiles, was able to temporarily dislocate agriculture for some time ; the balance however appears to have been restored very soon. Another factor, responsible for variation in the size of shifting cultivation, was mentioned by some of the villagers. In recent years many of the villagers are engaged in sawing wood for manufacturing furniture for the school and the church and for supplying planks for the newly constructed church building. There has been corresponding shortage of working hands for shifting cultivation, resulting in some reduction in the area under shifting cultivation.

Factors responsible for persistance of shifting cultivation

Five persons were asked why the people of the villag mainly depend on shifting cultivation. The reasons given by them are indicated below.

Table 26 : Reason for practising shifting cultivation.

Reason	Number of informants by whom stated
1	2
1 Nature of the terrain is unfit for wet or terrace cultivation	4
2 Plots of for wet cultivation are small and scattered	2
3 Fear of wild animals to reach the scattered plots fit for wet cultivation	4
4 Difficulty in making roads to reach the scattered plots fit for wet cultivation at long distances	1
5 Rivers are deep and it is difficult to construct irrigation channels	3
6 Lack of finance for irrigation	3

The reasons stated by the informants are self-explanatory and do not require much amplification. It is however, interesting to note that, though the informants were asked whether food habit, religious belief and attachment to tradition are also responsible for persistence of shifting cultivation, all of them replied in the negative. According to them technological economic and security factors are the only considera-, tions in this matter.

The villagers are still to see that wet cultivation can be successfully practised in their area; and till then the fear of the unknown is very natural on their part. This is expressed through free floating anxieties that they have got about wet cultivation. During group discussions, some of the villagers stated that, as an entire hill-block is cleared by slash and burn method for shifting cultivation, the risk of pests and wild animals is reduced very much; but in case of wet cultivation in scattered isolated fields, this risk would be further aggravated. Some again pointed out, that, in case of wet cultivation dependence on the vagaries of nature is much more, than in case of shifting cultivation. There is more risk of total crop failure in case of wet cultivation, than in case of shifting cultivation and most of the people of the village are too poor to take the risk.

The economic factor is considered to be insuperable. The three families which have taken up terrace cultivation with financial assistance from Govt. Could only make the channels for irrigation during the first year. They could not do much for development of their lands and hence only small areas could be cultivated. The next year also they could not make much headway due to limitation of finance. On the other hand due to preoccupation with terrace cultivation they could not raise enough crop by shifting cultivation. Hence they had to suffer some hardship. The villagers however, feel that terrace cultivation is good ultimately; they are aware of the fact that shifting cultivation leads to soil erosion and cannot support the growing population for a long time; but they are baffled by the problem of transition from shifting cultivation to terrace cultivation. They feel that one must have enough resources to fall back upon for a few years, to tide over the difficulties of the transitional period.

Some of the villagers feel that in addition to the problems mentioned above, there is another problem during the transitional phase of introduction of terrace cultivation. They have a notion that during the first few years, after construction of the terrace, the yield is not good; it goes up only in course of time. Hence certain questions of values are also involved. Only those who are prepared to live a life of austerity for a few years, in the hope of future prosperity, are likely to feel enthusiastic about terrace cultivation. But most of the people live in their present, and it is mainly shifting cultivation which stands by them in their present.

Practice connected with shifting cultivation

(a) Selection of site

In local parlance shifting cultivation is known as *tekonglu* (*tekong* means dry and *alu* means field). An enquiry was made in the village, whether there is any myth or legend connected with the origin of shifting cultivation. There is none.

In the village, shifting cultivation is carried on in two blocks,-one for the people of the upper *khel* and another for the people of the middle and lower *khels* combined. The villagers feel that this system of cultivation in blocks has certain advantages. The people connected with each block can jointly construct a single track for reaching the field; it is also easier to keep away the wild animals and pests from the entire block, than from isolated fields.

As cultivation is shifted from one area to another in a regular cycle, everybody knows which area will be cleared for shifting cultivation after which. Sligh$_t$

adjustments in the size of the area are however made according to availability of working force and other considerations. The *putu men*-den or village council makes the adjustments and declares how much area is to be cleared in each block in a particular year.

Generally in each block, the various clans and households have plots of their own. These plots belonging to clans are frequently demarcated by hill ridges, stones and streams. But sometimes there is no clear land mark to demarcate the plots and boundary quarrels break out among the various clans. As regards the plots belonging to individual households, very frequently, there is no clear cut demarcation. They are differentiated more or less notionally. This also sometimes is a source of friction among the different households.

In each block, in addition to clan land and individual family land, there is also some village common land. If a particular household does not have any land of its own or is not able to get some clan land, fo r cultivation in that block, it is assigned land from village common land, provided that there is village land in the area selected for cultivation in the particulai year. After the cultivation cycle is over, it reverts to the village.

The control over the clan land vests with the eldest male member of the clan. He has the right to choose the best plot. Other members occupy the remaining plots according to their choice, with his permission.

Sometimes, some individual or clan has surplus land to spare. Individuals who are in want of land, take the same on lease from such an individual or clan. Generally 2 tins of paddy (about 18 k.g.) or Rs. 3/- to 4/- according to the price of paddy is given to the owner of a plot measuring about 3 acres by the person who takes the land on lease. After two years, the plot reverts to the original owner.

An enquiry was made in five households whether they have preference for any particular type of land, for the purpose of shifting cultivation. The information furnished by them are indicated in the statement below.

Table 27 : Type of land preferred for shifting cultivation

	Type of land preferred	No. of informants statingg the preference
	1	2
1	Land which was left fallow in the last cycle of cultivation in the block i.e. land lying fallow for 20 years or more	5
2	Land which is more sunny and where less weeds grow	2
3	Land facing east as in such land less weeds grow and paddy thrives better	1
4	Level land where soil does not erode	1

It was also enquired, whether the informants always got the plots according to their preference, during the last three years. Only two informants replied that they were satisfied with the plots they got during the last three years ; others did not get the plots, which they would have liked to have. They do not however appear to have much grudge against others for this reason. One of them stated that he was young in age, and should be satisfied with what he got, after the elder members of the clan had exercised their option. He does not mind it, because once he would also become old, and would enjoy the same prerogative.

(b) Clearance of site for field hut and change of plot in case of bad omen.

The first operation in connection with shifting cultivation, is clearance of the site for construction of the field hut. After the first day's operation, the the farmer returns home if he dreams a bad omen in the night, he leaves the plot and selects another one. Some other person takes over the plot originally selected by him.

(c) Tools and implements used in connection with shifting cultivation.

A statement on the tools and implements connected with shifting cultivation, as found in five households is placed below.

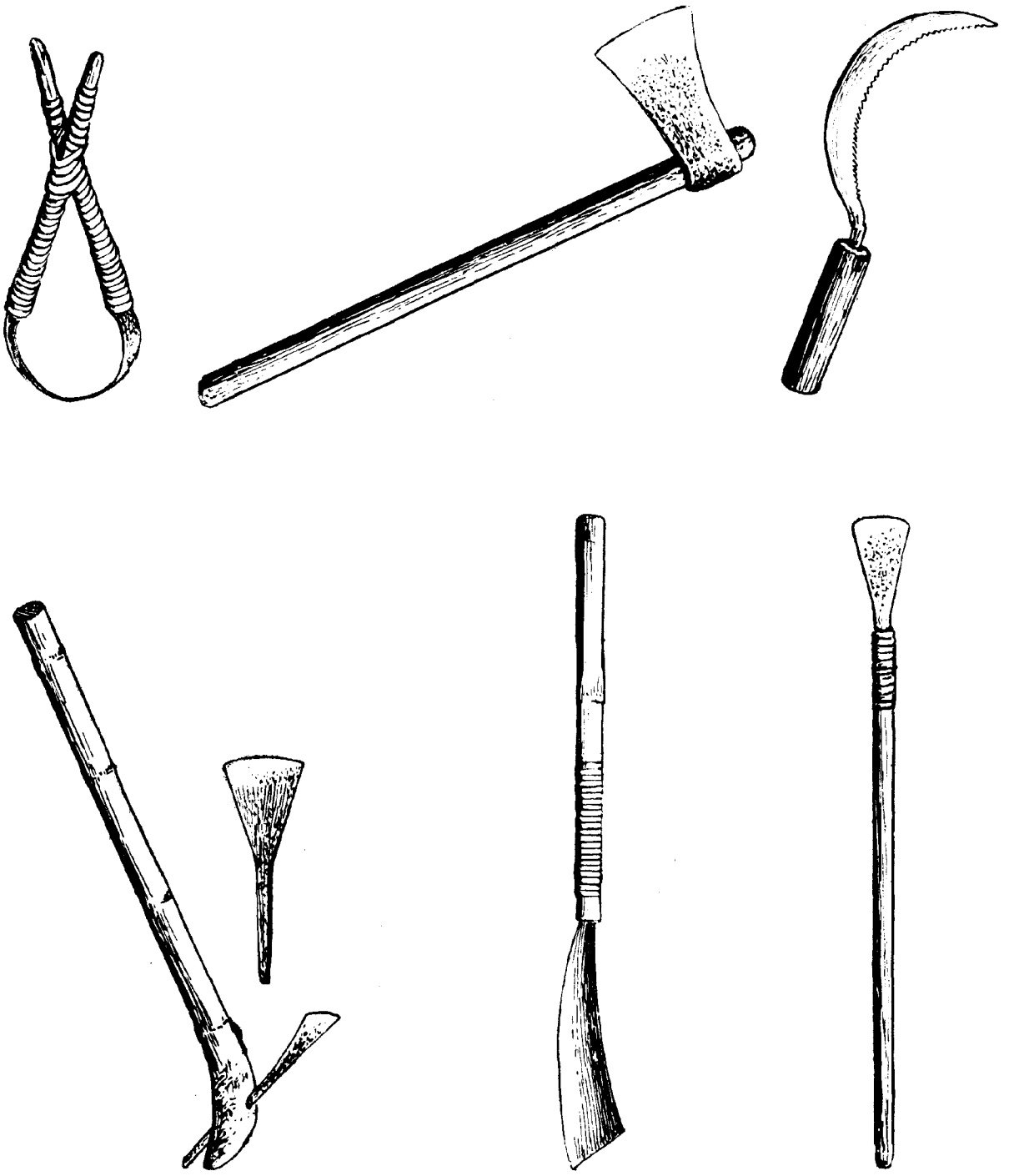


Plate No. 16 Agricultural implements

Table 28 : Tools and implements used in connection with shifting cultivation

Name of the tool	No. of h.hs. owning	Average No. owned by each h.h.	Average price	No. of households obtained from			No. of households where the tool is		Remarks
				Village smith	C.O's office	Prepared in the h.h.	Less than 5 yrs. old	less than 5 yrs. old	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Small hoe (ejang)	4	4	0.75	3	3	..	†1	†4	Some h.hs. have one piece from one source & another from a different source
Sickle (lai)	5	3	1.00	5	..	..	5†	3†	
Billhoook Dao (Anok)	..	4	4.00	..	..	..	..	..	
Iron soraper (Aya)	5	3	0.75	5	..	..	2†	4†	
Digging stick (Lending)	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	It is made as and when required
Axe (au)	..	1	5.00	..	..	..	..	..	Imported from plains
Bamboo baskets far storage	4	5	..	..	..	..	..	5	
Winnowing for (Appha)	5	2	..	..	..	2	..	5	

†Some households have both old and new peices.

Hoe—It consists of a iron blade with straight cutting edge and is fitted at about 60° angle to a bamboo handle. It is used for digging and turning soil.

Sickle—It consists of a crescent shaped serrated iron blade, the posterior portion of which is fitted to a short cane handle. It is used for reaping the stalk of the plant.

Billhook—It has an iron blade and a handle. The iron blade is about 25 cm. in lengh with more or less straight back and straight top, at right angle to the axis of the blade. It is about 9 cm. broad at the anterior end and gradually narrows down to 6 cm. at the posterior end, where the tang is inserted through a ferrule to a bamboo handle, which is 31 cm. in length and has a diameter of 3.5 cm.

Iron scraper—It is an iron loop, the two narrow ends of which are tied with two crosswise fitted bamboo sticks. These bamboo sticks from the handles. This tool is used for scraping weeds.

Digging stick—It is an iron blade with sharp broad working edge; the narrow posterior portion is fitted to a piece of bamboo, which serves as the handle. It is used for digging of soil.

Axe—It is an iron blade with sharp slightly convex working edge ; the posterior portion is fitted to a piece of, bamboo which serves as the handle. It is used for cutting trees.

Bamboo basket—It is used for storage.

Winnowing fan—It is used for winnowing of grains.

The various agricultural implements used by the villages are shown in plate-16.

The tools are very simple and primitive and are made in the village itself. For encouragement of agricultur, a few hoes have been distributed by the Govt. These are obtained at subsidised rate from the Agricultural Department at Mokokchung or Chungliyimsen.

(d) Calendar of activities in connection with shifting cultivation.

Calendar of activities in connection with shifting cultivation as started by the villagers during group discussion, is as follows :—

Table 29 : Normal time of activities connected with shifting cultivation

Time	Nature of activity
January	Clearance of forest for cultivation of a new plot
February–March	Drying of felled in trees and burning the same
March–April	Sowing of seeds
May–July	Weeding
August–September	Harvesting
October-November	Removal of paddy to the house from the field
November–December	Clearance of field for shifting cultivation during second year

The above statement indicates the general pattern. In five households, it was enquired, when actually the operations were undertaken in the various households. The particulars are furnished in the statement below :

Table 29 (a) : Actual time of activities connected with shifting cultivation

Nature of activity	Time when undertaken	No. of h.hs. where undertaken
1	2	3
Jungle cutting	First week of January	5
Burning	(a) First week of March	2
	(b) Second week of March	3
Sowing	(a) 3rd week of March	1
	(b) First week of April	3
	(c) Second week of April	1
Weeding	(a) Second week of May	1
	(b) First week of June	1
	(c) First week of July	1
	(d) First week of August	1
Harvesting	(a) First week of August	1
	(b) 3rd week of August	3
	(c) 1st week of September	1

The above statement shows that, the different households undertake the various operations on different dates, within a certain range of time. To a certain extent the timing of the operations depends on whether it is to be undertaken on an old field, which had been cleared up in the previous year, or on a new field, which has been cleared up during the year. In an old field the various operations are undertaken slightly earliar, as the crops cultivated on an old field differ from the crops cultivated on a new field. The details will be furnished in due course.

(e) Brief description of the various operations connected with shifting cultivation.

(i) **Jungle cutting**—Quick growing wild vegetations like *kumpok* (reeds), *kapu*, *musang*, *sugsa* etc. cover the fields where shifting cultivation is undertaken. The first two attain maturity between 8 to 10 years the second two take slightly more time to attain maturity.

Jungle cutting commences in early January. The trees, bushes and shrubs are cut in the field itself and piled up in rows. In case of very big trees, with more than 61 cms. circumference, the trunks are not cut ; the branches are only lobbed off. The other trees are cut about 8 cms. above the ground. After these are felled in, the branches are also cut into small pieces, so that these would dry soon and burn better. The shrubs and wild bamboo clumps are cut flush with the ground.

Dao is used for cutting the smaller trees, shrubs and wild bamboo clumps. Axe is used for cutting the bigger trees.

Number of days required to complete the jungle clearing operation, was enquired in the five households, taken up for intensive study of shifting cultivation. The particulars furnished by them are as follows :

Table 30 : Number of days required for jungle clearing operations

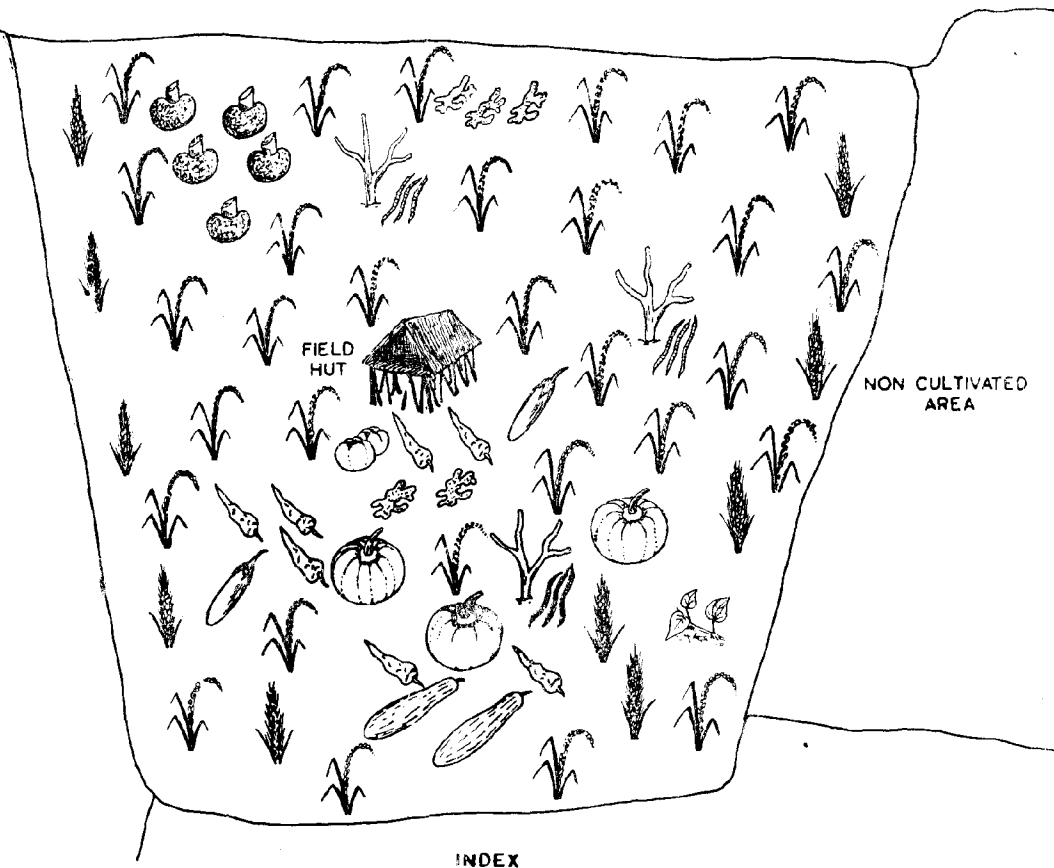
Name of the head of the households	Size of the holding	Manpower engaged	Number of days taken
1	2	3	4
Yorigongdong	3 acres	2	26
Imkonglembu	2.5 acres	2	30
Lammereu	3 acres	2	30
Wabongna	1.5 acres	2	30
Imnatoba	3 acres	2	30

All the households reported that after commencement of the work they carried it on, without any break; except for Sundays. The hours of work were morning to sunset. Two households reported that as their shifting cultivation fields were far away from their house, they constructed temporary huts in the fields and the adult members slept there during the period of clearance of the jungle.

(ii) **Drying and burning of trees**—After the jungle is cleared, the trees and the shrubs *etc.* are allowed to

A NOTIONAL DIAGRAM OF

A FIELD (JHUM) SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF CROPS



INDEX

MAIZE
PADDY
BRINGEL
GINGER
CHILLIES
PUMPKIN
JARO YAM
TREES BRANCHES CUT OUT TO WHICH THE BEANS CLIMB
BEANS
TOMATO
SWEET POTATO
CUCUMBER

dry for a month or so. Burning of trees for the entire block is done on a fixed day. The most auspicious day, is the 7th day after full moon in March. Before putting fire, the outstkirts of the back are first cleared, so that the fire may not spread to the adjoining forest. The fire is lit with a fire tong,—metals must not be used for the purpose. This is done by the Christians even, as they believe that the fire thus produced is fiercer and burn the field better. The fire is first set on the lower side of the slope, so that it may spread upwards. It takes a few days to complete the burning operation over the entire block. During this period, the representatives from the various households keep watch by rotation.

After the burning is over, ash is allowed to remain in the field as it is. The half-burnt pieces of wood are collected into heaps and burnt again by the individual households concerned according to their convenience.

(iii) Demarcation of plots and construction of field house—After the burning operation is completed, the individual plots are demarcated by laying trunks of trees along the boundary. After that the people start the construction of field houses on level places, in the centres of the respective fields, where they can take rest during the two years of cultivation. They also take their midday meals here. The field house is a very simple construction, which can be completed by two men in two days. The roof is of palm leaves ; the walls are of loose bamboo matting and the floor is just rammed earth.

(iv) Preparation of Luzu or vegetable gardening—After construction of the field hut, the adjoining spot is cleared for vegetable gardening. All incompletely burnt materials in the field are collected here and burnt again. Preparation of the Luzu takes about seven days. Vegetables like chillies, pumpkins, cucumber etc. are grown here.

A notional map showing location of field hut and, the portions of the field where different crops are grown is furnished.

(v) Sowing with reference to crops—One household out of the five intensively studied, reported that sometimes it sows taro, in January at the time of clearance of the jungle ; other crops are sown by it after the slash and burn operations are over. Other households reported that they sow all crops including taro only after the slash and burn operation.

In 1962-63, the following crops were sown in the five households:

Table 31 : Crops sown in old fields and new fields

Name of crop	No. of h.hs. That had shown in new field	No. of h.hs. that had sown in old field
1	2	3
Rice (white)	5	..
Rice (Red)	..	2
Cucumber	5	..
Maize	5	5
Chilli	2	1
Taro	3	..
Yam	3	..
Millet	5	..
Sesamum	2	..
Tobacco	2	..
Ginger	5	..
Brinjal	3	..
Potato (sweet)	1	1
Lentil	1	1
Pulse	4	1
Bean	2	..
Flat bean	1	..
Tomato	1	..
Pumpkin	3	..

It can be seen from the above that many more varieties are sown in a new field than in an old field.

Four out of the five households reported that they generally sow crops, other than taro, in the old field in the month of March. But in case of new field, they wait for an auspicious day, which is either the 7th or the 9th day after the full moon of the ninth lunar month (*lata taken uba*). These generally fall in early April. Even the Christians regard these as auspicious days.

Paddy is sown broadcast by the wife or the daughter of the household ; in their absence the male head of the household can also broadcast the paddy. The seeds after being broadcasted are covered by earth, upturned with a digging stick, called *achang*.

There are different varieties of paddy ; and the time and place of sowing differ slightly according to the

variety. Broadly there are two main varieties, *viz.* white rice or *Isuaktisua* and red rice or *manen*. The white variety is generally sown in new field (*tudi*) and the red variety is sown in old field (*apen*). There is a special variety of white rice called *tisemtsuad*. The grain is smaller in size and better in taste; but the yield is low. The people do not therefore grow it in large quantity. It is grown over a small area round the field house. This variety is sown 1 or 2 days earlier than the other varieties.

There is another variety of rice, called *mayotsuak* which is more sticky than others. It is never consumed as main meal. It forms a sort of snack with tea. *Mayotsuak* again is of two types, one is *waicem maso* (white) and the other is *morepsala maso* (red). Both the varieties are grown over a small area, round the field house.

While paddy is sown by broadcasting method other crops are sown differently. Small holes are dug by hoe or dao, at distances, which vary according to the type of crop and fertility of the soil. Generally these holes are dug close to one another, on the spots where larger heaps of woods are burnt, and accumulation of ash is thicker. In each hole, two seeds of the same crop are put and then the hole is covered.

In case of taro, the seeds are not sown. The upper portion of taro is cut and planted in hole. For this purpose, the earth is dug about 15 cms. or more. The planting is done by the wife. As already noted some persons plant taro before slash and burning operations at the time of jungle clearing. As the holes are quite deep, no damage is caused to the shoot, at the time of burning operation.

The sowing operation is quite laborious. The time required for sowing in five households during 1962—63 is indicated below.

Table 32 : Time required for sowing per acre

Size of plot	No. of days required	No. of workers engaged	Average time of work per day	Average man hour per acre
1	2	3	4	5
3 acres	15	3	6 hrs.	90 hrs.
2.5 acres	18	2	do	86 hrs.
3 acres	15	3	do	90 hrs.
1.5 acres	23	1	do	92 hrs.
3 acres	11	4	do	90 hrs.

As sowing operation is to be completed within a limited time, before the season becomes too late, it is not possible to entirely depend on family labour during sowing. There is great demand for outside labour. It is interesting to note that out of the above five households, the household which could command proportionately larger number of labourers, is the richest household. The significance of this will be analysed later.

The optimum seed yield ratio for the various crops and the actual seed yield ratio for the crops raised in five households during 1962–63 was examined. The particulars are furnished below :

Table 33 : Seed yield ratio

Name of crop	Seed yield ratio in case of best seed: Ratio	Seed yield ratio in case of best seed: No. of h.hs. reporting	Seed yield ratio obtained during 1962-63: Ratio	Seed yield ratio obtained during 1962-63: No. of h.h. reporting	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
Paddy	1. 40	4	1.20	3	All the informants stated that they used good seeds, but the yield was low during 1962-63 due to damage by rat.
	1. 60	1	1.25	1	
	...	...	1.10	1	
Maize	1.100	1	1.40	1	
Other crops	1. 40	1	1.20	3	

The above is a very rough approximation, but it at least gives some idea about the range of people's expectations where they sow the seeds and when the yield is much less than what was expected.

An enquiry was made about the characteristics of the good seeds. The head of one household stated that the good seeds are big in size and healthy looking without any scar. Head of another household stated that the good seeds are healthy looking and have smooth surface. The heads of the other three households stated that they could identify the good seeds, but they could not state what are the qualities of good seeds.

During group discussions, the people stated that mostly they use seeds of own stock ; in case of shortage

they obtain seeds on loan from friends and relatives. There is no arrangement for supply of improved seeds from Government stock.

Weeding—In this area of heavy rainfall, weeds tend to grow up very quickly and choke the plants. A new field requires weeding at least three times before harvest and an old field requires weeding at least twice. Richer farmers however undertake weeding in their fields more frequently.

Weeding operation starts in about the middle of May, when the paddy plants are about 12.7 cms. high and continues with occasional break till the harvest.

A large contingency of labourers is required to carry on the weeding operation. In five houses it has been estimated that, on an average, 15 persons are required to complete the weeding operation over one acre of land, in one day.

Protection of crops against depredation by wild animals, pests etc.

In the village large scale damage to crops is caused by rats, monkeys, wild boars, elephants, parrots etc. Wild boars and elephants frequently destroy the fields at the outskirts of the block near the forest. The targets of the wild boars are generally taro plants ; the elephants are more drawn towards maize. Paddy is of course the common love for all.

The depredation by the wild animals and pests start in about early July, when the ears of the corns sprout out and continue till the harvest.

During 1962, large scale damage of crops was caused by rats specially. There was destruction of crops by other pests and wild animals as well. More than 50% of the crops was lost.

The position as found in five households is indicated below :

Table 34 : Damage of crops

Name of head of household		Animals and pests causing demage	Crops damaged	Extent of damage	Time of depreciation
1		2	3	4	5
1	Yorigorgdog	Rat	Paddy & all other crops	1/3rd of the crop	July-Sept.
2	Imkonglembu	Rat, wild boar and mankey	Paddy & all other crops	1/3rd of the crop	June-Sept.
3	Lammereu	Rat & wild boar	Paddy, maize, taro	Major portion	July-Sept.
4	Wombomgra	Rat	Paddy & all other crops	Major portion	July-Sept.
5	Imnatoga	Rat & parrot	Paddy, maize & taro	1/2nd of the crop	August-Sept.

For checking the rat menace, some chemicals, the names of which the villagers could not tell, were supplied by the Agricultural Deptt. These however were not very effective.

The villagers do not construct any fence for protection against wild animals. Only in the fields near the village, fences are put up, to prevent the damage of crops by domestic animals. One household, out of the five covered by the sample, made fence of wood and bamboo 1.5 acres of land.

For protection against wild animals, sometimes they guard the field in the night. Generally they go to the field early morning and make fire. From time to time they shout together to scare away the animals. This they carry on till late night.

They also set up scare crows in the field to keep away birds. But with all these efforts, even in a normal year they are lucky, if they can get away with only about 10% damage of crops.

Use of manure, fertilizers etc.—None of the households reported to have used any manure and fertilizer etc. During the group discussions, the villagers stated that they are not aware of manures and fertilizers being used for shifting cultivation anywhere

Harvesting—Enquiry in five households shows that, on average about 40 persons are required for reaping the crop over 3 acres of land in a day. Generally the work commences at about 9 a.m. and continues till sunset with break of an hour or so for meal. Generally, reaping is done by the females ; there is of course no

restriction for the males. While reaping, the operator holds the sickle with the right hand, and presses and pulls the same against the stalk of the crop held with the left hand ; the operator takes care that the stalks with the ears are cut at short length. The stalks are then thrown into the carrying basket (*kahi*) which is hung on the back. After a basket is filled up, it is emptied into a larger basket. After the latter is also filled up, it is taken to the field ; where the menfolk carry on the threshing operation by trampling on the stalk to separate the grains. The chaffs are then removed by pounding and winnowing. After that the grains are measured in measuring baskets (*tetakkhi*) which can hold about 38 kgs. of paddy.

If the granary is very near, the grains are carried to the granary immediately after harvest. But usually the granary is at a great distance. The villagers wait for the completion of harvesting in all the fields. After that they construct paddy dumps at different distances from the village and carry the paddy to their respective granaries, by stages, by temporarily depositing the same in dumps. These dumps are temporary small huts, about 2 metres in hight, 3 metres in length and 2 metres in width. Most of households have their separate dumps ; only a few poor households who can not afford to have separate dumps of their own, depend on their richer friends and relations and keep their grains in the dumps of the latter.

Organisation of manpower for various operations connected with shifting cultivation

(a) Jungle clearance—The operations connected with clearance of the jungle are generally carried on by the members of the family. Both males and females are engaged in the work, but, males are more efficient in this. The bushes and the shrubs are cut by the females with daos and the bigger trees are felled by the males with axe or dao. During the jungle clearing operations, the male members sometimes sleep in the temporary huts constructed in the field ; the female members return home in the night to look after the children.

(b) Sowing—Sowing of paddy by broadcast method is generally done by the female members of the family; but the male members can also take part. Sowing of other crops by digging holes is done by both male and female members of the family

(c) Weeding—As already noted weeding operation is to be carried on by many persons at a time. The rich persons engage paid labourers for this purpose, and pay paddy filled up in a basket called *changkut-melok*, as wage per day. About 2.27 kgs. paddy is contained in a *changkut-melok*. Generally only females undertake such labour. Work groups for undertaking weeding operations on wage basis are formed by females of the same age-group. Such work groups are called '*alu yanga*'.

Sometimes members of organisations like Women's Association, Student's Union or the inmates of a dormitory undertake weeding work on contract basis, for raising funds for their respective organisations. In their case the wage is about Rs. 1.50 per day. The midday meal is also supplied by the employer.

In case of cash payment to other labourers, the rate varies according to the price of paddy, which goes up in the years succeeding bad harvest. In 1963, the wage rate was Rs. 3/- for males and Rs. 2/- for females.

The poorer people frequently do not engage labourers on wage basis. A number of friends and relatives combine to form reciprocal labour group, and work in each other's field by turn. On the day the work is done on a particular field, the owner of that field is required to serve mid-day meal to all.

(d) Reaping—Reaping operation is generally done on mutual aid basis. After the date is fixed, a man calls his friends and relatives, specially brothers-in-law and nephews to come to his aid. A pig is killed for the day. The relations arrive in his house early in the morning ; the cooked intestine and stomach of the pig is eaten in the house ; and the rest of the meat is taken to the field to be served as midday meal. Cooking is generally looked after by the sister's husband or the sister's son of the owner of the field while others carry on the reaping and threshing operations.

Socio-religious performances connected with shifting cultivation

(a) Rites performed at the time of the jungle clearance—Before starting the operation of jungle clearance, the non-Christians sacrifice a fowl or egg and offer prayer for good crops and for protection against injury and sickness.



Plate No. 17 A young Ao girl pounding paddy



Plate No. 18 Granaries for storing paddy are constructed away from the dwelling houses

Table 36

Item of expenditure	Money value of expenditure (in rupees) H.H. No. 1	H.H. No. 2	H.H. No. 3	H.H. No. 4	H.H. No. 5
1	2	3	4	5	6
Seed	7.00	2,50	9.00	5.00	2.00
Labour	Nil	18.00	5.00	Nil	35.00
Manure and fertilizer	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Tools and implements	2.66	Nil	2.50	Nil	Nil
Rituals	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil	Nil
Land charge	1,00	1.20	Nil	Nil	1.00

In the above statement, no estimate has been made of the cost of family labour. The wide range of variation in labour charge shows the varying extent to which hired labour is engaged by the various households. The cost of tools and implements in two households, shows the expenses incurred for purchasing new tools during the year. Depreciation charge of tools already possessed has not been estimated ; as it will be very nominal. The greater variation is found in seeds. This is rather strange, as the fields are measured with reference to seeds sown in shifting cultivation ; hence for fields of the same size more or less the same quantity of seed should have been sown. The disparity tends to suggest existence of some incoherent factors in their perception of the situation. In the second round of the study this question was further examined and the villagers explained that when they state the size of the field in terms of the quantity of seed required, they unconsciously take the nature of the terrain and the type of the soil also into consideration.

Attitude towards shifting cultivation

The head of one household reported that he was not in a position to take to any other method of cultivation due to old age, hence he was in favour of continuation of shifting cultivation. Heads of other four households interviewed for this item, stated that they were aware that the yield from shifting cultivation was not commensurate with the labour and that shifting cultivation, by requiring destruction of large number of trees, was highly wasteful. If suitable alternative could be found, they were prepared to adopt the same. Terrace cultivation has some merit in their eyes, but as already discussed, there are certain difficulties as well, in introducing it on large scale.

Some of the other problems of terrace cultivation will be discussed here.

Practices connected with terrace cultivation :

(a) **Introduction of terrace cultivation**—About 10 years ago, on the initiative of Baryang Ao,—Demonstrator of the Agriculture Department, the villagers decided to introduce wet cultivation on a large scale. They all joined together to construct irrigation channels, which were expected to serve several acres of land. But due to the nature of the terrain, these channels failed to irrigate the land. The project was therefore given up.

In 1961, two households took up terrace cultivation on Government encouragement. They were given 50% subsidy of the cost of development of the land. In 1962 two more households came forward to avail of the opportunity.

The particulars for the first two households will be discussed here.

(b) **Ownership and use of the plots brought under terrace cultivation**

On both the plots, shifting cultivation was practised prior to introduction of terrace cultivation. In one case, father of the head of the household concerned was the owner of the land. He transferred the right to his son, when terrace cultivation was introduced. In the other case, the land was owned by Kupzar clan. The household concerned was permitted to develop the land for introduction of terrace cultivation. The other members of the clan did not demand any payment. In fact they decided that whosoever belonging to the clan liked to develop any portion of the clan land to terrace land, would be allowed to do so, even though it meant that the land would practically pass out of the common ownership and become private land of the household concerned.

(c) **Situation of the plots and availability of water**

One plot is situated at a distance of 2.4 k.ms. west of the village. It is a narrow depression in between two small hills ; and water is logged here during the rainy season. Hence no irrigation is necessary. The size of the field is slightly less than 1 acre.

In the second case, the plot is situated on a slope at a distance of 3.2 k.ms. west of the village. It is about

0·25 acre in size. There is a very small stream flowing by the side of the plot. The water of this stream is irrigated to the plot with the help of a narrow channel. It is about 18.2 metres long, 30 cms. broad and 20 cms. deep and its command area is 13.65 metres × 12.13 metres. It was constructed in 1962. Completion of the work took five days and the head of the household had to pay Rs. 25/- to the labourers engaged for the purpose.

(d) **Description of the terraces**

On the first plot, 10 terraces have been constructed, each being about 2.73 metres to 3.19 metres in breadth and 30 cms. in height.

On the second plot there are 6 terraces; each terrace is about 1.36 metres to 2.73 metres in breadth and 30 cms. to 45 cms. in height.

The size of the terraces on the two plots have been determined by the nature of the slopes.

(e) **Method of construction of the terraces**

In both the cases, digging was started at the base of the respective slope. Stones that came out were deposited at a lower edge to form a loose retaining wall, for each terrace, and then the soil dug out during the operation was spread in such a way, that a plain surface was formed. Filth washed out by rain from upper level, helped to make the terrace more perfect.

All the terraces were not constructed simultaneously. On the first plot, ten terraces were constructed in three years. On the second plot three terraces were constructed during the first year and three were added during the second year.

In both the plots, the work of extension of terraces was undertaken during each season in early winter, when the people were comparatively more free. Till now, only the males have been attracted to this kind of work; the females have kept away from the innovation.

(f) **Government subsidy received by the households**

In 1962, an assessment of the development work in the two plots was made by the staff of the Agriculture Department, posted at Mokokchung. On the basis of this assessment, Rs. 150/- and Rs. 50/- were paid as 50% subsidy to the owners of the first and the second plot respectively.

Improved variety of hoe at Rs. 2.50 each (which is 50% subsidised rate) and improved variety of paddy seeds free of cost were also supplied to the two households by the Government for encouragement of terrace cultivation.

(g) **Particulars of cultivation**

(i) Crops grown—In both the terraced fields, only paddy is grown.

(ii) Prepartion of the field—In the month of May the field is prepared by bringing in water to the field and upturning the soil with hoe.

(iii) Sowing and transplantation—A small seed bed is cleared near the terraced field and paddy seeds are sown by broadcasting method in May. One month afterwards, when the seedlings are about 15 cms. to 20 cms. high, they are transplanted to the terraces.

(iv) Manuring—No manure is used in any of the terraced fields in the village.

(v) Weeding—Weeding is done only once in the last week of July or the first week of August. In both the plots, the work is done by the members of the respective households.

(vi) Harvesting—Unlike in shifting cultivation, harvesting in case of terrace cultivation takes place in the month of November. The method of harvesting is the same as in case of shifting cultivation.

(vii) Labour—Except for construction of terraces, all the operations in both the plots were carried on by the members of the households concerned. During construction and extension of terraces, hired labourers are engaged. In 1962 winter, their wage was Rs. 4/- per day. The females help in sowing, transplantation and harvesting. Other operations are done by the male members alone.

(viii) In 1962, in the first plot 12 kms. of paddy were sown and the yield was slightly more than 7 quintals, in the second plot about 5.6 kms. of paddy were sown and the yield was about 1.5 quintals. The seed yield ratio in the first plot is about 1.58 and in the second plot 1.26. The persons concerned explained that the difference was caused by the availability of water. It is significant to note that though in 1962 wide-scale damage of crops under shifting cultivation

was caused by rat menace, the terrace cultivation fields were less affected. The main reason appears to be that in July-August, when the maximum damage was caused by the rats, the roots of the paddy under terrace cultivation, were under water.

Cultivation of cash crops

As already noted, some of the villagers grow cash crops like orange, betel leaf etc. The particulars are furnished below :

(a) Betel leaf—The betel leaves are cultivated in small shady plots. A small creeper, about the size of the finger and about 60 cms. long is broken out of the main creeper, and is planted in a hole, about 30 cms. deep, very close to a big tree. Within a year the tendrils cover the whole tree ; further the shoots of the creeper spread over the ground and then fresh tendrils sprout out and climb the adjoining trees. Every year, in the month of December or January, the plantation area is cleared. At the same time the spreading tendrils are loosely tied to the trees climbed by them.

It takes about 6 to 7 years for the creeper to grow to full size. Till then leaves are not collected. When the creeper is fully grown 40 to 50 bundles of betel leaves can be collected per week, from a single tree.

There are 13 betel-leaf groves in the village. Such groves are called *'patiwani'*. On an average there are 40–50 trees supporting betel leaf creepers on a plot. Some of these plots are owned by the households concerned ; others are clan lands. In case of the latter the persons who have done the cultivation have absolute right over the plants; but they cannot transfer the land; its ownership remains with clan.

Betel leaf cultivation requires some investment. After the plantation, one has to wait for a few years, before he can sell the leaves and get return. In the meantime, he has to spend time and money for keeping the area clear and for maintenance. Hence, generally betel leaf cultivation is done by the rich cultivators.

(b) Orange—During the last four or five years, two households have taken up orange cultivation, on a fairly large scale. One of them is a school teacher ; he has planted more than 1000 trees ; the other one is a rich farmer ; he also has planted a few hundred trees. Besides these two, about a dozen persons have planted few trees each, on their respective plots.

For encouragement of orange plantation, the Department of Agriculture supplies young saplings at the rate of 20 plants per rupee. But they cannot meet the entire requirement of the villagers. The two persons who have started orange plantation, on large scale, had to purchase the bulk of the saplings from private persons at Longchang and Changlu, at the rate of 15 plants per rupee. In the last two places orange plantation on a large scale has already been adopted by the villagers.

Plantation generally takes place in the months of March-May. The plots are first cleared and then about 30 cms. deep pits are dug at an interval of 2.12 meters from each other. While planting, the root portion of of the sapling is first placed in the pit and then while one hand holds the plant, the other hand pushes the dug out earth, into the pit. When the pit is filled up, the earth is pressed by the feet.

The trees mature, 6 or 7 years after plantation. In this village, the trees were planted only about 4 to 5 years ago, and will take another two years, before they begin to bear fruit.

In the orange groves a few betel nut trees, mango trees and jack trees have also been grown.

Animal husbandry

A table giving livestock statistics in the village is furnished below :

Table 37 : Livestock statistics for the village

Name of Khel	Name of livestock						
	Bull	Cow	Goat	Fowl	Duck	Pig	Dog
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Mongsenmu (Upper khel)	43	27	6	492	0	218	8
Tiyangmu (Middle khel)	41	23	4	501	2	202	11
Chengmu (Lower khel)	19	14	2	288	0	120	6
	103	**64**	**12**	**1281**	**2**	**540**	**25**

Pigs and fowls are reared in almost all the households, for consumption as well as for sale. Ducks are not at all popular. Cattle are kept only by rich persons. They are of no use for agriculture ; people are mainly interested in their meat. Previously, even cow's milk was not consumed by the villagers. Perhaps they had an abhorrence for cow's milk ; now of course they give a different explanation. The explanation is that if the cows are milched regularly, the calves would become emaciated and good meat would not be obtained from them. Undoubtedly there is some logic behind this explanation. But it is significant to note that notwithstanding this explanation some people have started to take milk in the village. It therefore appears that whatever may be the formal logic, there has been some change in the attitude of the people towards cows' milk.

The small number of the goats in the village is noteworthy. The people do not relish mutton much.

Dog meat is occassionally consumed, but much relished. More commonly it is taken as a medicine according to the indigenous system.

Previously mithuns were reared in the village. A number of activities for social embellishment centred round them. Now, along with those activities, mithuns also have become phantoms of the past.

Particulars of the livestock of various types owned by 38 households are furnished below :

Table 38 : Livestock found in 38 households

Type of livestock	No. of livestocks owned	Total No. of households owning livestock	No. of households owning livestock numbering			
			1	2	3	More than 5
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Bull	10	7	4	3	..	..
Cow	31	13	1	7	5	..
Goat	2	1	..	1	..	..
Pig (male)	52	27	8	13	6	..
Pig (female)	43	33	24	9	..	..
Dog	15	14	13	1	..	..
Fowl	228	32	..	5	10	17

Method of acquiring livestock of various types was examined in these 38 households. The particulars are furnished below :

Table 39 : Method of acquiring livestock in households

Type of livestock	Total No. of h.hs. owning	No. of households which aquired by						Remarks
		Purchased including barter	Bread at home	Free	On condition of equal sharing of issue	Wage for agr. lab.	Unspecified	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Bull	7	..	7	..	..	..	..	Some households obtained by more than one method. hence total of col. 3 & 8 will not always tally with col. 2.
Cow	13	9	4	..	..	..	..	
Goat	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	
Pig (male)	27	3	4	..	..	1	..	
Pig (female)	33	3	28	..	3	..	..	
Dog	14	5	7	..	..	2	..	
Fowl	32	1	32	..	..	..	..	

It is found from the above table that except for cow, most of the livestock owned by the various households are bred in home. Only in case of cow, the majority,- in fact 9 out of 13, were purchased from the market.

It may be noted that in one case a male pig was given in lieu of crops, as wage for agricultural labour. In another case a female pig has been obtained by a household from its owner on the condition that the former will rear the pig but the progeny will be equally shared by the owner and th rearer.

As few particulars about practices connected with rearing of different varieties of livestock were collected.

As stated earlier in connection with the structural elements in a house, in the front room or *tiyang* of every house, portions are set apart for pigs and poultry birds respectively. The food of the pigs consists of taro, taro leaves and powdered husks. They are also allowed to move about in the day time and eat all sorts of odd things. The fowls are given leavings of food taken by the household members and husks. In the day time they peck about in the house.

Separate sheds are made for the cattle in front of the house. In the day time, they graze about in the forest on the outskirts of the village. In the evening, when they come back home, they are given rice water (*totsu*) mixed with salt.

The goats browse about in the forest and in the vicinity of the village in the day time. At night, they are kept in the tiyang.

The dogs are given leavings of the food taken by the members of the household, and they move about according to their will.

Practices connected with fishing

Temeriku, ngatsau, Jokli, remok and a number of other varieties of fish are available in the rivers Melak and Tsurong, as well as in the streamlets meandering through the hills in the village.

About five years ago,-one fishing tank has also been excavated in the village. The particulars of the same will be furnished in due course.

The villagers have unfettered right of catching fish, in those parts of the rivers which pass through the village. Smith (p. 59) reported that the people of Mibongchokut (Moludubia), 29 kms. south east of Waromung claimed absolute rights to the Melak river, for some forty miles, because the river has its source near that land. At present, however, no such right is recognised.

The villagers practise both collective fishing and individual fishing. Collective fishing again takes place, at two levels. At the first level, the entire village or *Khel* participates in fishing. It is called "*ayang yok*". The literal meaning of "*ayang yok*" is selling the river" (*ayong*-river and *yok*-sell). At the second level informal groups are formed from time to time for catching fish according to the convenience and mutual relation of the persons concerned. Catching of fish by such groups is called "*aset dang*".

Ayang yok is not organised more than once in a year. Sometimes it takes place only after the lapse of a number of years. The last *ayang yok* took place at the village level in 1955, at the *Khel* level in case of the upper *khel* in 1957 and in case of the lower *khel* in 1954. Due to the activities of the hostiles, the villagers have not dared to organise any *ayang yok* during the last few years.

There is no specific occasion when *ayang yok* takes place.

From the movement of fish, as well as the marks on the moss, which gather on the stones, it is determined whether fish is plenty at a particular time or not. Generally winter season is considered to be more suitable for catching fish.

After the availability of fish in plenty is known, some interested persons try to find out whether enough fruits of the right type are available in the neighbourhood to poison the water. The most favourite type of poison is obtained from a fruit which is locally called *retsa* in Mongsen dialect and *archi* in Chungli dialect. After making these initial observations they informally broach the proposal to fellow villagers for organising *ayang yok*. If a good number of persons agree, a date is fixed for the purpose.

Two days are necessary to complete the *ayang yok*. In the morning of the first day, all the grown up male members of the village or the *khel*, as the case may be, collect in a place and distribute the work among themselves. In this matter the pattern of involvement of the social structure is noteworthy. The persons belonging to the younger-age groups are entrusted with the work of collection of fruits. The persons of the older age groups go to the river and watch where fish is likely to be plenty. They determine the length of the river to be poisoned.

The next day, just after the first cock crows, the youngmen proceed with the poison to the place of the river selected on the previous day for fishing. The whole collection of poison fruits,-generally 30 to 40 loads, is

required to be well pounded on a specially made platform. A wooden stick, about 2 metres in length and 7 cms. in diameter is used by every young man for the purpose. They begin to beat the fruits with the sticks simultaneously, and go on shouting in chorus "ho hoi" The strokes must be simultaneous, so that all the fish will also die simultaneously. There are a few other magical beliefs connected with fishing. For instance, on this day any type of discord is avoided, or otherwise it will adversely affect the prospect of the catch, If in any household, there is a child birth or birth of a domestic animal on the previous night, the members of that household abstain from the operation, as it is believed that otherwise the fish will not die. The first poison is spread by a person who refrained from sexual intercourse in the night. As he spreads the poison, he goes on saying "let this arr (poison that kills fish is called arr) go to every hole and crevice of the river and kill the fish". After this, others join in poisoning the river. The above beliefs and Practices are found both among the Christians and the non-Christians.

When the poison flows all along the river, the fish starts coming out. The people catch them by hand. The fish of four types, viz., *jokli*, *wgalang*, *pereu and vemoh* are taken by the persons who have actually caught them. The other varieties of fish like *Ngatsau*, *Temeriku* are collected in a particular place These are then distributed among the persons who have participated in the fishing. The distribution is made in order of seniority; the first share is meant for the seniormost person, the second share is for the next seniormost and so on. The shares are not equal in weight; the first share is the biggest one, and gradually it goes down in weight. Sometimes the share of the seniormost member is double the share of the juniormost one. As it is the age-old custom, this inequality is readily accepted by all without any question.

Sometimes, leaves of *akha* or walnut (Jugler-regia) are used as poison, instead of *retsa* or *archi*. In such cases 1·85 or 2.22 quintals. of the leaves are collected from the fields of some individual household. This household is given an additional share of fish. For preparation of the poison, cup shaped pits are scooped on the river bank, and the leaves are pounded in them. The pulp is then well mixed with mud and put in - to wide meshed baskets. After this, a group of men stand in a line across the stream and hold the baskets in the water till the contents are washed down.

But for this difference, about the method of poisoning the river, there is no difference in the practices connected with *ayang yok*, on the basis of the type of poison used.

Asetdang or fishing by informal groups which vary from time to time in size and personnel, is very common throughout the year. It is however avoided during rainy days when the river is flooded.

In this type of fishing, much smaller quantity of poison is used. The current of the river is diverted, by putting up stone dams and then in the confined water poison is introduced. In place of *archi* or *akha*, described earlier, another type of poison may also be used in *asetdang*. This is *suli* or root of a creeper that grows in the forest.

The magico-religious practices described in case of *ayang yok* are followed in this type of fishing as well. The shares are also distributed on the same principle as in case of *ayang yok*.

Sometimes collective fishing is done without use of poison. Here a boat shaped trap is used to catch the fish. First the flow of water is diverted to one direction by constructing a barrage of bamboo and wood across the river in a slanting position to avoid the direct hit of the current. The flow of water is not totally prevented; it is allowed to overflow the barrage where the long bamboo. trap is fitted and the main current flows throught it. The trap is called *arong* or boat; it is roughly 13 metres long 3 metres wide and 2 metres high; the opening through which the water flows into it looks like a square gate. The entire arrangement consisting of the barrage and the trap is called *chatang* In Mongsen dialect and *angupang* in Chungli dialect. Both the barrage and the trap are made very strong to withstand the strong current during flood.

The trap is fitted in such a way that while its opening remains at the level of the water, the distal end is raised above the water level. During flood, the current flows into the trap with such strong force that the fish swimming along the current are pushed straight upto the raised distal and hit on the wall. They are then unable to come out because of the strong current and remain confined in the trap.

Generally, fishing by this method, is done in October, when due to decrease in volume of water, bigger variety of fish flow down the river towards the plains.

The fish caught in the trap are brought to the house of the oldest member of the group, where distribution and sale take place. Unlike in *ayang yok* or *asetdong*, in this type of fishing, all the participants irrespective of age, get equal share by weight. In 1960, a group of 9 persons caught fish worth Rs. 1050/–by this method.

A few interesting magico-religious practices are connected with fishing by trap both among the Christians and the Non-Christians. The number of persons composing a group should always consist of uneven number. Generally, the numbers 7, 9 and 11 are preferred.

On the first day, the participants gather at the place where the barrage is to be constructed. Formerly on this occasion propitiation of the deity Lijaba, used to be made by the oldest member with offer of an egg; others used to observe in silence. Now, as they are all Christans, they do not make any offering with egg; but one of the members of the party prays to God for the success of the venture. After this, they make plan about the construction of the barrage, trap etc. The actual work however starts only on the second day. The work is distributed among the various members, and individual responsibility is fixed. They work from morning to sunset to collect wood, stone and bamboo for the barrage and the trap; and simultaneously the actual construction work is carried on. It takes about 10 to 12 days to complete the construction. During this period everybody must refrain from sexual intercourse.

After the completion of the barrage, they wait till it rains so that the river is in inundation. This period of waiting is the period of great suspense for them. So, when the flood comes, they are anxious to know what it will bring in its wake. They determine their luck by the nature of the catch of the first day. Sometimes the current carries with it, not only fish but also reptiles and animals. If on the first day a deer is caught, it is an indication of blotted future. In local parlance deer is called *mechi* which literally means "not to take" and when it is unwillingly taken into the trap, it is very difficult for the party concerned to escape the trap of ill-luck, so unkindly laid down for them by Providence. On the other hand if the flood brings them the *ngarem* fish, on first day, it is all sunshine for rest of the period. *nga* is derived from '*anga*' which means fish and *rem* is derived from *arem* which means death on mass scale; hence *ngarem* on the first day is considered to be the sure signal of the good news.

Besides the above methods, fishing by cast nets, valved traps and valveless traps as well as by scooping out water from small streamlets are very common. Fishing is generally practised by the males only; the females however participate in scooping out water of small streamlets.

Angling with hooks is practised by a few persons only. For this purpose earth worm and grasshoppers are used as baits.

A mention has already been made of the fisihng tank. Under the third five year plan the Govt. of Nagaland adopted a scheme of excavation of fishing tanks, in the villages on 50% subsidy. In 1961, the tank was excavated by the villagers jointly. After assessment of the work by the staff of the Agriculture Deptt. half the cost of the work was paid to the villagers in cash; the remaining half was contributed by the villagers by way of labour. The total cost was Rs. 1400. In 1962 spawns were supplied by the Agriculture Deptt, for nurturing in the pond.

At present, the pond is under the charge of the village Council, which has framed a rule that fishing in the pond without permission of the council will invoke a fine of Rs. 50/-. The council does not however have any arrangement for maintenance of the pond, nor does it have any plan for developement of fishery on scientific line practically it is very much neglected. Only during the visit of officials or important persons from outside, fish is caught here for their entertainment.

HUNTING

The villagers practise both collective hunting and individual hunting. Ferocious animals like tigers and wild boars are hunted collectively. When the presence of tigers or a flock of wild boars is known in a particular forest, the area is carefully surveyed by the people of the age-group of *sunga* and *Tenapang*. At the time of the survey they take great care that they do not scare away the animals. They give certain marks by bending the shrubs around the area where the game is present.

After the survey is complete, the entire adult male population of the village go to the place and surround the area according to the survey. A strong and high fence is constructed with bomboo and wood along the route likely to be followed by the game. At the top of the

fence, a platform is fitted, where a few persons sit with spears to hurl on the animals, as they try to escape through the fence.

The people play specific roles according to their age groups. The members of the youngest age-groups are required to stand in the line, away from the fence, with bill-hooks or daos in hand. The members of the next higher age-group form a row just behind the first age-group. They carry with them bill-hooks, spears and shields; and as the members of the first age group advance by cutting the jungle with the daos, they keep watch to give protection. When the line closes in from all directions, the games become infuriated and make thrusts towards the hunters. At this time, the members of the first row fall back and take shelter behind the shields held by the second row. The members of the second row, while giving shelter to the members of the first row behind their shields, try to thwart the thrusts by the games, by appropriate movements of the spear. If one of them finds it opportune, he hurls the spear towards the game to kill it.

Great courage and pluck is necessary in such hunting expeditions. Before the hunt starts, everyone is required to make a declaration that he will not abandon his friends in danger; if necessary he will sacrifice his own life for the protection of others. If somebody tries to escape while in danger, without caring for the safety of his friends, he permanently looses his face in the village. He is branded as a woman; sometimes he is taunted as a widow. None would trust him and he is not allowed to participate in the works of the males. As a result of this strong pressure of public opinion, none ever thinks of running away from danger, during the hunting operations.

Throughout the operation,-that is from the commencement of the encircling the games to the completion of the hunt, the whole party carry on shouting war cries and making noise by clattering the spears and the bill-hooks.

The old men of the village, do not directly participate in the hunt, but watch from a distance and give words of encouragement.

The women and the children also by no means remain passive on such an exciting occasion. With great enthusiasm, they shuttle between the village and the forest, with food and tea for the heroes. Young girls are particularly careful to attend to their age mates of the opposite sex. They serve them with food and drink as they serve others, but there is a separate stock of encouraging smile and encouraging words, which sometimes take the form of teasing, to inspire the young friends previously alcoholic drinks used to be served profusely on such occasions. Now, as good tribal Christians, the people are to remain satisfied with tea only.

The last great hunt was organised in the village in 1960, when 37 wild boars were killed. Recently in the Ao village of Ungma 5 tigers were killed by this method.

The boars killed during the collective hunting are brought to the village, and are equally distributed among all the families, with certain exceptions. The two biggest heads go to the two *ungers;* the lungs of all the animals go to the the oldest members of the Lengsuer clan. In this village though there are a few persons from Lengsuer clan, they have, because of meagre number, been merged with Lemtur clan. But on special occasions they adopt the role of Lengsuer clan. The special right of Lengsuer clan in this matter derives from a legend. It is said that once, when the people were badly in need of water, a Lengsuer man found out a spring and he agreed to show the same to others on the condition that whenever a willd animal is killed, its lungs and heart will be given to him.

While flesh of edible animals is distributed among the villagers, the corpse of a tiger killed during the hunt is disposed of with certain ceremonies. It is first transferred from the forest to the outskirt of the village in a sort of procession. Though it can be carried by only a few persons, many in fact join in carrying it, shouting melodious cries all the time. At the outskirt of the village, a wooden platform is made and the corpse is placed over it, with the mouth widely open and facing the main road. Heavy fines are levied by the village council against anybody removing any part of the corpse, like teeth, nail, etc.

Besides participating in organised collective hunting enthusiastic individuals frequently undertake hunting on their own. There are four persons in the village who are reputed for their skill with gun. Due to the disturbed political situation created by the hostiles, hunting with guns is not however possible now. But many people

carry on hunting with spears and daos, as well as bows and arrows. Various kinds of traps and snares are also extensively used, specially for hunting monkeys and other small animals and birds. Occasionally even tigers are hunted with a special type of trap. But rarely people recourse to hunting with economic motive. Love for adventure and zest of life seem to be more dominant attractions.

COLLECTION OF JUNGLE PRODUCE

The people collect a number of roots and tubers from the forest. During group discussion, many expressed the view that previously they used to collect these from the forest, not so much because of necessity, but because they wanted to add variety to their menu. Only during the years of crop failure, they would fall back upon collection of jungle products for subsistence. Now the situation has changed, largely due to the activities of the hostiles. As already mentioned, during the last seven or eight years it has become almost impossible for the villagers to give their whole time attention to agriculture. Hence dependence on jungle products has gone up. It has now become a regular feature for many to sustain mainly on wild yam for a month or so before the harvest. Out of the 40 households studied, 12 households belong to this category. They dig up wild yam with *dao*, hoe or a digging stick (*lentong*). The last one consists of a bamboo handle and an iron blade. The iron blade is triangular in shape and looks like a neolithic celt. It is fixed at the distal end of the stick and is operated as a dimunitive hoe.

During summer, autumn and winter, wild bamboo shoots provide delicious items of food in many households.

People also collect resins and wild fruits from the forest and barter the same for various necessities of life, in the markets of the plains.

It is obvious that though these children of the forest have developed technology and way of life which have freed them from the bondage of the forest still they derive considerable support and capacity for survival, from the mother forest.

Village Industry

As already stated while discussing the occupation pattern of the village, almost all the adult males practise basketry and almost all the adult females practise weaving as subsidiary occupations. Pottery is practised by females in 13 households; and smithy is practised by the males in 1 household. Previously wood-carving was a valued craft in the village. Elaborate designs were made in the bachelors' dormitories and also in the front portion of the houses of those who have performed mithun sacrifice. Now with disappearance of these institutions, wood-carving as a craft has practically disappeared from the village.

Particulars of the crafts that are still practised in the village are furnished here.

Basketry

There is no legend or story in the village, connected with the origin of the craft. The people believe that even when their ancestors first came to the village, they were expert basket makers. The task of making baskets and mats is reserved exclusively for the males. Even among the Christians, it is an unthinkable tavestry for the females to make basket: On the other hand, a man who does not know how to make baskets for domestic use, is no man.

Four types of bamboo, viz., *longmi* (Bambusa bamboo) *ashi* (Melocana bomboo sides), *anna* (Psendestachyum) and *aowa* (Dendoculamus homiltonis) are available in the village. Of these only *aowa* is good for making bamboo baskets and bamboo mats. This type does not provide good materials for construction of houses and other purposes.

Generally *aowa* grows wild in the steep forest or on the banks of the rivers. Sometimes it grows even in the cultivable areas. As it grows wild the villagers are not to make any payment for obtaining the raw materials.

Immature bamboos, which are about one year old, are more suitable for basketry. These are generally collected in autumn and winter as otherwise the splits made out of them are attacked with insects and pests.

The act of extracting bamboo splits is called "*aling temba*". After the bamboos are cut in the grooves, the splits are made with dao on the same spot. Generally the splits and not the whole bamboos are brought home.

In home, the splits are again pared into smaller convenient sizes with a dao or a knife. The final splitting is done with the fingers of both hands. The split is placed

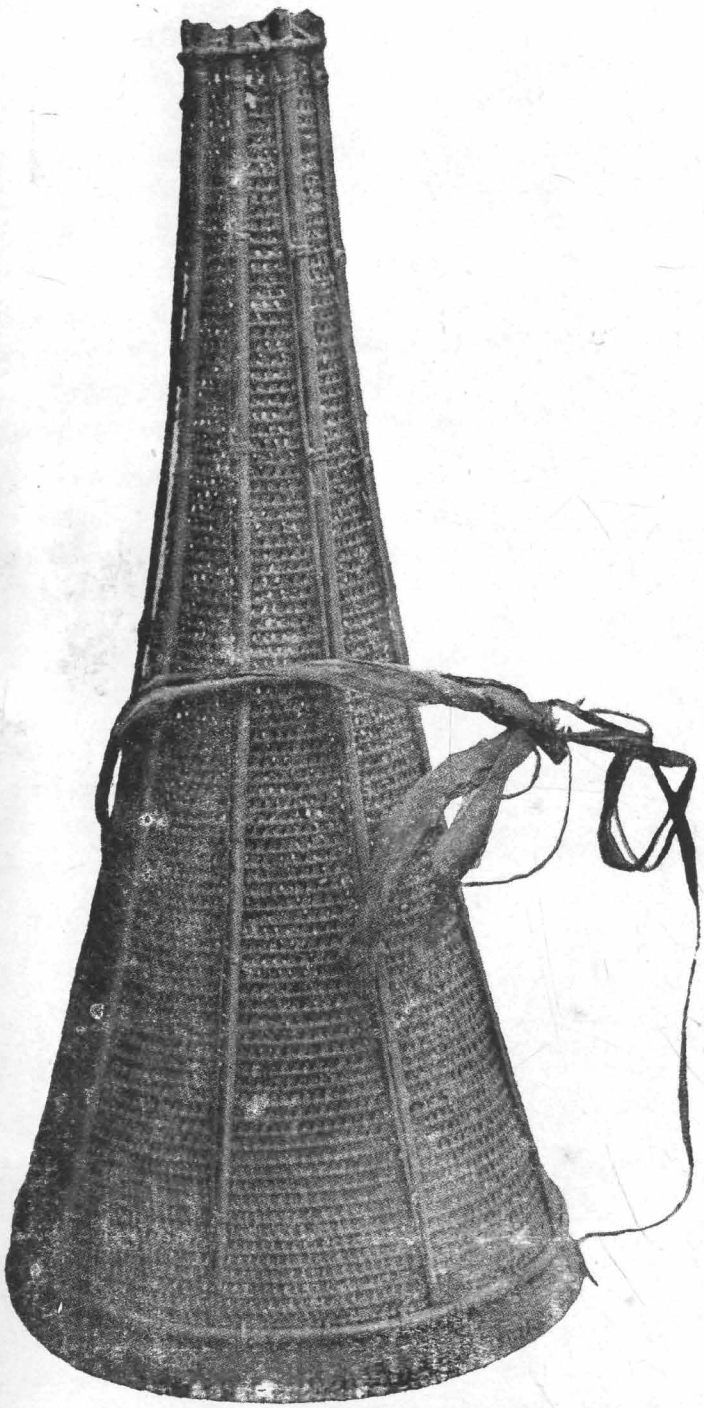


Plate No. 19 Akhi type conically shaped basket; the side which is placed on the back however remains flat for the comfort of the carrier. It is woven very closely in a twilled pattern with small fine bamboo splints. Several supporting bamboo sticks are stitched to the body of the basket with small thongs of bamboo to give additional strength. A reinforcement is given by stitching a splint of bamboo to the broad opening of the basket. Handles are attached to the uprights at a given place through which the carrying thongs are threaded when in use

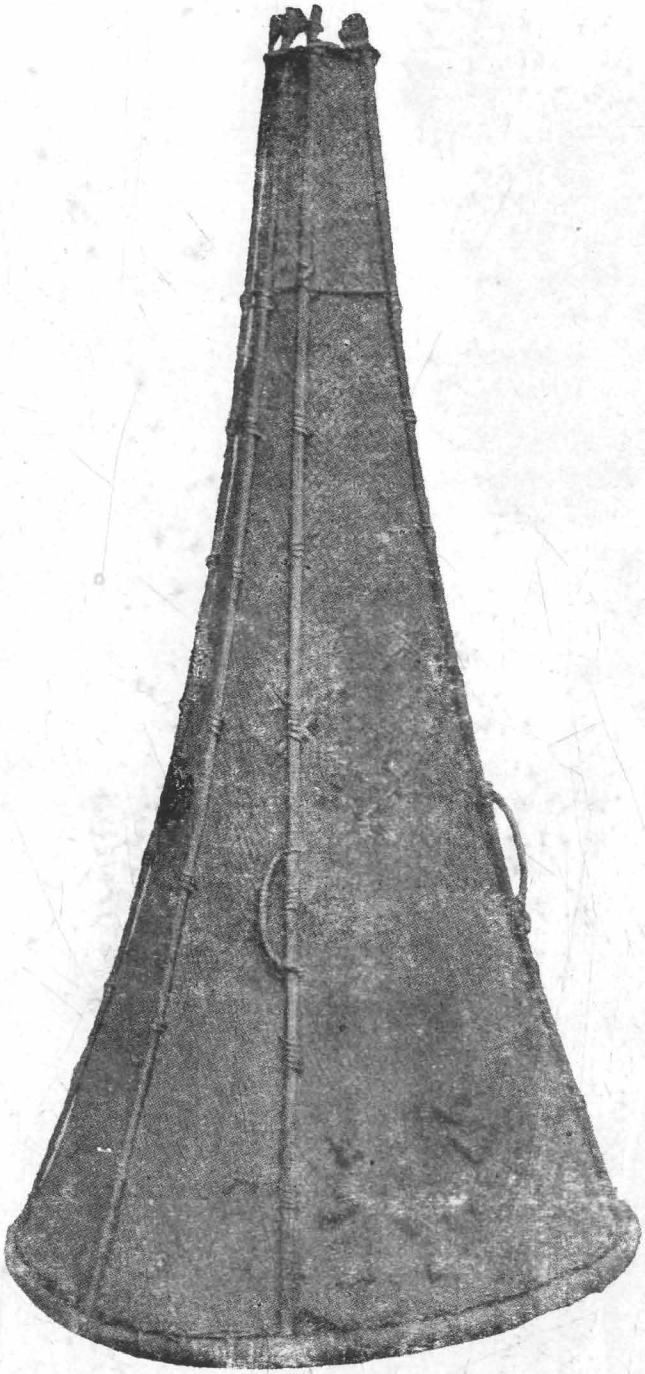


Plate No. 20 Akho type basket for carrying fire wood and agricultural products. It is similar to Akhi type in shape and setting of the supporting sticks, but it is woven with stouter bamboo splints in an open checked pattern

between the right arm and the side chest and one end of the split is held by the fingeers of the right hand. Then the fingers of the left hand are applied. The fingers of the right hand and the left hand pull the two corners of the split in two opposite directions and make further split. The uniformity and requisite thinness of the split is maintained by the movements of the arms and fingers of the operator. This process is called *alingnaba.*

For tieing the rims of the baskets, canes are collect ed from the forest and splits are made either with dao or knife.

In addition to dao and knife the following implements are also used in basket and mot making.

1 A spike [*yipr*] made of cow or dog bone or piece of iron collected from the smithy.

2 Roller [*phaka*] of splitted bamboo sticks for making mats. It is about 2 metres long.

3 Forked stick. This is sometimes used to tighten the rims of the winnowing fan; but often the operator uses his own teeth for the purpose.

Generally the following types of objects are made:—

Mat (*apak*)–It is woven in twilled pattern, where the wefts pass over and under two warps at a time producing straight lines or bands across the mat. Generally the mat consists of 10 to 12 joints [*tat sungba*] at about intervals of 49 cm. When the mat is woven 16 to 20 cm. long, it is tied on the roller [*phakza*] and kept in position by means of a bamboo stick As it is woven, the finished portion is rolled on the (*Phakze*). If the splits are kept ready, it takes only 3 days for an expert to finish a mat. The price of a good mat was Rs. 10/- at the time of the survey.

These mats are used for spreading the grains under the sun, after harvest. These are also used to make barrages for fishing with traps.

Carrying baskets—There are two types of carrying baskets, viz. *akhi* and *akho*. *Akhi* is roughly conical in shape. The basket is woven very closely in twilled pattern with small fine bamboo splits. To make the basket uniformly broad at the upper part, two additional splits are added at the same height, on either side of the original split. The proximal ends of the additional splits are sharply pointed first, so that no mark is left at the joining point. Unlike in mat, the joints in *akhi* do not follow a single locus; these are scattered all over. After the basket has been woven, seven supporting bamboo sticks (*khiyang*) are tied in regular intervals so that their distal ends join at the conical apex of the basket. These sticks are tied to the basket with fine cane splits. The broad opening of the basket is protected by clamping two large splits together One side of the basket is made flat and smooth, for the comfort of the person who would carry it on back.

For carrying arrangement, a thin layer of bark, about 2 metres long, is stripped from *nemtsa* or *akhutong* tree and is tied round the basket in an oblique manner in such a way that its middle portion is placed just above the flat face of the basket. For boys and girls, small baskets (*Khiza*) are made. The average cost price for an *akhi* is Rs. 12/-. This is primarily used to carry rice and small grains.

Ahko or the second type of carrying basket is meant for rough use, such as carrying fire wood and agricultural products. The shape, setting of the supporting sticks (*khojang*) and carrying arrangements of *akho* are more or less same as in case of *akhi*. But it is woven loosely with cane splits in checker pattern. Sometimes bamboo split is used, instead of cane in an *akho*. The average cost price for an *akho* is Rs. 5/-.

Melok—Every household possesses several flat bottomed baskets (*melok*), with bulging sides and round opening at the top. There are no joints and the technique of weaving is in twilled pattern. During construction of large baskets, the nodes of the splits are placed in such a way that they fall in line at the middle of the bottom of the basket. When the required height is attained, the splits are plaited outside downward, so that the folding comes down to about 1/3rd the height of the basket. Due to this folding, there are two lines of woven materials on the upper part of the basket, and the mouth of the basket becomes quite strong for handling at the time of lifting it, with load inside. It does not take much time to make a *melok* ; a man can make two in a day. The price for an average sized *melok* is Rs. 3/-.

Melokza—This is a kind of small sized decorative basket and is very commonly used in the village. Small and very fine cane splits are used to weave it. Here triangular and square designs are produced with the splits and often the designs are coloured with contrasting dye obtained from the market. The upper

portion is folded exactly in the same manner as in case of *melok*. These baskets are used mainly for serving betel leaves and for keeping thread balls (*yanglong*) at the time of weaving. Gallant boys like to present these baskets to their girl friends.

Winnowing fan (*apha*)—It is made of flattened bamboo strips. *Anna*—a kind of thin bamboo is used for making *apha*. The weaving technique is different from those in other basketry works. Here the warps pass over five wefts at a time and then under two wefts alternately. The anterior end of the fan is flat and broader and the rims of the two sides gradually become higher, reaching the maximum height at the back. The width of the anterior end is about 81 cms. and length of two sides is about 18 cms. All the margins are protected by two strips of bamboo which are tied together by small cane slips.

Other baskets—Besides the above baskets, many other kinds of baskets of twilled and checker pattern are made to store dried vegetables, meat, fish and salt.

An intensive study of the practice of basketry was made in two households. In both the households basketry is practised as a subsidiary occupation. The male members of the households concerned practise it during their leisure time. They learnt the craft through assisting their elders in their adolescence. The following number of articles were produced in the two households during one year :

Table 40 : Number of basketry objects produced

Local name	English equivalent	No. produced
1	2	3
Apak	Mat	6
Melok	Basket	4
Akhi	Carrying basket	2
Akho	Crude carrying basket	1
Apha	Winnowing fan	1

The work is always done in the household. The following tools and implements were used in connection with basketry work :

Table : 41 Tools and implements used in connection with basketry work

Name of the tool	English equivalent	Function	Average price
1	2	3	4
Dao (*Ahok*)	Bill hook	To cut cane and bamboo in the jungle	Rs. 4.50
Kotari	Knife	To make bamboo strips and smoothen the same	Rs. 1.50
Yipra	Pointed bone neddle	To make small holes in the basket through which the cane strips pass	Free
Yipra	Pointed bone needle	do	Collected from the smiths

It is found from the above that very little working capital is required for practising the craft.

Both the households reported that the produce is mainly for own consumption. One household had sold only one mat during 1962. In fact in the village as a whole only a few old men, unable to undertake hard work in the field, practise basketry for sale ; but there is no household with basketry as the primary source of livelihood. During group discussion it was stated that in about 250 households out of the total 282 households in the village, basketry is practised only for domestic consumption. The remaining 30 households produce both for sale and domestic consumption ; but average income from this source will not exceed Rs. 20/- per household per annum. Only in one household, it is estimated that basketry products worth about Rs. 75/- were sold during 1962. In this household the old father of the head of the household is a skilled craftsman ; and being unable to work in the field, devotes his full time to basketry work. The articles produced by him were mainly sold in the village Merinokpo.

Weaving

It is considered disgraceful on the part of a woman not to know weaving. Every household possesses a loom. In the winter, when the females are a bit free from agricultural work, the looms are harnessed for weaving operation.

In olden days, cotton for weaving purposes was mostly grown in the village itself. Occasionally in the weekly market of Mokokchung town, they used tc purchase cotton from the women of the Longsa, Ungma

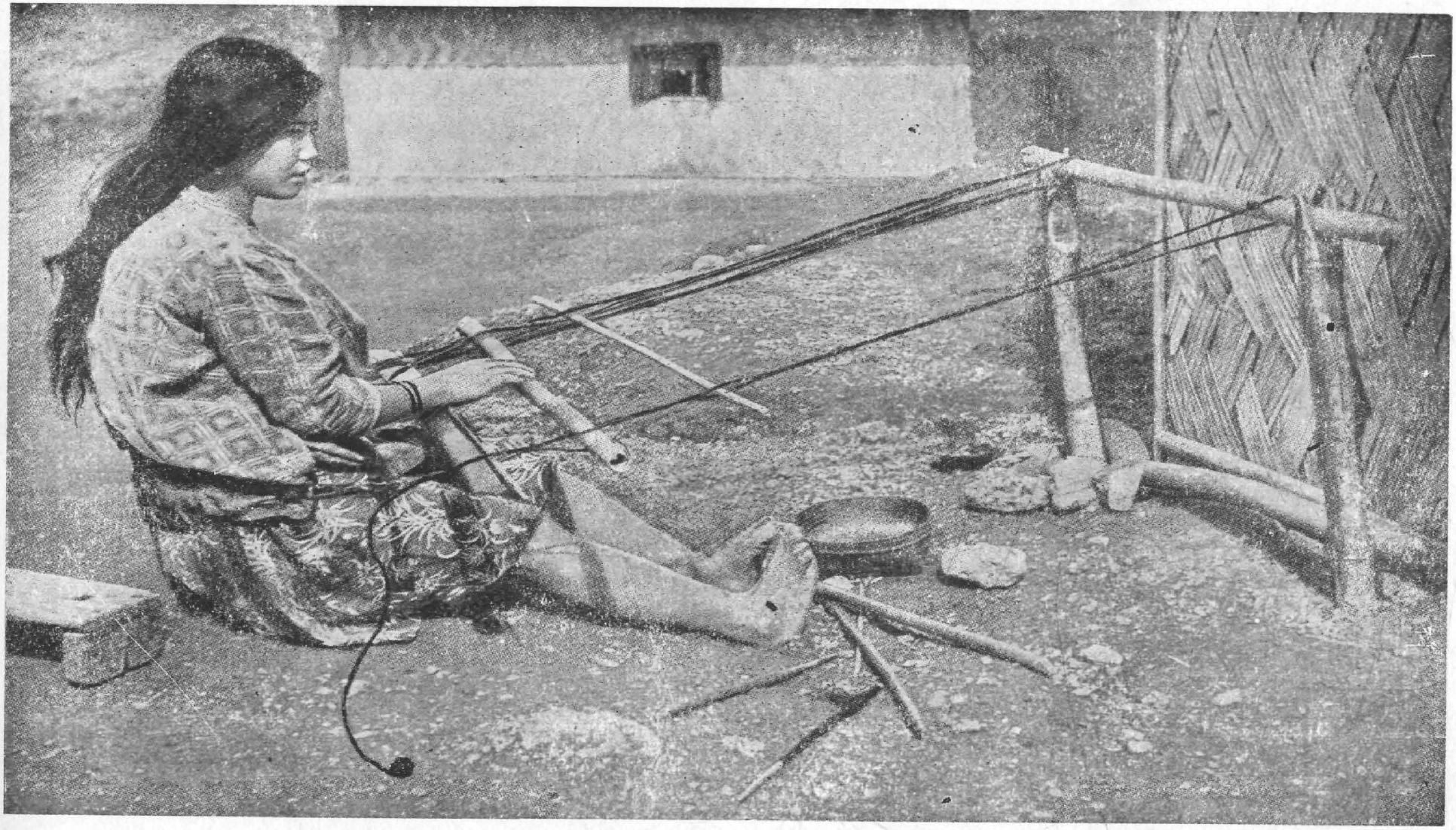


Plate No. 21 An Ao girl operating a single heddle tension loom referred to as a loin loom. The strain is being maintained by a back strap at each end of which is tied a string of cane which is attached to a frontal bar made of hard wood. From the bar the warps run to the back beam or back warp bar which is attached firmly to the notches of the upright sticks fixed in the ground

and Longhuya villages. But in recent years, mill made yarn has become more popular, and production of cotton has sharply declined.

Yarn is at present mostly imported from Naginijan bazar ; though a small quantity is spun in the village also. For spinning yarn in home very simple tools are used. For removing the seeds from the cotton, a small machine called *nakrong* is used. It consists of two wooden rollers geared to revolve in opposite directions and is turned with a crank by the right hand. *Nakrong* is normally imported from the plains. The task of removing the seeds generally falls to the lot of the old women. After the seeds are removed, the cotton is carded by being flicked with a little bow (*aiya*) and is rolled into piles or sausages (*nesnilong*) of convenient size for spinning.

The spindle (*apang*) used for spinning consists of a pin shaped piece of bamboo stick, about 23 cm. long, with a flat stone spindle whorl.

While spinning, the operator places the lower end of the spindle on a broken piece of earthen pot, or on a little basket covered with a piece of rag and moves it with a drawing motion, with her right hand against her right thigh, feeding it in the meanwhile from a sausage of cotton, held in her left hand. To make the thigh smooth, powder obtained from a kind of water melon (*ayang yinla maii*) is smeared on the thigh. The yarn rollects above the stone whorl, until the spindle is full. It is then taken off into bundles or skeins, in a simple machine called *kalaro*.

The skein is damped with cold water and pounded vigorously on a wooden board, with a rice pounder (*mitem*) or bamboo shoot pounder (*yitsuba*). After this the skein is soaked in rice water and dried in the sun, and then it is rolled into a ball.

The loom used for weaving, is a single-heddle tension loom or loin loom. The necessary strain is maintained by sitting with a large belt (*aphi*) in the back of the weaver. The belt is made of cow hide, about 41 cm. long and 16 cm. broad. At each end of the belt is tied a string of cane which is attached, to a bar (*mejang*) made of hard wood. From the bar, the warps (*khotager azang*),— about 2.5 metres in length and 40 cm. in width, run to the beam (*mong-mung*), which is fixed firmly either to the wall of the house or to two sticks fixed in the ground. The heddle (*metang*), the lease rod (*zumnung*) and the bar above the lease rod (*yangnai*) round which the warp is twisted are all made of bamboo sticks and during use, are made smooth, by being rubbed with a substance called *narap*, made of molten bee-wax. The shuttle is thrown by hand and the weft is beaten by a fine sword (*amen*) made of the same hard wood, as in case of the *mejang*. The weft is beaten twice, before the next one is thrown in.

The patterns of clothes are obtained by the combination of different coloured threads in the warp and the weft.

Sometimes small spots of embroidery are worked on the cloth with a porcupine quill (*tsukpora zung*), while the cloth is being woven.

Three strips of clothes are sewn togther for body-wear, while two strips are used for women's skirt. To sew the strips of cloth together, steel needles obtained from the plains are used. In the past, a thin piece of bamboo or cane with a split end, to which the thread could be twisted, was more commonly used as needle. Even now, some old persons occasionally used it.

Various kinds of dyes are used for colouring the yarns. These are now mostly imported from outside. But indigenous dye stuffs are used even now, for obtaining blue and red colours. Blue dye is obtained from the leaves of strobilanthes flaaccidiplias (*mosak*) which is cultivated in small plots. Red dye is obtained from the root of a creeper called *dowali*. This is dried and thoroughly pounded and mixed with dried and pounded leaves of a tree called '*tasgshi*' and the outer husks of *tongba*–a kind of berry. In the past the people used to observe certain restrictions in the use of red dye. The colour being that of blood, a young woman using it might die a violent death or might loose her head in a raid. So only old women would undertake the work of dyeing yarn in red colour.

During pregnancy, a woman is not allowed to dye cloth or yarn. It is believed that if she handles the dye, the foetus will be coloured and will be born with black marks.

The figures of elephant, tiger and circles representing human heads are painted on the median band of a variety of cloth called '*tsungkotepsm*' which, in the past, could be worn only by one who had taken heads or

who had performed mithun sacrifice. The colour is prepared from the sap of a tree called *tangko*" which is mixed with very strong rice beer and ash of its own leaves· Sometimes ash of bamboo leaves is used in place of *tangko* leaves. The result is a dark grey fluid which is applied with a pointed piece of bamboo stick. After it is dried, the pigment turns black. The operator works free hand on the lines of the thread. The painting work is done only by old man. Now-a-days, however, many young women embroider the designs on the white band, instead of painting.

Traditionally, the weaving designs are almost exclusively of an angular and geometrical type ; though they vary from a formal arrangement of lines and bands to elaborate patterns of diamond. With the break of tradition, sometimes the simplicity of the designs is being disturbed by the addition of flowers and other ornaments.

An intensive study of weaving was made in two households. In both the households weaving is practised as a subsidiary means of livelihood. The main occupation in one of the households is cultivation, in the other the head of the household is Pastor. The craft is practised by the female members of the households concerned. They did not receive any formal training in the craft. They learnt it through home apprenticeship during adolescence. Various articles were produced in the following quantity in the two households.

Table 42 : Articles produced through weaving

Local name	English Equivalent	Number in the Household	Average per Household	Average price per piece
1	2	3	4	5
Anu or sutsukum	Skirt	4	2	Rs. 23.75
	Bag	5	2.5	Rs. 5.00
Tsungko Tepsu	Strip Shawl	2	1	Rs. 10.00
Subosu or Sunkasu	Shawl	1	.5	Rs. 10.00

Loin loom and other tools and implements already described are used in both the households.

Both the households mainly produce for own consumption ; one household sold a piece during 1962.

Pottery

Like weaving, pottery is also an exclusive monopoly of the women ; but as already mentioned it is practised only in 13 households.

About 40 years back, pottery was not practised by the people of Waromung. In fact, the craft was taboo for an Ao, other than the women of Changki group. Now the restriction is not observed by the Christians; but the non-Christians still abide by the restriction.

In 1920, one Temendangba of Changki came to Waromung as Pastor. His wife,—a Changki woman, was an expert potter and she taught the craft to the women of Waromung.

The 13 women who know the craft do not practise it regularly. They make 20 to 30 pots once a while ;—perhaps not more than once in a year. These pots are generally exchanged for chillies, dried bamboo pickles, baskets etc. In recent years aluminium pots are becoming popular in the village ; but even then, there is good demand for earthen pots. It fact the irregular produce of the potters of the village is not adequate to meet the demand. Many get their supply from Changki and Longsemdang villages.

Clay for the pots is obtained from a place situated at a distance of about 2 kms. from the village. It is brought home in carrying baskets by the women members of the families concerned.

All foreign particles like pieces of stone or stick are removed from the clay. Then it is mixed with some water and pounded with a short bamboo pounder. More water is then poured on it, and it is well kneaded by hand. A mass of clay, large enough to make a pot, is then placed on the same board and by manipulation with hands given round shape. Then it is picked up and placed on a bench or a board. It is then gently rammed with the right fist and flattened. To keep the clay moist, water is often sprinkled on it. Then it is shaped with the right hand like a sort of cap over the clenched left hand. The left hand is then gently removed and proper shape is given to the rim, by the dampened fingers of both the hands.

While working on it, the left hand is kept inside and the right hand outside, and as and when required, circular motions are given by appropriate manipulation of the hands, to give rough shape to the pot. After that, it is left in the sun for sometime, to dry.

The final shape is given after the pot is hardened a bit, under the sun. For this, the operator sits with a rag on her lap and the pot is placed on the rag. A mushroom shaped stop (*utongba*) made of baked clay is held against the inner surface with the left hand. A stick is held by the right hand and the outer surface of the pot is gently tapped with it at various places to obtain the requisite shape and thickness.

Generally two kinds of shaping sticks are used at different stages. At first, a smooth surfaced stick is used. At the final stage another stick, which looks like a double paddle, is used. The four flat surfaces of the paddle are deeply grooved with lozenges and oblique hatchings. These grooved surfaces give rough prints on the surface of the plot. Except these, no ornamentation of any sort is added. The pots when finished are round bottomed with bulging sides and overturned rim.

Earthen covers (*unonro*) are also made out of the same clay. Nothing but hands are applied in shaping unonro.

The finished pots and covers are dried in the sun for several days, before firing.

Generally firing of pots is done outside the village, at about sun set, or early morning, when fire is easier to control. The pots are piled on a low platform of dried bamboo and are covered by reeds from all sides ; then fire is set to the pile.

The fire-burnt pots are then removed to the house and stored on a hanging tray, over the fire place. But at this stage the pots are not used. They are refired. For this purpose, five or six handfuls of husks are put into each pot and the pots are put over the oven. Due to the heat of the oven, husks inside the pots catch fire and are allowed to burn for half an hour or so. This process is called *tsan roba.* After the pots become cool, some rice water is put in each pot and is boiled till it overflows the pot. This process is called *tsan mejaba.* The pot is now ready for use. These two processes are meant for removing smell of clay and ensuring durability of the pots.

Intensive study of pot making, was made in two households. Both practise the craft as a subsidiary occupation and do not devote for it more than 2 or 3 days in a year. In both the households, the female workers engaged in the craft are aged over 40. On average each household produced 23 pots and 6 covers, during 1962. The average price for each pot is Rs. 1.50 and for each cover it is Rs. 0.50. The technique of production and other particulars are same as described above.

Iron Smithy

According to Ao tradition, formerly metal work was not known to them ; later certain wanderers from the plains of Assam introduced it among them.

In Waromung village, at present there are three blacksmiths ; but two of them work only during the leisure time on a very small scale. Only the third one practises smithy as the main occupation.

The person who practises smithy as the main occupation did not receive formal training from any training centre. During his adolescence, he often used to visit a smithy that was located near his house and playfully handle the tools and implements in the smithy. Gradually he picked up the craft. The other two craftsmen have just learnt the craft.

The Aos do not know the process of iron smelting. Iron scraps are generally obtained from the plains of Assam. Frequently the consumers themselves supply the iron scraps ; out of which one half is retained by the smith as the making charge and the remaining half is used for manufacture.

Besides iron, the other raw material used for smithy is charcoal from wood. It is made from sal, oak, *sarang* and *sungson* trees. Smaller trees and twigs and branches are not used, as they may get either completely burnt into ash or reduced to too small size for use in the furnace. Frequently charcoal is burnt underground. A large pit is dug near the place of dried up trees and a side hole is made connecting the main pit to allow passing of air. Chopped pieces of wood are piled up in the pit; and then the pit is covered with earth, keeping a small hole for escape of smoke. The fire is set from the side hole and it takes a night for the pieces of wood to be burnt into charcoal.

Sometimes, charcoal is obtained by open burning ; but the quality of charcoal obtained from underground burning is much better that in case of open burning. But there is a danger in underground burning. If the pit is not properly made, the whole lot of wood may be burnt into ashes.

Sometimes, coal is used in the furnance in place of charcoal. It is readily available on the surface near the bank of the river Timbalongs—at a distance of about 5 km. east of the village. But due to difficulty of transport, coal is not much used, Moreover burning of coal produces more smoke and a pungent smell.

A separate forge, called *'yin chem ki'* in local dialect is constructed, where the work is carried on.

The bellows or *meyong*, used in the forge, are made of barrel shaped section of the trunk of a tree. It is about 1.2 metres in length and 28 cms. in diameter on the outer surface. The inside of the piece of a tree is scooped out to make a cavity, about 23 cms. in diameter. If a hollow trunk is available, it is preferred, as in that case the necessity of scooping out the cavity is obviated. Two circular pieces of plank are chisseled out, so as to exactly fit the two openings of the trunk. Five slits, each of the size of a finger are bored through the plank fitted to the back side, while a single hole is made on the front one, through which a feathered piston is passed. A flap of hide or thick cloth works as a valve from inside, against the five holes in the back. The piston is a thick bamboo stick, covered with feathers. At the two sides of the bellows, are fitted two bamboo cylinders, to serve as outlet pipes, the mouths of these two cylinders are embedded in clay and unite at the furnace. When the piston is pulled out, the flap inside allows air to get into the cavity. Next, when the piston is pushed in, the feather arrangement of the piston forces in the air, as a result of which the flap closes the holes at the back and the air is forced down the two cylinders. Thus the fire is continuously blown, as strokes are given by the piston.

Among the tools and implements necessary for forgoing and allied work, the most important ones are the hammer and anvil. The anvil (*yinchence*) is a large bar of iron, 12 cms. in diameter and 20 cms. in height. The upper end is flat, forming a surface, on which is hit the red-hot iron. The other end is planted firmly into a log which is embedded in the earth. A flat steel anvil serves to straighten the articles.

Hammers (hathuri) are of usually three types. The heavier one can hardly be lifted with one hand. It measures about 25 cm. in length and weighs about 5 kg. without the handle. The medium sized hammer weighs about 2 kg. ; the third type is vary small and is used for lighter work.

There are two types of tongs or *tinmejeppa*,—one with straight lips and the other with curved lips.

The articles usually manufactured are *dao*, smoking pipe, spade, scraper, kitchen knife and meat cutter. Axe and hoe are imported from the plains of Assam ; but occasionally the village smith makes a flat axe in his forge.

Whenever a cutting instrument looses its sharpness due to long use, the blacksmith is ready to recondition it in his forge, often free of charge and sometimes just for a nominal pay.

An intensive study was made in the household which practises the craft as the main source of livelihood. This household also practises cultivation, as a subsidiary means of livelihood. The forge is situated about 30 metres away from the dwelling house. It is about 4.5 metres in length, 4 metres in breadth and 3 metres in height. It is a very simple hut, with four walls made of loose bamboo matting and roof made of palm leaves. There is no ceiling. The tools and implements are same as already described.

The craftsman is 51 years old male head of the household. No female member of the household undertakes any work in connection with the craft.

The following articles were produced during 1962:

Table 43 : Articles produced by an iron smith during 1962

Local name	English Equivalent	Number produced	Average price per piece
1	2	3	4
Amok	Bill-hook	appr. 80	Rs. 4/- per piece
Ajang	Dagger	,, 100	0.75 P. to Re. 1.00 per piece
Aya	Iron scar per	,, 100	75 P. per piece
Lai	Sickle	,, 100	Re. 1 per piece

The articles are usually made on order. During manufacture, the customer helps in operating the bellows.

Usually the work starts at 7·30 in the morning and continues till 4·30 in the evening with an hour's break for mid-day meal. No work is done on Sunday.

During peak season, the smith can manufacture 4 daos in a day. There is work throughout the year and average monthly income from smithy is Rs. 50/-.

Wood carving

With the passing of head hunting and *morung* institution, the art of wood carving is rapidly disappearing. The last carving of heads, pythons, hornbills etc. was done in 1944 for the new school building. Previously villagers used to hew out of a single log, a huge rylophone ; now this also has been given up. But other wood work, like carving of wooden dishes (*sungphu*) and (*noklu*) still continue, though to a very negligible extent.

The dishes are of two types, one is shallow and circular without any stand, while the other is a little deeper and has stands to support at a height of about 22 cm. from the ground.

A piece of wood from *recogsung* tree is first given a roughly round shape by a *dao* ; next the cavity is scooped out by a small chisel. The chisel is also used to shape the curves of the stand. Finally the article is polished with the leaf of *metongnezota*.

Of late the wooden dishes are fast disappearing due to the import of metallic wares from the plains. Moreover, *rekong* wood, from which these dishes are made, is not easily available.

Often beds are carved from huge solid pieces of wood. The tools used for the purpose are axe, *dao* and adze.

At present, the wooden article most in demand in the village is scabbard, to hold the *dao*. It is about 15 cm. in length 8 cm. in breadth and almost square in cross section. A slit is bored through the entire length to hold the *dao* ; while a side slit is made to fasten it to the hip of the person carrying it. The scabbard is generally made of *ozu*, *mokok* or *amok* woods ; the outer shape is given with a *dao* ; the slits are made with a narrow chisel (*atenbong*).

While the art of carving is declining, carpentry is slowly gaining in importance. There are two carpenters in the village, who received their training in Kohima Technical School. One of them is employed as a carpentry instructor in the local M. E. School. The Department of Education has supplied tools worth Rs. 2000/- to the M. E. school in 1961 and 1962 to develop the carpentry section in the school.

Besides the two trained carpenters, there are about a dozen untrained carpenters in the village. At the time of the survey, three of them had gone to Tuensang to work as instructors. The main occupation of all these persons is cultivation ; but on special order they make furniture, including those required for the church building. Their annual income from carpentry falls between Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-.

Planks for carpentry work are obtained in the village itself. During winter three pairs of sawyers work in the village for about two months. Wood for plank is purchased from the owners of the trees at a nominal price of Rs. 10/- Rs. 20/- depending on the size of the tree and the distance from the village. The price for a plank sized 3.5 metres × 30 cms. × 2.5 cms. is Rs. 4/-. The average daily income of a sawyer during sawing season is Rs. 6/.

Other occupations

During December to February, the people are comparatively free to take up other activities, as there is not much work in connection with agriculture. Many people earn some cash at this time by working as road labourers under the P.W.D., Many again go to the plains and work as labourers in the tea gardens. In February 1963, three groups of people, consisting of 32, 13 and 26 men respectively, went to three different tea gardens and worked under contractors in connection with jungle clearance. Each earned Rs. 80/- to Rs. 100/- in a month.

Co-operative Societies

Some plots of land are owned by Kupzar clan as a whole and about 10 years ago, the clan members decided to utilize the same for a co-operative sugar-cane farm. The decision was taken in a meeting held in the house of the eldest member of the clan. The society was not however registered.

About 1 acre of land, situated at a distance of 1.6 km. from the village, was cleared by joint labour. The cane crushing machine was donated by an office assistant at Mokokchung, who belonged to the same clan. The cost of the machine was Rs. 360/-. For two years they carried on the cultivation and the sale proceeds were divided among all members of the clan equally. But they found that after meeting the cost for clearing and fencing the area as well as for keeping watch against depredation by animals, crushing the canes and converting the cane juice to molasses,

they could hardly earn any profit. The venture was then given up.

During the period of functioning of the co-operative, the eldest male member of the clan served as the manager.

Commerce and marketing of products

There is no full time commercial establishment in the village. Previously there were a few shops in the village; but a few years back due to disturbed condition in the area, the licenses for running shops were withdrawn by the administration, as a protective measure against passing on the goods to hostiles. At present two persons sell cigarettes, betel nuts and sweets in the village. They do not have separate shops, but carry on sales irregularly from their dwelling houses. They keep very little stock and in each establishment the working capital is estimated to be well below Rs. 100/-. As these are very small establishments they do not require license.

The most important centre for marketing of forest produce, agricultural products and industrial products of the village is Naginijan bazar. The market is a weekly one and is held every Saturday. People from the following Ao villages attend this market:- Waromung and Dibuia of Changkikong range; Lengchang of Aetkong range; Lerimon, Aomokpu and Merinokpu of Japukong range. They sell pan leaves, agricultural productes like chilli, taro, ginger, pumpkin etc. and forest products like frankincense, to the people of the plains. These things are taken to the market in carrying baskets and are purchased mostly by the tea garden labourers of Naginijan area. In turn, the villagers purchase clothes, salt, oil, dried and rotten fish (*ngashi*), soap, betel nuts, sweets, sugar, dal, cups and plates and metallic utensils, in the market. Sometimes the commodities are bartered. For instance, the villagers offer small quantity of agricultural products and in exchange receive tea leaves from the labourers; or they offer incense and in exchange receive salt.

At Chariali, situated at a distance of three miles from Naginijan there is another market. There are a few permanent shops; a weekly market is also held on every Sunday, but only a few people from the Ao villages attend it to purchase cattle and dried fish.

When the villagers happen to visit Mokokchung in connection with some other work, they do some marketing there also. At Mokokchung the markets are held every Wednesday and Saturday.

While marketing of most of the agricultural products is unorganised and is done by the producers direct, marketing of betel - leaves is well organised and the village council has a say in it. Six *thikadars* or contractors for selling betel leaves are appointed by the village Council,—two for each *khel*. The *thikadars* are to pay license fee of Rs. 25/- per annum to the village council. They maintain contact with the purchasing agents in the markets in the plains and accompany the growers of their respective jurisdiction at the time of the sale. They get from the purchasing agent commission of 12 P. per rupee of transaction. If any one sells betel leaves direct by passing the *thikadar* he is fined Rs. 5/- by the village council.

For sale, the betel leaves are to be arranged in bundles. Every Thursday the growers go to their betel-leaf vines and pluck the leaves. Generally the males do the plucking and the females arrange the leaves in bundles. Twenty leaves are arranged first to make one *khuzu*, while 10 *khuzus* are bound together to make one *telep*. So one *telep* consists of 200 leaves. There are two kinds of bundles. The best leaves are arranged to make the larger bundle called *tamaningba* while the remaining leaves form the ordinary bundle called *shisalep*. Generally one *tamaningba* is considered to be equal to two *shisa-leps*.

On Friday morning, they carry the leaves to Naginijan for sale and make night halt there on Saturday. They purchase their necessities with the sale proceeds of betel-leaves and return home. Some people again collect leaves on Monday and carry the same to Naginijan on Tuesday.

The price of pan leaves fluctuates from season to season. In November 1962, two tamaningba or four *shisalep* leaves were sold at one rupee. In March, 1963, the price rose to Rs.1.50.

Two households in the village, who are growing betel-leaves on an extensive scale, are estimated to earn Rs. 1000/- from sale of the leaves per annum; other growers earn on average Rs. 50/- per annum.

Indebtedness

According to a house to house survey conducted with the help of three students, 158 households were in debt in the second week of May, 1963. Most of them had taken loan of paddy from relations or from affluent neighbours like school teachers and big farmers. In

many cases, the individual households incurred debt for public reasons. In 1960, the village church was rebuilt at a cost of Rs. 53,000. For this purpose the village had to take loan from several other village churches and individuals. To repay this common debt, each Christian household is required to pay Rs. 20 to the Church fund. Frequently this payment is made by incurring debt. The hostile Nagas also frequently levy exactions and villagers have no alternative but to meet their demands, even by incurring debt.

An intensive study of indebtedness was made in 40 households. The result is furnished below :

Table 44 : Indebtedness by income

Income group (per month)	Total No. of H.Hs.	No. of H. Hs. in debt	Average debt per household
1	2	3	4
Below Rs. 30	4	2	Rs. 40.50 P.
Rs. 31 to Rs. 40	3	11	Rs. 70.00 P.
Rs. 41 to Rs. 60	12	6	Rs. 56.80 P.
Rs. 61 to Rs. 80	8	1	Rs. 30.00 P.
Above Rs. 80	13	Nil	—

For every two baskets of paddy taken on loan, one additional basket is paid as interest. In this matter the time factor is immaterial. If a man has taken 10 tins of paddy in January and another has taken the same quantity in June from the same creditor, both are required to repay 15 tins of paddy after the harvest *i.e.* in September or October.

The partculars of indebtedness furnished above, do not include the loans taken from Government for productive purposes.

Scarcity due to damage of crops

As mentioned earlier, there was large scale damage of crops in 1961-62 due to the rat menace. The people were scared; but they tried to meet the situation with fortitude. The women mainly took up the responsibility of carrying on whatever agriculture was possible under the circumstances; the men began to try their luck elsewhere. Fortunately new avenues for livelihood were available to them at this time. The P.W. Deptt. had taken up a project of constructing a 5 k.ms. long road from Mongchen to Mangkolemba; the work sites were at the distances of 8 to 13 k.ms. from Waromungs. About 80 to 90 persons took up employment under contractors in connection with this work, on the daily wages of Rs. 7/- per head. The Govt. also opened a store at Chungliyimsen for selling relief rice at the rate of 2 kgs. per rupee. But the quantity supplied at Chung liyimsen was not enough; the people had to make some purchase at Naginijan bazar at the rate of 1.50 kgs. per rupee. The cash earned by them as road labourers undoubtedly helped them to a great extent; but not wholly. It was not possible for all the adult males of the village to get regular employment as road labourers and they had to support themselves otherwise. Many could afford to take only one meal a day. At this time, the sons and daughters of the village who had earlier found employment under the Govt. and other agencies outside the village, rendered magnificent help to their natal community. Contributions began to pour in from kohima, Mokokchung, Dimapur, Tezpur and other places where such persons had gone. The villagers who were staying in the village and had regular income as Govt. employees, such as teachers, were also not lagging behind. They liberally gave to their poor neighbours cash loan and other assistance.

Thus, through the combined efforts of the people of the village, their relations scattered over distant places and the government, which reflects the organisation of the national community, the crisis at Waromung could be tided over. Perhaps the lesson of this experience, will in due course help the villagers to appreciate new dimension of community life, in the context of the modern world.

It is now proposed to close the discussion on the economic life of the village, with a brief appraisal of the income and expenditure pattern.

Income and expenditure pattern

Income and expenditure pattern was studied in 38 households. They were found to be distributed in the following income groups:

Table 45 : Income and expenditure pattern (Per month) in 38 households

Rs. 50 or below	Rs. 51–100	Rs. 101–200	Above Rs. 200
1	2	3	4
12	19	6	1

As the households were not selected on random sampling basis it will not be appropriate to draw definite conclusion for the village as a whole from the above figures, but it is possible to gain some insight about the

probable income range and pattern of distribution. It shows that overwhelming majority of the households have income of less than Rs. 100/- per month.

Contribution of the different sources of livelihood to the economy of the households concerned is indicated below.

Table 46 : Contribution of different source of livelihood to the economy of the households

Source of livelihood	No. of households where the contribution of the source of livelihood is						
	Nil	Less than 5%	5%–15%	16%–30%	31%–50%	51%–75%	75%–100%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Cultivation	..	..	2	2	8	19	7
Collection of forest produce	1	35	2	..	..	..	..
Agricultural labour	15	16	7	..	..	..	..
Non-agricultural labour	22	2	12	1	1	..	..
Sale of pan leaves	11	6	11	7	2	1	..
Sale of livestock	32	..	5	1	..	..	..
Fishing	36	..	2	..	..	..	..
Leasing out land	37	..	..	1	..	..	..
Professions	31	1	..	..	1	3	2
Pension	36	..	1	1	..	..	..
Commission from house tax	36	2	..	..	..	..	..
Remittance	35	..	..	1	3	..	..

Association of income group and contribution of different sources of livelihood is indicated in the statement below:

Table 47 : Association of income group and different sources of livelihood

Source of livelihood	Number of households getting contribution from the source indicated in col. 1 and belonging to the income group				
	Less than Rs. 50	Rs.51–100	Rs. 100–200	Above Rs. 200	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6
Cultivation	12	19	6	1	38
Collection of forest produce	11	19	6	1	37
Agricultural labour	9	13	1	..	23
Non-agricultural labour	7	8	1	..	16
Sale of pan leaves	7	16	4	..	27
Sale of livestock	..	5	1	..	6
Fishing	2	..	..	..	2
Leasing of land	1	..	..	..	1
Profession	1	2	4	..	7
Pension	..	1	1	..	2
Commission from house-tax	..	2	..	..	2
Remittance	1	1	..	..	1

It is found from the above that cultivation remains a source of livelihood in all the income groups; collection of forest produce is also almost universal. Agricultural labour and non-agricultural labour are practically confined to the lower income groups. Sale of pan leaves is more frequent in the higher income group though in the highest income group it is not found. Sale of livestock is confined to the two middle income groups Fishing for sale is confined to the lowest income group. Unexpectedly, the sole case of leasing out of land is in the lowest income group; but it is due to dearth of manpower in the household concerned. In fact this household has the largest number of plots, but due to ill luck (*tramakh*) as the villagers say it does not have able bodied person, to turn wealth out of these plots.

The professionals are found in all the income groups except the highest one; the two pension-holders are in the middle income group; the two persons receiving commission from house tax are in the income group Rs. 51-100 and the two persons receiving remittance are in the two lowest income groups *viz.* Rs. 50 or less and Rs. 51-100/-.

The expenditure pattern was examined in four households. The particulars are furnished below :

Table 48 : Expenditure pattern in four households

Item of expenditure	No. of the h.hs. reporting	Average expenditure per h.h.
1	2	3
Food (Cereal)	4	Rs. 490 00
Food (non-cereal)	4	Rs. 38.75
Clothing	4	Rs. 38.50
Education	3	Rs. 31.25
Travel	1	Rs. 10.00
Purchase of asset	1	Rs. 5.00
House-tax	4	Rs. 2.00
	Total	**Rs. 615.50**

The above shows that about 80% of the expenditure is incurred for cereals and the rest is for other items including non-cereal food. Though the details were not collected, this gives an idea about the standard of living of the people.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE

Distribution of the population by sex and age groups

At the time of survey, out of the total village population of 1,608, 782 are males and 826 are females. In other word the sex ratio of the village is 1,056

The age-group wise distribution of the male and female population is as follows:-

Table 49 : Distribution of population of Waromung by sex and age group

Age group	Male	Female	Total
1	2	3	4
0–14	271	290	561
15–50	422	451	873
Above 50	89	85	174
Total	**782**	**826**	**1,608**

The above distribution shows that the persons in the age groups 0-15, 15-50 and above 50 respectively constitute 35% and 54% and 11% of the total population. This can be compared with the age structure of the population of Nagaland as a whole, which is as follows:—

Table 50 : Distribution of population of Nagaland by age-group

Age group	Population	% to the total
1	2	3
0–14	142,845	38.69
15–20	189,118	51.22
Above 50	36,685	9.94
Age nnspecified	552	0.15

It is therefore found that in the village under survey, there are comparatively more persons in the middle age-group and less persons in the younger age-group and the older age-group.

Birth and death statistics

These could not be collected in the village.

Marital status

The practices connected with marriage have been earlier discussed in Chapter II.

Distribution of the population according to marital status is as follows:—

Table 51 : Marital status of Waromung

	Unmarried			Married			Widowed			Divorced		
Age group	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
0–10	193	208	401	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
11–15	55	46	101	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
16–20	78	89	167	..	3	3	..	..	..	..	..	..
21–30	58	63	114	78	75	157	..	1	1	1	1	2
31–40	1	2	3	129	119	248	2	3	5	2	2	4
41–50	..	1	1	86	83	169	4	3	7	1	1	1
51–60	..	..	..	77	72	149	3	5	8	..	..	..
61–70	..	..	..	7	5	12	..	..	..	..	..	..
71–80	..	..	..	1	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
81 & above	..	..	..	1	..	1	1	1	2	..	..	..

Note :—Particulars about 49 persons were not recorded and they have been left out from the table.

From the above, it can be noted that there is no married male or female, younger than the age of 15. There are only 3 married females in the age group 15-20, as against 78 unmarried males and 89 unmarried females in the same age group. Hence, these three cases of married females are rather exceptional. It is only in the age-group 21-30, that the married males and females exce ed the unmarried males and females. But even then

there are 51 unmarried males and 63 unmarried females in this age-group. It is only in the age-group 31-40, that marriage is seen to be more or less universal. There are only one unmarried male and 2 unmarried females in this age group as against 129 married males and 119 married females; the data relating to the widowed and divorced persons are not being taken into consideration for the present. In the age group of 41-50, there is only one unmarried female; the rest are either married or widowed or divorced. There is no unmarried person above the age-group 41-50. The one unmarried male and three unmarried females above the age 30, are physica lly disabled persons.

From the above figures, it is quite obvious that the villagers marry quite late. This question will be further examined on the basis of detailed particulars collected from 40 households.

From the present table, it is further to be noted that there are 10 widowers and 13 widows, and four divorced males and four divorced females in the village.

The largest unmber of widowers, is in the age-group 41-50, where it is 4. The largest number of widows, is in the age-group 51-60, the number being 5. During group discussion in the village or it was stated by the villagers that rest of the widowed males and females of the younger age-group generally get married. The largest number of divorced males and females are in the age-group 31-40, where there are 2 divorces from males and females each. The villagers stated that the actual number of persons who have divorced their marital partners, sometime or other is slightly more, but as they remarried after divorce, they have been recorded as married.

The particulars about marital status and related questions were collected in some more details in 40 households. These are furnished below.

Table 52 : Marital status in 40 households

	Totat population			Never married		Married		Widowed		Divorced		Unspecifiea	
Age-group	Persons	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
All ages	**175**	**91**	**84**	**50**	**44**	**34**	**34**	**3**	**2**	..	..	**4**	**4**
0– 4	19	1	11	7	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	..
5– 9	15	6	9	6	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1
10–14	26	14	12	13	11	..	..	..	..	..	..	1	1
15–19	19	11	8	11	8	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
20–24	16	10	6	10	5	..	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
25–29	5	3	2	2	1	1	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
30–34	9	4	5	..	..	4	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
35–39	6	2	4	..	..	2	3	..	1	..	..	..	..
40–44	9	3	6	1	..	2	4	..	1	..	..	..	1
45–49	7	5	2	..	..	4	2	1	..	..	..	..	..
50–54	5	4	1	..	..	4	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
55–59	7	..	7	..	..	..	6	..	..	..	..	..	1
60 & over	32	21	11	..	..	17	11	2	..	..	..	2	..

In the above table if the unspecified cases are ignored it is found that there is no married person below the age of 19. In the age-group 20-24, there is no married male. In the age-group 25-29, out of 3 males and 2 females, only one of each is married. Above the age of 30, there is no unmarried except one, in the age group 40-44. There is one widow in the age group 30-35-39 40-44 each; there is one widower in the age-group 45-49 and there are two in the age group 60 and above. No divorce has been covered by the sample.

The above data are more or less in conformity with the data for the village as a whole. But these throw additional insight about when the people get married. It seems that the people get married round about the age of 30, rather than the earlier part of the twenties.

Exact information about the age of first marriage are available in case of 34 males and 30 females. These are as follows :

Table 53 : Age at first marriage

Period of marriage (years)	No. of first marriages of males about which particulars are available	No. of first marriages in which the bridegroom was aged				No. of first marriages of females about which particulars are available	No. of first marriages which the bride was aged			
		Above 30	26 to 30	21 to 25	20 or below		Above 30	26 to 30	21 to 25	20 or below
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
0–10	5	..	4	1	..	5	..	1	4	..
11–20	5	1	1	1	2	6	1	..	3	2
21–30	8	2	3	3	..	5	1	..	4	..
31–40	8	1	6	1	..	7	..	2	4	1
Earlier than 40	8	2	4	2	..	7	..	2	4	1
	34	6	18	8	2	30	2	5	19	4

From the above table, it may be seen that in all the periods the maximum number of marriages took place in the age-group of 26 to 30 in case of the males and in the age-group 21-25 in case of the females. It however seems that about 21 to 30 years ago, the age of marriage tended to slightly come down, as proportionately there were larger number of marriages below the age of 26 during this period. During the last 10 years the age of marriage seems to have gone up again.

In this connection it would be of some interest to note the differences between the ages of the husband and the wife, during different periods.

Table 54 : Difference between age of husband and wife

Period of marriage (years)	Husband is older than wife by				Wife is older than husband by			
	2 yrs or less	3-5 yrs.	5-10 yrs.	11 yrs. or more	2 yrs. or less	3-5 yrs.	5-10 yrs.	11 yrs. or more
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10 yrs. or less	..	5	..	..	..	..	..	..
11–20 years	..	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
21–40 years	..	12	8	1	1	..	..	..
Above 40 years	..	1	1	1	..	..	..	..

It is found from the above that one generation ago, though in most of the marriages the difference between the ages of the husband and the wife was 3-5 years, there were considerable number of cases where the difference was 5 to 10 years; there were also cases where the difference was even more than 10 years. During the last 10 years in all the marriages, the difference between the ages of the husband and the wife is always between 3-5 years. It is interesting to note that in one marriage held during 21-40 years ago, the wife was older than the husband. The difference in age was however less than two years.

Disease and treatment

The ailments, most common in the village, are fever, cold, stomachache and headache. Cut injury is also very common. There is a dispensary, at a distance of about 1 km. from the village. A compounder is posted there and all the minor cases are treated by him. 31 cases of cut injury and 62 cases of cold and headache were treated here during June 1962 to May 1963. Serious cases are not treated in the village dispensary; these are transferred to Mokokchung hospital.

There is also an indigenous system of medicine in the village. Stomachache, sprain etc. are more frequently treated under this system. There are four indigenous medicinemen in the village; among them Yariba of Wazakum clan enjoys the best reputation.

Particulars of disease and treatment were collected in 40 households. These are furnished below:

Table 55 : Disease and Treatment

Nature of illness	No. of h.hs. affected during 3 years	No. of households where treatment was made by					No. of cases ended in death
		Dispensary compounder	Hospital Doctor	Local medicine	Self	No. treatment	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1 Eye trouble	2	..	1	..	..	..	..
2 Knee-ache	1	..	..	..	..	..	..
3 General weakness	5	1	2	2	..	..	..
4 Influenza	4	1	..	..	1	2	..
5 Cut injury on leg	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
6 Stomachache	5	1	1	..	3	..	..
7 General illness	2	1	1	..	..	..	..
8 Cold	1	..	..	1	..	..	..
9 Rheumatism	3	..	2	..	..	1	..
10 Ear pain	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
11 Cough	1	1	..	..	..	..	..
12 Sore on neck	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
13 Fever	1	..	..	..	..	1	..
14 Defect in menstrual flow	1	..	..	..	1	..	..
15 Pneumonia	1	1	..	..	..	..	1

From the above statement it is found that out of 15 ailments, the villagers obtained assistance from the compounder of the dispensary or the doctor of the hospital in case of 10 ailments. Only in case of two ailments they approached the indigenous medicinemen. In case of 3 ailments, self-treatment was effected; and in case of 4 ailments no treatment was made. These cases were not mutually exclusive; some-times in case of an ailment one household obtained service of the compounder, another household approached the indigenous medicineman and so on.

Education

Out of the 1,608 persons in the village 810 are literates or in other words slightly more than 50% of the population are literate.

Age and sex wise distribution of literacy is as follows :

Table 56 : Age and sex wise distribution of literacy

Age-group	Total population		Literate		Illiterate	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
0- 9	191	210	..	..	191	210
10-20	158	174	153	161	5	13
21-30	130	141	121	137	9	4
31-40	123	127	75	80	48	47
41-50	91	89	21	34	70	55
51-60	76	77	7	15	69	62
61-70	7	5	4	..	3	5
71-80	4	2	2	..	2	2
81 & above	2	1	..	..	2	1

It can be seen from the above table that literacy spread in this village quite early. Even in the age-group 71-80,2 males out of the 4 living at present, are literate. This however is not unexpected; this village is hoving the benefit of a kindergarten since 1882, when it was established here by the Christian missionaries,

But it appears that only during the last 30 years, pursuit of education has been almost universal. As against 49 illiterate males and 46 illiterate females out of 125 males and 126 females in the age-group 31-40, there are only 9 illiterate males and 4 illiterate females, out of 131 males and 140 females, in the age-group of 21-30. In the age-grop of 10-20, the progress has been maintained; there are only 5 illiterate males and 12 illiterate females, out of 158 males and 171 females, in this age-group.

For the popularisation of education, the Christian missionaries are primarily responsible. There is great social pressure among the Christian families to send their children to school. After formal literacy has been attained, many however withdraw their children, specially the female children. But even then, the educational standard attained by the children of this village is quite considerable. Two males from this village have passed M. Sc.; one male and 1 female are Art graduates; 10 males and females have passed Intermediate. Four out of those who have passed Intermediate, are now prosecuting higher studies. In addition, 7 males of this village are matriculates.

It is to be noted that except those who are at present prosecuting higher studies, all the sons and daughters of this village who are matriculate or above, are employed either in the village or outside.

At present four boys from this village are reading in college. Further, 35 males and 19 females are reading in High School. All these college students and High School students live outside the village. A statement giving particulars of all the persons who have passed matric examination, is furnished at annexure D.

In the village itself 201 males and 298 females are reading in Primary and middle English schools.

In 40 households association between income and literacy was examined. The particulars are furnished below:

Table 57 : Association between income and literacy

Income group (per month)	Total No. of h.hs.	No. of h. hs. without any literate member
1	2	3
Less than Rs. 25	1	1
Rs. 25-50	11	3
Rs. 51- 75	15	3
Rs. 76-100	4	..
Rs. 101-125	3	..
Rs. 126-150	..	..
Rs. 151-175	2	1
Rs. 176-200	1	..
Rs. 201 and above	1	..
Unspecified	2	..

From the above, it appears that there is some association between income group and literacy. Out of the 27 households in the income group of Rs. 75 or less, 7 households do not have any literate member; on the other hand out of the 11 households with income of Rs. 76 or more, only one household is without any literate member. The two households whose income range is unspecified, have not been taken into consideration for the present purpose.

It would however not be correct to jump to the conclusion from the above, that poverty is the cause of illiteracy in the households concerned. It might also be that illiteracy is the cause of poverty of these households.

In four households having children of school going age, an enquiry was made whether they are sending their wards to school and if not, why not. Only one household reported that it was not sending a girl of school going age to the school, because it could not afford to do so. This of course, lends support to the view that illiteracy persists due to poverty. But this solitary instance cannot form the basis of any judgement either way. In this connection it is to be kept in view that due to social pressure many poor families are sending their children to school.

Attainment of educational standard is however likely to be related to the income range of the households. All the households where enquiry was made stated that they would like to impart as much education to their children as they could afford. Some indicated matriculation as their goal, but it was obvious that they were considering their purse as well. In this matter availability of institutional facilities in the village is also a big determining factor.

It has already been mentioned that there is a kindergarten in the village.

There is also an M. E. School, to which primary classes are also attached. Originally it was only a primary school. Under the initiative of the villagers themselves one private M. E. school was started in 1946. In 1959, it was taken over by the Govt. At present there are 5 teachers appointed by the Govt. including the Headmaster and one Instructor for carpentry. There is also one peon. All members of the staff belong to the Ao community. There are 310 students in the school, out of which 11 are from neighburing village; the rest belong to the village itself.

There is a boys' hostel under charge of a Superintendent and a Girls' hostel under charge of a Matron attached to the school. There are 43 boarders in the boys hostel and 22 boarders in the girls' hostel. Students of Classes III to VI are admitted in the hostels. No seat rent is to be paid by the students, but there is no common mess in either of the hostels. Every two or three students form a group and cook food separately.

There is a managing committee consisting of 37 members to look after the affairs of the school.

The kindergarten has 200 students and four teachers. Out of these four, two have been privately engaged by the villagers with remuneration of Rs. 30/- p. m.

the remaining two are teachers of the L. P. Section of the school under Govt. control.

In the kindergarten and as well as in the M. E. School with attached lower primary section, no tution fee is charged from the students.

The school hours are from 7 a. m. to 12.30 p. m. Normally about 90% of the enrolled strength of the students attend the schools daily. There are two long vacation periods, one is from 20th December to the end of January the other is for two weeks during summer.

No regular extra curricular activites are organised by the school; but the senior students frequently play different types of games in the compound of the M. E. School. Generally football is played on every Saturday evening.

For the junior students, the school does not have much to offer, except formal education. The family remains the most important centre for the physical and mental training.

Family

During group discussion, it was related by the villagers that there is no joint family system among the Aos. There is not a single household where married sons or daughters are living with their parents, There are, however, a few cases where one of the parents after being widowed is living with married sons. Such types of families mark the adjustment to break of simple families, rather then transition towards the formation of joint families.

Structurally, nuclear family is the ideal. As already noted, a separate house is constructed for new couple before the marriage, and immediately after the marriage the couple shifts to this house.

A study of the composition of the household and other details was made in 40 households. The result of the study, confirms the information collected in a general way, from the villagers, during group discussion.

Out of the 40 households 38 are nuclear families and 2 are others. In one of these two households the father of the head of the household who is a widower, stays with the family of his son ; in the other the widowed mother of the wife of the head of the household stays. In the first case the age of the household is in the age-group 40-49 ; in the second case it is in the age-group 20-29.

A statement showing the distribution of the households with reference to the number of members per household is furnished below :

Table 58 : Distribution of households with reference to the number of members

Size group of households with reference to the number of members	No. of households	Number of members contained in all the households belonging to the size-group		
		Males	Females	Total
1	2	3	4	5
Single member	Nil	..	..	..
2–3	11	13	12	25
4–6	24	59	52	111
7–9	4	15	14	29
10 and above	1	4	6	10

From the above, it can be observed that the largest number of households, (60% of the total covered by the sample) have 4-6 members. The average number of members per household for the entire sample is 4.3.

Association between the number of members per household and the age of the head of the household can be seen in the following table :

Table 59 : Association between number of members per household and age of head of the household

Age of the head of the household	Number of household	Average number of members per household
1	2	3
Below 20	Nil	Nil
20–29	1	4
30–39	7	4.5
40–49	8	6.5
50–59	4	4
60 and above	20	3.5

The above statement shows that upto the period when the head of the household attains the age-group of 40-49, the membership of the household increases and then again it undergoes progressive reduction. This is according to the logistic of the type of family prevailing among them. Till a man attains the age of 50 or so, the children go on increasing ; when he is in the age-group 50-59, his grown up sons or daughters begin

to get married and leave the household; thus the membership of the household is reduced.

An enquiry was made about the pattern of relationship among closely related households though living separately. The particulars are furnished below :

Table 60 : Distribution of households by the number of closely connected households

No. of households covered by the sample	No. of h.hs. reporting no close relation	No. of h.hs. reporting existence of			
		1 closely connected h.hs.	2 closely connected h.hs.	3 closely connected h.hs.	4 or more closely connected h.hs.
1	2	3	4	5	6
38	..	3	22	11	2

It is to be noted that all the households reported the existence of at least one closely related household ; and that as many as 33 households out of the 38 households reported the existence of 2 or more closely connected households.

The categories of households reported by them as closely related are indicated below :

Table 61 : Particulars of (closely) connected households

Total No. of h.hs. covered by the Sample	No. of households which have reported households of the kins indicated below as closely connected														
	Z.	F.	W.F.	W.B.	D.H.	S.H.	F.B.	B.Z.	M.F.	M.B.	B.	W.S.H.	D.Z.	S.Z.	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
..	5	4	6	4	4	7	1	5	1	1	13	8	1	1	21

Key to the symbols—Z–sons ; F–Father ; W.F.–Wife's father ; W.B.–Wife's brother;D –H.–Daughter's husband ; S.H. Sister's husband ; F.B.–Father's brother ; B.Z.–Brother's son ; M.F.–Mother's father ; M.B.–Mother's brother ; B–Brother ; W.S.H.–Wife's sister's husband ; D.Z.–Daughter's son ; S.Z.–Sister's son

The category of others in the above statement include relations like wife's sister's husband ; son's wife's father ; wife's brother's son ; father's brother's son *etc.*

It is noteworthy that as many as 13 households out of 38 have reported existence of brothers in separate households ; 4 have reported existence of fathers and 5 have reported existence of sons in separate households.

Affinal relations like wife's brother, wife's sister's husband, sister's husband etc. have also been reported by considerable number of households.

The informants were asked whether functional unity exists with closely connected households in matters relating to farming, fishing, forestry etc. Only one household reported that the head of the household and his brother help each other in cultivation even though they live separately ; another household reported the same in respect of mother's brother. The head of one household reported that he cooperates with his wife's sister's husband during fishing. The remaining households reported that no functional unity exists with closely related households. They frequently cooperate in fishing, jungle clearance etc.; but they do these as members of the same *khel* or neighbourhood, rather than as relations.

The above facts suggest that physical break of families, also involves almost always, functional break in economic and other matters. This however may not be the depictation of the actual position. It is quite likely that the informants over-looked the informal interest that the relations take in each others affairs and the informal assistance that they render to one another on various occupations.

Inheritance

Heads of 40 households were asked separately to state the salient features of the laws of inheritance in the village. Their statements were more or less the same.

All movable property is inherited by the sons equally, but the eldest son exercises control over it. If any of the brothers wants to enjoy a particular plot

of land, permission of the eldest brother must be obtained.

Females can never inherit immovable property. If a man dies without a son, the property goes to his brothers and in absence of brothers it goes to the most closely connected member of the same clan. A man can however transfer immovable property to his daughter during his life time. In that case the daughter is required to make a nominal payment. A daughter can sell or make gift of property thus acquired according to her will ; but if she does not transfer it during her life-time, it would go to her father's nearest clan member after her death.

A portion of the movable property may be given to the daughter, if the eldest son so desires. If however the father on his death bed wishes anything to be given to the daughter, his wish is always respected.

The dress and ornaments of the mother is inherited by the daughters. But there is no prescribed rule about the manner of division. The members of the family discuss among themselves and by agreement share the objects.

The widow receives a portion of the paddy. She is also entitled to occupy the house till death or remarriage. She is also allowed to retain as much of land as she requires for her maintenance. On her death or remarriage these properties revert to the male heirs of the husband.

If a woman gets landed property from her father, it cannot devolve on her husband, on her death. She can bequeath it to her son, or else it will go to her brother or surviving heir of her father. The husband can however get a portion of the paddy.

Case studies of actual inheritance were made in a few households.

When Bendangsangba's father died, he left behind three sons, one married and one unmarried daughters and wife. He had also widowed mother, one unmarried brother and one unmarried sister, who were living separately. He had the following property :

Paddy	about 50 baskets
Land under bamboo groves	0.8 hector
Cultivable land	1.2 hector
Spear and dao	1 each
House	1
Utensils	..
Pig	1
Fowl	3
Cash	Rs. 7/-

The property was inherited as follows :

Sons—Land under bamboo grove and cultivable land were jointly inherited by the three sons. These were not however formally partitioned, though the three sons lived separately at that time. The eldest son remained in charge of the landed property and others could enjoy the same, according to their requirements, with his consent. The spear and the *dao* were taken by the eldest son.

Married daughter—She got nothing.

Wife and unmarried daughter-They jointly retained occupation of the house. 20 baskets of paddy, 1 pig, 3 fowls and the cash of Rs. 7 were given to them.

Mother, unmarried brother and sister—They got nothing.

When Kilangneken's father died, he left two plots of land, one house, 3 cattle, 2 pigs and 1 *dao*. Kilangneken had a younger brother. The land was jointly inherited by them ; but Kilangneken maintained the control. As the house was old, it was dismantled; the *dao* was given to the younger brother ; 7.4 quintals of paddy and the two pigs were equally divided among the two brothers. Out of the three cattle, two were taken by Kilangneken and one was taken by the younger brother.

These two case studies confirm the general principles stated by the various informants in this matter.

The remarkable uniformity in their family organisation as reflected in the uniform nature of composition of the families and consistent adherence to the customary laws of inheritence, would suggest to a student of society, cohesive nature of their religious organisation and politico-social organisation. It is now proposed to examine these.

Organisation of religious life

Out of the 1,608 persons in the village only 5 are non-Christians ; two of them are males and three are

females. The rest of the population are all Christians. All the five non - Christian males and females are aged above 60. They have not adopted Christianity, mainly because they find it hard to change their old habits ; but their sons and daughters and other close relations are all Christians and this does not cause any break in their social obligations and bonds of affection.

The non-Christians believe in the existence of a number of supernatural beings. The common name used for supernatural beings is *tsungrem*. Lijaba is the supreme deity who created the world and on whose mercy the world and the beings thereof continue to exist. Moutsungba or Mozing is believed to be the presiding deity over death ; Imkong Tsungrem is the village deity, and Kimung Tsungrem is the deity who ensures the safety of the foundation of the house. Alung Tsungrem is the spirit of stone.

Already while discussing the village lay-out, mention has been made of the majestic big stone Changchanglung, located at the south of the village. A legend is in vogue among the villagers about the changes in the manner of worshipping this stone.

According to the legend, at the outset its name was Teulung and it was held in so high esteem that the people considered themselves unworthy to go near it, even for the purpose of worshipping it. It was therefore worshipped from a distance of about 4 kms. The spot where offerings were made is called Alungkulemba, which literally means "the place from where the stone was worshipped". So long as the worship was made from this place, there was no prosperity in the village. Moreover, frequently the ceremonies connected with the worship were disturbed by violent storm. The people at last approached a medicineman locally called 'Rachembar', who advised them to worship Changchanglung in future from close proximity and not from a distance. They followed his advice and prosperity came to the village.

Teulung used to be worshipped during the new moon of the ninth month of the Ao calendar, which roughly corresponds with March. The *ungers* of Chungli and Mongsen *Khels* used to first sit together and take note of the untoward happenings like epidemic, illness, death etc. in the village ; and then they would decide who would undertake, out of the two, the worship of the deity, that particular year. He in whose family there was no death, illness or whose wife was not pregnant at that time, was selected to perform the worship. They then searched the animals to be sacrificed. A male pig and a cock of the best quality, were selected for the purpose. The owners of the animals selected could never object ; they were of course paid some price. Six days before the ceremony, the owners were informed of the selection by the *ungers* ; after that the owners were required to refrain from sexual intercourse till the ceremony was over.

The persons, who were to perform the ceremony, were required to prepare fresh *madhu* or rice-beer, during the six days preceding the ceremony.

On the day of the worship, all the participants in the ritual would assemble in the house of the *unger* and distribute the loads of offerings among themselves. The cock, eggs, wines, fire and a tuft of gangpet leaves constituted the load of the *unger*. One *putir* or priest assisting the *unger* would carry the pig and another *putir* or priest would carry the dog.

Every participant used to wear a tuft of *Jangpet* leaves on his ear. Before commencement of the worship, fire was lit on the spot and six leaf spoons were made for preparation of curry. The spoons for preparation of rice were called *yichu* and the spoons for preparation of curry were called *yikhu*. In each of these spoons small pieces of a fish were put six times.

Then 60 more leaf plates were made. After that the pig was killed. The liver of the pig would be cut into small pieces and put six times in each of the sixty pieces.

After the ceremony was over, they all ate food together. First *unger* was to start eating and then others followed. But all were to finish eating simultaneously. No one could take home the remains of the meat. If there was any surplus, it was pierced in a stick and left on the spot.

When the eating was over, the dog was killed and placed on a platform with its head facing east. Next, the cock was killed and put on a reed with its back pointing towards the east. After that everybody returned home.

On this day, the villagers would not go to the field, but remain at home. The *unger* and the putirs were

required to stay at home for six more days. It was believed that whoever violated the *genna* would meet his death soon.

At present the big stone is called Changchanglung and not Teulung. There is a legend about how the name was changed. It is said that there was an *unger*, Lanukaba by name. Once he led the worship of the stone without knowing that his daughter was pregnant. The angry stone caused death to the daughter and blindness to him, the same night. This swift punishment which overtook the *unger*, induced the people to change the name of the stone from Teulung to Changchanglung which means "the frank stone".

Until recently, none would spit near the stone or thrust the spears on the ground ; it was feared that otherwise the persons concerned would be affected with facial paralysis. Persons going for collection of bamboo shoots in the vicinity of the stone were required to leave at least one uncut sprout in every cluster, otherwise they could never expect to complete the load even though they went on collecting shoots throughout the day. While clearing the jungle for shifting cultivation, if one felt thirsty, he was not to say so ; instead he would say that he was hungry or else rains would pour down the whole day.

It is believed that one Mungdimunjba of Kupzar clan succeded in establishing close friendship with Changchanglung. Their friendship was proved by the following events—(i) Mungdimunjba used to get advance information about impending pestilence or danger to the village (ii) success or failure of harvest was known to him in advance (iii) he also knew from his god-friend, in advance, whether a head-hunting expedition would succeed or fail.

One day Changchanglung told Mungdimunjba "Kude (a term of address used between persons of the same clan and the same age-group), I shall give you a fish" ; verily Mungdimunjba found a huge serpent the next morning in his *tiyang*. He killed and ate it†. There are numerous other stories showing the friendship of the man and the god.

The god however did not confine his friendship to Mungdimunjba alone ; he extended it to the entire people of Waromung. And the people of Waromung gratefully reciprocated this friendship with the following song.

O Waromung tsungren yimkonger
Yimsemra na benianjno
Itirna Changchanglung den yushi ajemer
Ao sarir ngangnenjar

English version

Oh, this Waromung villagers are the
people of God
Let all villages glimpse it ;
With agreement with Changchanglung
Our forefathers had taken the heads
of enemies.

Now Changchanglung is no longer worshipped. Christianity has brought a different idiom of life. But the people still cherish the stories about Changchanglung.

One can feel, while discussing with the people, the change of religion has not made them to despise their past. There is a sense of continuity more or less similar to the continuity of classical and modern culture, of present day nations. Even some of the pre-Christian beliefs and practices still persist. It has already been indicated in connection with various economic pursuits like agriculture, fishing, hunting etc. that the operations are frequently regulated by the concepts of auspicious time, which are carry-overs from the pre-Christian practices. Some of the taboos are also still respected. Christianity is undoubtedly an innovation in the area ; but it is practised according to the mould of their own culture.

Two elderly Christians and one non-Christian gave their views about life after death. According to all the three, the soul or *tanula* persists after death and has a shadowy existence in human form. There is some difference of opinion about the abode of the *tanula*. According to one Christian and one non:Cristian the abode is in the sky; but according to another Christian it is inside the earth.

It was enquired whether the activities in the present life can influence the future of the soul after death. One person who is a Christian believed that it can be

†At present the Aos do not eat serpent.

influenced; but two persons-one being a Christian and another a non-Christian considered that it cannot be.

All the three were asked, whether there is any fundamental difference between the religious beliefs and practices of the Christians and the non-Christians. One Christian informant and one non-Christian informant pointed out that according to the Christian belief, honest persons go to heaven and the dishonest to hell; among the non-Christians the traditional belief is that when a man dies, his soul goes to the world of the dead through the line of white rocks Lazesuphu (Laza means girls, Suphu means cloth drying). Lazasuphu is in Wokha hill and it is considered that these rocks are the clothes of the dead man, laid out to dry by his girl friends. He first crosses a stream called Longertsu and reaches the house Moutsungba, the King of the dead. There is a tree outside Moutsungba's house and as soon as a man reaches it, he must throw his spear at it, calling out his own name. If he has lived a honest life in this world, his spear would hit the tree, and Moutsungba would admit him to his house. If on the other hand he was a thief or a liar his spear would miss the tree and he won't get admission to the house. It is noteworthy that if the details are overlooked, there is some similarity in the two concepts as stated by the above two persons. It is significant to note, that while describing the Christian concept, the informants mentioned only one quality, *viz.*, honesty, which is the cardinal virtue in non-Christian concept. The other cardinal virtues according to the Christian concept, were not mentioned by the informants.

It is obvious that whatever may be the scriptural position, some of the villagers formulate the concepts more or less on the same line as in the past. In fact, one Christian informant stated that there is no basic difference between the concepts introduced by Christianity and the concepts of original Naga religion.

Perhaps this perception of similarity is outcome of a process. The present day non-Christians also appear to have changed their concepts very much, so that there has been a convergence from both the sides. Earlier ethnographers have recorded that according to Naga belief, the future of the soul after death is influenced by success in head hunting or success in love ma ng. The non-Christian informant, who is now mor than 80 years old, stated that he did not believe in this; on the other hand he made a mention of the day of judgement, the Christian belief.

The two Christian informants and the non-Christian informant were asked whether the day to day behaviour of the people were influenced by the concept of the day of judgement. The non-Christian informant stated that the behaviour of some people was influenced by it, though not his; the Christians stated that day to day behaviour of the people was not directly influenced by this concept.

This test survey covering three informants seems to suggest that Christianity has not brought in a sharp break with the past, as many people believe. Besides, it has been already indicated that many important aspects of their social structure, *e.g.* age-group system, special prerogative of the old, clan organisation etc., still continue, Christianity not withstanding.

It is with this understanding of the social situation, that the history of growth of the Christian institutions in the village is proposed to be examined.

In 1881, Dr. Clark, the first American Missionary, to come to Ao area, sent a messenger named Godhula Brown to Waromung. Dr. Clark had by this time established a Church of American Baptists at Molongyimsen. When Brown preached the Gospel, the villagers were very much puzzled. After his third visit, the villagers were inclined to accept the new religion. During his last visit, Brown taught a hymn to the villagers, which along with English rendering is furnished in annexure E.

In 1882, the villagers made a promise to Dr. Clark, to select some representatives to become Christian. Accordingly the following were selected,-Karchang (Kupzar); Mokokba (Molir), Subangsuba (Jayir), Nokmasangba (Molir) Nungshimayang (Wazakum). These five persons were selected to represent the major clans. Thus, it was not by breaking away from their own people, that they became Christian. Also they did not become Christian because a new faith dawned on them. They became Christians to represent their own people; to be sort of a link with the Christian Missionaries. It is to be mentioned in this connection that they were exempted by the community, from all community collections.

Dr. Clark sent Moisoron in the same year to esta-

blish the first church and the school at Waromung. In the school, along with the three R'S lessons from the Bible were also taught to the people.

Nearly 20 years later, the year 1903 saw the first Church Association in this village. During its establishment, Mr. Williamson, the Sub-divisional Officer Mokokchung and Mr. Perrimen, an American missionary of Impur were present.

During all this time, the church building was only a thatched house.

In 1920, one Temendangba of Chungli, was posted in this village, as a Pastor. He worked here till 1921. His wife introduced the art of pottery at Waromung.

The year 1924, is remarkable in the church history of this village, for it was in this year that the first model church building was constructed at a cost of Rs. 3325·84 Paisa. Late Imtisoa, was the carpenter in charge of this construction. Dr. Baily, the then Missionary of Impur provided all the tools and implements, free of cost.

The church building built in 1924 was dismantled in 1957 and a much bigger one was constructed at a cost of approximately Rs. 53,000, which can accommodate more than a thousand people. It was built by Manipuri artisans on contract basis. To raise the fund for this new building, paddy stored for the church was sold; and collections were made from every Christian family, both residing in the village or sojourning outside. Some loan was also taken from the churches in the neighbouring villages.

The new church building is 24.3 meters length, 17.6 meters in breadth and 4.2 meters in height. The floor, ceiling and the walls are made of wooden planks; the roof is of C.I. sheets. Inside, there are three rows of benches facing the Pastor. In the rear, a platform is raised to a height of 30 cms. Above this platform another small platform is raised to a height of about 60 cms. from where the Pastor gives his sermon. On the right side of the Pastor, on the lower platform, the church choir is seated; and on the left side sit the village elders. On special occasions, dramas and *achan* songs are staged on the platform.

A chowkidar has been appointed at a monthly salary of Rs. 15 to look after the building.

A body consisting of seven Deacons, the Pastor, and a Treasurer and a Secretary manages the affairs of the church. The Pastor acts as the chairman of this body. He is paid Rs. 50 p. m. and in addition gets 100 tins of paddy annually. The secretary gets 50 tins of paddy annually. Other members of the body including the Deacons serve in honorary capacity. In an annual meeting of all the Christians of the village they are selected. The existing members of the body are aged from 42 to 60.

Teka, the Pastor is aged 46. He read upto class IX in Jorhat Bez Boroa High School. After that he worked as school teacher for some years. Later on he resigned the job, as the salary was too low. In 1954 he was appointed as Pastor. After this, he received training in theology for two years in the Jorhat Bible School. He is married and has five children. His children are receiving education and he does not have any particular desire that one of them should be pastor after him.

Services are held in the church once every Saturday and Wednesday night at about 7.00 p.m. On every Sunday services are held twice, at 11 in the morning and 7 in the night. Besides, Sunday schools are held on every Sunday, just after the devotional service. There is a Sunday School Superintendent, who is also a teacher of the Govt. L.P. School. Under him, there are four more teachers, one each for the senior, junior, intermediate and primary classes respectively. All of them serve in honorary capacity. The classes are held for one hour, during which verses from the Bible are explained to the pupils. Since 1916, the Sunday School is being held in this village.

There are some associate organisations connected with the church. In 1906, the Christian Endeavour Association was established to bring in people under the fold of Christianity, and to help the needy persons it is divided into two groups *viz.* : (a) senior group with membership confined to those who have been baptised and (b) junior group which is open to those who are still to be baptised. Each group has its own office bearers *viz.* President, Vice-President, Secretary and Joint Secretary.

There is an Ao Church Association (*Ao Mundang*) for the entire Ao area, with headquarters at Impur. All the Ao churches are the members of this associtiaon.

Every year, meeting of the association is held in one of the Ao villages in the month of October or November. There is a permanent Executive Committee of the association to deal with its various problems. A field Supervisor with two Evangelists stay at Impur. They are paid workers of the association. In the annual session the supervisor and the evangelists give reports of their activities during the year. Besides, the Treasurer, gives report about income and expenditure.

The Ao Church Association is affiliated to the Council of Baptist Churches of North East India (CBCNEI) with Headquarters at Gauhati. The C.B.C.N.E.I. is a denominational organisation, which functions under a Field Secretary. Its jurisdiction extends over all the Baptist Churches of Assam, Manipur and Nagaland. It is again affiliated to Baptist Mission in U.S.A. which has over-all supervision over denominational matters.

Formerly the mission, at Impur was maintained by the American Baptist Mission; but since about 1955 responsibility of maintaining it has been completely taken over by the Ao Church Association.

Of late, a separate Naga Baptist Christian Council has also started functioning. The Baptist Association of every Naga tribe is its constituent unit. There are two full time Secretaries of the council, one is stationed at Kohima, the other at Mokokchung. Every two years, the general meeting of the Council is held. The main function of the council is to coordinate the activities of all the Churches of Nagaland and to represent them in the C.B.C.N.E.I.

On the non-denominational side also the Churches are affiliated to larger bodies. The C.B.C.N.E.I. to which the Naga Churches are affiliated, is affiliated to Assam Christian Council (A.C.C.) which is a non-denominational body with Headquarters at Shillong. The A.C.C. is, in its turn affiliated to the National Christian Council with Headquarters at Nagpur.

Thus the village Church is on the one hand nurtured by the local community; on the other hand through its multiple contacts the village Church conveys to the local community the universal nuances of modern Christianity, both in its denominational and non-denominational aspects. All the implications of these two way processes in the spiritual and communal life of the people, could not however be examined during the rapid survey of the village.

Village politico-social organisation

(a) Role of clans—In the village politico-social organisation clans play an important role. As already indicated, in Chapter II, the three most important clans of the village. *viz.*, Kupzar, Wazakumer and Molir are entitled to elect two representatives each in the village Council, the remaining clans elect one representative each. Clan loyalty is an important factor in the village affairs. In case of quarrel between two persons belonging to two different clans, the respective clan members are expected to take side. In the pre-British period when inter-village feud was the order of the day, clan brotherhood seem to have occasionally mitigated the harshness of the situation. According to Ao (p. 36-37) members of a clan, dispersed over various villages sometimes visited one another and were offered *kilong aksu* or feast for clanmen.

(b) Roles of *Khel* (village segment) and *Keyong* (neighbourhood)–In Chapter I, mention has been made of *Khel* and *Keyong*. It has been indicated that during important occasions like marriage, death etc the *Keyong* or neighbourhood takes great deal of interest and gives all assistance to the household concerned.

The *Khel* is more important, in community affairs. Programmes for construction and repair of village paths, school building, clearance of forest etc, are undertaken by the *Khel* and the different households make their contribution at the behest of the leaders of the *Khel*.

Though not very much marked, there is some amount of submerged inter-*Khel* rivalry. This comes to the surface when there is some conflict of interest. In 1956, when the new church building was to be constructed, members of every Khel tried to have it located in their own area. There was similar conflict during the reconstruction of the Kindergarten School. At present, the young men of the village are considering to have a library in the village; but on this occasion also the different *Khels* are pulling their weight to have the library situated in their own areas.

Such conflicts however never take any serious turn. Ultimately the village elders join their heads and amicably settle all the questions. In this matter the middle *Khel* enjoys some advantage because of its geographical position, and also perhaps because of the fact that compared to the other two *Khels* the people of this *Khel* are a bit more affluent.

(c) Role of villagers sojourning outside--The villagers living outside, as students or employees of the government or other agencies, play a very important role in the life of the village. In 1948, an association was formed whose membership was open to all persons belonging to this village, irrespective of whether they lived in the village, or not. It was called *waromung Sensomongdang* or Waromung Citizens' Association. The objective of the association was to maintain the unity of the village and provide for mutual help. At the outset it functioned only as an advisory body, the real authority vesting with the village Council. Gradually due to the keen interest taken by those members of the Association, who are influential gouernment servants living outside the village, the Association became all powerful and the Village Council was relegated to the mere position of the agency to execute the decisions of the Association.

In 1953, the Association decided to change the structure of the Village Council itself. It was considered desirable to vest the responsibility of managing the affairs of the village with the younger people and accordingly the two age-groups of *Riang-sanger* were saddled into power. This new system of administration is called *pudumenden.* In this system, clan representation is no consideration at all. At first these two age-groups carried on the administration successfully, but later on it was discovered that they could not be effective against the clan elders. After four years, the responsibility of carrying on village administration was transferred to the next two younger age-groups through the Citizen's Association. But after two years, they also, found it impossible to carry on. This experiment was considered to be an undue interference with the affairs of the village, by people who have gone out of the village. In 1959, the villagers decided to switch back to the old system and the influence of the Association waned considerably.

Another reason for decline of the influence of the Association is that due to the activities of the hostiles, many persons sojourning outside, specially the government servants, do not so frequently visit the village now-a-days.

At present, the Association is functioning in purely advisory capacity. It has the following office-bearers: President, Vice-President, Secretary, Vice-Secretary and Treasurer. It has also the following committees:-Executive Committee, Programme Committee and Finance Committee. They are all elected during the annual session. A Nominating Committee is first set up during the session, which suggests the names for the various offices and membership of the Committees; the names are then put to vote in the general meeting. Once elected, an office bearer must remain in office for four years.

The main sources of income for the Association are donations and subscriptions. Every household has to pay 50 P. annually as subscription; for job-holders the rate is Re. 1 per annum. The fund of the Association is not however large; it would not exceed Rs. 500.

It can be stated in a general way that though the Association has lost its old influence, it is a very important element in the village socio-political organisation. It imparts a sense of direction in conducting the affairs of the village. If the Village Council is still effective, it is largely because of the strapings of unity introduced by Church on the one hand and the Citizen's Association, on the other.

Another organisation is also playing a contributory role. It is the Ao Students Union. It was established in 1932. All students from Class III, upwards are its members. Besides the students, a few persons like the Pastor and teachers are also admitted to its membership. It has the following office-bearers : President, Vice-President, Secretary and Vice-Secretary. It has also the following committees : Executive Committee, Finance Committee Programme, Committee and Library Committee.

Funds are raised mainly by annual subscription from the members at the rate of 25 P. per member. Sometimes, when the fund falls short, the members work as agricultural labourers in group, and the wages go to the fund of the Union.

The money is spent for purchasing stationery, giving small grant to the first woman matriculate of the village, purchase of books for the library, encouragement of sports etc.

The members of the Union also undertake other social services, *e. g.*, carrying planks for the church during construction of the church building; clear weeds and shrubs in the graveyard etc.

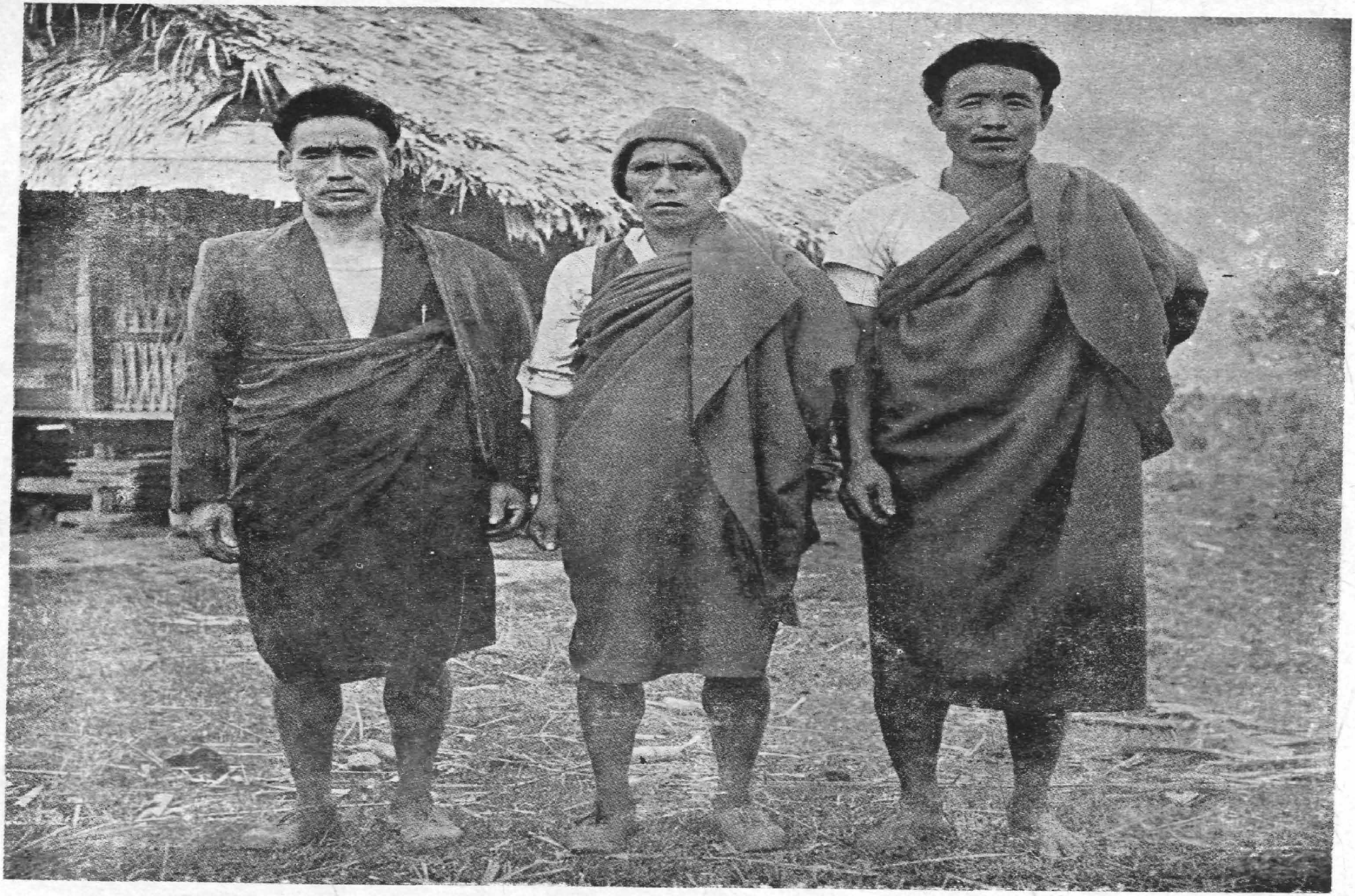


Plate No. 22 Two gaonburas (members of Village Council) with a villagers

The Union is affiliated to the Ao Students Conference, which has jurisdiction over the entire Ao area.

This Union thus serves as an important link between the village community and the younger generation on the one hand; on the other it channelises the interests of the younger generation in conformity with ideals which have wider platform than the village.

It is in this context of the politico-social net work of the village, that the structure and function of the Village Council is proposed to be examined.

Village Council

Article 13 of the Nagaland Regulation 1962 provides for the formation of Village Council, Range Council and Tribal Council. It further stipulates that where Village Council exists from before, the existing constitution and composition of the Council need not be disturbed.

At Waromung, the Village Council exists from time immemorial. There are something like two chambers of the Village Council, *viz. unger menden* and *tatar menden* or *saman menden*. The *unger menden* consists of clan elders and is mainly concerned with religious matters; the *tatar menden* is under it, and consists of representatives of various clans, belonging to the middle age group. The *tatar menden* is more concerned with the secular matters of the village. Article 13 of the Nagaland Regulation, has not effected any change at the village level; it has only accorded statutory recognition to what is existing here from before.

The statutory provisions regarding the powers and duties of Village Council, Range Council and the Tribal Council are given at annexure F. Brief resume of the same will be included in the text in appropriate context.

Among the Aos, the Village Council is known by different names : *samen menjen, menjener, putu menjen, tatar menjen* and so on. Literally *menjen* means bench, but here it means Council. The organisation is closely connected with *Chongliyimti salang* or the tradition of distribution of the share of meat at Chongliyimti the place of origin of the Aos. In the past, the status of a member in the Council used to be determined by the share of meat he got during sacrifice of a pig or cow on various occasions.

At Waromung, the *tatar menjen* is constituted by six *gaonburas* and thirteen members or *samens* elected from the various clans. Till 1958 there were only four *gaonburas*, one from each of the three major clans, *viz. Wazakum Molir, Kupzar* and one from *Aier* and *Lemtur* jointly. But due to the increase of work two more *gaonburas* were added in 1959, one of them is appointed from *Wazakum* clan and the other is from *Jarir* clan. The respective clans elect their representatives to be appointed as *gaonburas* and the names are sent by the Village Council to the Deputy Commissioner, for approval.

The samens are also elected by their respective clans. The strength of representation of the various clans is as follows : *Wazakum* 2, *Molir* 3, *Kupzar* 2, *Jarir* 1, *Aier* 2, *Lemtur* 1. Previously *Imchener* clan had also one representative in the Council but due to decrease in its number, separate representation has been withdrawn.

There is no fixed tenure for the offices of *gaonburas* or *samens*. They continue to be in office according to their own will and the will of their respective clans. These are only offices of honour. The *Gaonburas* of course get 25% of the house-tax collected in the village, but the amount is not much. Even then, in olden days a *gaonbura* generally held office for 20 to 30 years and a *samen* remained in the council for 30 years. Now the position has changed very much. Due to the disturbed political situation, the work of the Council has increased tremendously and the *gaonburas* and the *samens* are subjected to a great deal of strain. Besides, they are to sacrifice great many mandays, in connection with the work of the Council. People are therefore not very eiger to take up these offices. After somebody is persuaded by his clan to be a *gaonbura* or a *samen*, he tries to be relieved as early as possible. Hardly anybody remains in office for more than a few years.

When a vacancy occurs, the male members of the clan concerned meet in the house of the oldest member of the clan and select a sub stitute. Generally the *samens* are selected from the *riangsanger* generation, *i.e.*, those who are neither too old nor too young.

During group discussions, it was stated that in some villages, the *samens* are more influential than the *gaonburas* but in some others the *gaonburas* are more

influential. It depends very much on the personality of the incumbents to the offices concerned; but the tradition of the village also counts to a certain extent. At Waromung, the *samens* appear to be more influential.

The Village Council is responsible for all matters relating to the internal administration of the village. It also enforces all orders, rules and regulations passed by the authority. Welfare works and other matters of common interest for the village are also looked after by the Village Council. For instance, as indicated earlier, the area to be brought under shifting cultivation in a particular year is determined by the Council; licenses for carrying on pan trade are given by it; the fishing tank in the village is under its control, so on and so forth.

One of the most important functions of the Council is to deal with petty crimes. In the past, boys, till admission to *morung*, and girls, till they were tattooed, were considered to be children according to Ao customary law, and were to be disciplined by their respective families and not by the Council. Even now, relaxation applies, in case of boys and girls below *sunger* age-group (i. e. aged below 12). The Council generally deals with all civil disputes and crimes committed by the adults.

Most of the disputes are settled by payment of a cow or a pig as fine. For instance, in case of theft of any kind, the value of the property stolen, has to be restored and a pig is to be paid as fine to the elders. If a man persuades a girl already engaged formally to another man, to break the relation and marry him, he may be required by the Council to pay seven pigs as fine.

As already indicated, due to the interlacing of various institutions, religious and others, there is a good amount of cohesion in the village community life; and the decisions of the Village Council are generally accepted, without much demur. The position of the Village Council has been further strengthened by the recent provision in Nagaland Regulation that no appeal against the unanimous decision of the Village Court involving breach of customary law, shall lie.

It is presumed that the two new institutions, *viz* Range Council and Tribal council, recently introduced in the area under the provision made in the Nagaland Regulation, will on the one hand expand the horizon of organised community life of the villagers and on the other, further strengthen the local institutions. It is however too early to arrive at any conclusion.

The headquarters of the Range Council having jurisdiction over Waromung is at Chungliyimsen. Particulars of the villages under the same Range Council are furnished below:-

Table 62 : Villages under same range council

Name of the village	Distance from Waromung	Appr. No. of h. hs.	Nature of relation with Waromung
1	2	3	4
Changki	24 Km.	400	Cordial
Chungliyimsen	21 Km.	54	Cor dial
Khari	17.5 Km.	400	Cordial
Mongchen	8 Km.	160	Cordial
Dibuia	4 Km.	170	Strained
Inchenkimung	8 Km.	190	Cordial
Molongyimchen	13 Km.	170	Cordial
Mongyimsen	17.5 Km.	190	Cordial

As the Range Council has been established only recently, it is too early to have a clear picture of the pattern of alignment of the various forces and of the factors determining the same. It however appears that clan is not likely to provide important basis for alignment beyond the village level. As already noted, in the pre-British period, existence of clan brothers in different villages, helped to a certain extent to smoothen the relationship among the villages; but clan did not provide the basis for the emergence of any centralised political system. Members of the same clan, dispersed over a number of villages, did not have a recognised leader, with authority beyond the jurisdiction of his village; and the unity, that the members of the same clan living in different villages found with one another, was more ceremonial and historical in nature than political. If this perception of unity helped to mitigate inter village relationship to any extent, it appears that, is was only incidental and ephemeral.

In fact, there was another and perhaps more effective arrangement for regulating relationship among the villages. As noted by Ao sometimes villages of equal strength concluded a sort of treaty called *akangtep* to maintain trade and commercial intercourse. In case of inter village disputes, elders of

both the villages met together and tried to settle the same. If they could not agree, some powerful village was invited to arbitrate; the alternative was of course war.

How much and in what way, the legacy of the past, will influence the new setting, it is difficult to say. It is quite likely that the influences exercised by common clan membership on the one hand and tradition of hostility or friendship of villages on the other, may be overridden by new forces, to wit, ideological considerations. The people of Waromung village do not appear to have any clear idea in this matter, and even if they have any, it was not possible to probe into it, during the rapid survey.

The range council is composed of members elected by the Village Council in the proportion of one member for every 500 population and part thereof not below 250. The main concern of the Council is welfare and development of the area. It also advises the administration on the problems of law and order in the range. There is an elected Chairman who gets fixed salary of Rs. 150 per month and daily allowance of Rs. 10 during session. The members get a salary of Rs. 50 p. m. and D. A. of Rs. 6 during session.

If the influence of the Range Council is still to be felt over the affairs of the village, the influence of the Tribal Council is still less felt.

The headquarters of the Tribal Council is at mokokchung. Its members are elected in the proportion of one member for every 3000 population or part thereof. There is an elected Chairman who gets a fixed salary of Rs. 300 p. m. and D. A. of Rs. 10 during session. The members get fixed salary of Rs. 10 p. m. and D. A. of Rs. 10 during session.

The Council decides welfare and development works at the tribal and area levels; it is also concerned with various other matters, *e. g.*, protection of arts, crafts and traditions of the tribes, decision of disputes relating to customary law, so on and so forth.

The villagers do not have any information about what are the significant activities undertaken by the Tribal Council since its inception.

From the above, it appears that though extra-village linkage has been statutorily provided for organised community life; such linkage has not yet been functionally significant, at least in the eyes of the villagers. But even at the risk of repetition, it is to be mentioned again, that the time elapsed since the formation of the Range and Tribal Councils is too short, for the new processes and influences to take shape.

In connection with the politico-social organisation of the village, the following aspects have mainly been considered, in the present discussion : (a) extent of cohesion in the village community life and the factors and processes contributing to the same (b) power structure and authority structure in the village (c) linked institutions which are likely to have ramification on the village community life. Attempt has however been made mainly to indicate the range, rather than to provide a depth analysis.

It is now proposed to briefly examine another aspect of the politico-social organisation. There are a few individuals in the village, who enjoy special status with or without association of formal functions. In Chapter II, it has been stated that there are two *ungers* or *tsungbas* in the village, one is the seniormost member of *Kupzar* clan, the other is the seniormost member of *Wazakum* clan. In the village administration the *ungers* do not have any place of authority, nor do they wield much power. But they have special status in the village life. On various economic and ceremonial occasions in the village, their houses are the meeting places where everybody gather. After the harvesting, collections for the village common fund are made at the places of the *ungers*. In 1961-62, about 3,948 baskets of paddy were collected mainly to meet the expenses which the gaonburas and other members of the Council incur when they visit administrative centres in connection with their official works and to make arrangement for visiting officials and other guests. Some expenses are made for other purposes also.

The village pastor and the teachers of the school also enjoy special status in the village. They are respected and the people seek their advice on various occasions, personal and communal.

There are also a few other individuals, who do not hold any office, but who are respected for their experience and wisdom. They remain comparatively aloof, but exercise great moderating influence in conflicting situations. They are the safety valves of the community structure.

A community however does not persist merely by provision of formal checks and balances in its structure. It persists through the will of its members to live in the community. This "will" finds its expression as well as gains momentum through the cycle of festivals and other leisure and recreational activities. It therefore would be appropriate to complete the present rapid survey with an appraisal of the festivals and other leisure and recreational activities performed by the villagers.

Leisure and recreation

When the *morung* institution was there, it automatically provided some opportunity for recreational activities. The bachelors living in the *morung* had of course to keep constant vigil against enemy raid ; but even then, by turn, they could have time for relaxation and enjoyment. If they fought vigorously, they also enjoyed vigorously. The atmosphere in the *morung* was an interlacing of light and grim moments.

Things are very different now. The dormitories of the students, which have replaced the *morungs*, have more serious atmosphere. The students are expected to study there ; and enjoyment is only an insipid by-product.

Occasionally groups of boys and girls are found in the village, playing hide and seek or footbal, made of rags or dried leaves. Otherwise, normally there is not much of organised recreational activity in the village. The elderly persons sometimes gather together by the fireside of some of the neighbours and carry on gossip over cups of tea. Rice-bear which enlivened all social concourse in the past, has now been given up by the Christians.

During the festive occasions, however, the people try to live up to their past, but not very successfully. A mention has already been made of the main Christian festivals. Among the traditional festivals, the most important is, Moatsu which is performed in May, after the sowing is over. Till 1946, it was regularly performed in the village by the non-Christian. But after that, it was practically given up as the number of non-Christians had dwindled greatly.

It used to be performed for six days continuously. On the first night of festival sexual intercourse was forbidden. Every man was required to wear a new belt, for hanging his *dao*. The unmarried men received belts as present from their girls friends, the married men got from their wives.

During this occasion, the restrictions relating to dress and ornaments were relaxed. People could wear even the forbidden ones according to their will.

The most important role during the festival used to be played by the youths of the bachelors' dormitory.

Before the festival, the morung had to be repaired and cleansed. The dancing drums ware also put to order by ateaching new skins.

On the first day of the festival, the boys belonging to the younger age-groups used to go to the jungle and collect six bundles of pared bamboo strips each. These, they handed over to the morung elders, for use according to their discretion.

On the second day, all the boys and grown up males engaged themselves in clearing the village, particularly the main approaches to the village. That night, the cows and pigs to be slaughtered on the occasion of this festival, were tied outside the *morung*.

On the third day, the cows and the pigs would be killed. The meat was distributed among the boys of the *morung* and some portion was kept apart, to be given as present. In the evening, the boys would eat the meat outside the *morung*. Later some old men would come to the *morung* and would be entertained with meat and rice-beer. When they would eat the meat, the boys would be singing songs inside the morung.

On the 4th day, the people of Mongsen Khel would dance in procession, in all the streets of the village. On the 5th day, the people of Chungli Khel would dance similarly. The women were not to take any part in these dances ; but at intervals they served rice-beer to the dancers. The old men, also would not dance, but follow the dancer singing songs. A drummer always accompanied the party, and the people would dance to the beatings of the drum. On the 6th day, both the *Khels* used to dance together.

In 1960, the Village Council decided to revive the recreational aspects of the festival and on 1st May, 1960, the villagers carried on *Moatsu* dance through the village streets. The villagers are of the view that

performance lacked the old vigour and enthusiasm, but even then they liked the revival. It was a sort of recovery of some cherished thing, which they believed to be lost.

Moatsu is not however the only element of the past, which the people are trying to revive. Xylophone or long drum which came to be neglected after the advent of Christianity, is now again valued, as a symbol of the days when the people used to live vigorously and die vigorously. The people are anxious to preserve this, not only as a relic of the past, but as a rallying symbol for building up the future.

The changed attitude towards Moatsu towards Xylophone etc. by shedding them of their ritual significance, and high-lighting their secular cultural significance, undoubtedly indicates discovery of a new meaning in the past of the community, by the new elites ; and it is not unlikely that in the wake of this new interest, some of the other festivals like *tsungrammung* (or festival preceding harvest), *Atsutsuba* (or feast of merit) etc. may also be revived in some form or other in the near future. The last *tsungrammung* festival was performed in the year 1945-46 and the last *tsutsuba* was performed in about 1940. As these are not at present performed in the village, their details are not included in the text, but brief accounts are furnished in appendix 'G'.

Some of the folk songs, sung by the people during the various festive occasions are also furnished in appendix 'H'.

One song however is furnished below :

Lazasujang sunaro, kimungernaro
Ibajungnaro, asarongmang, sarongmang,
Imtinaro, meyuchungjang bangnaro,
unersangpung
Ijunaro, isangnaro, sungminaro
Rangsungsakuyu, longkum, metsuben.

This song consists of names of flowers only ; the mere mention of which soothen the feelings of the turbulent children of this distant corner of India.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

The rapid survey in the foregoing chapters shows that the village has been in the vortex of change for quite sometime. In 1881, came the first Christian missionary in the village; almost at the same time the British administration was extended to the area. In the wake of these changes came stoppage of inter-village feud and head hunting, spread of education, expansion of casual employment opportunities in the tea-estates of Assam. Then came the second world war and invasion of some portion of Nagaland by the Japanese; these were followed in quick succession by quittal of the British and growth of hostile activities by a section of the Nagas. In the post independence period a massive programme of economic and social development has been undertaken in the area. New roads have been built up and the village has been made accessible by jeep; efforts are being made to transform the swidden cultivation fields into terraces and though at the time of the survey very few plots were actually converted into terraced fields, information available later on show that, in the course of a few years the whole hillside will be transformed into a mosaic of terraced fields. Post independence development have also created unprecedented employment opportunities for the children of the village, outside the village, 64 persons from the village are now working at Kohima, Mokockchung and other places. Most of them are in Government Service.

The village is no longer an isolated corner of humanity, that it was a few decades ago.

In view of the above developments, it is not surprising that many of the old institutions like head hunting, bachelors' dormitory on military principles, arts and crafts connected with head hunting and inter-village feud would disappear. Changes in the village organisation, and ritual structure would not also cause surprise. What is surprising is that inspite of changes in many aspects of their life, many more aspects continue either virtually unchanged or with certain marginal adjustments. Notwithstanding Christianity, spread of education and stoppage of head-hunting, the age-group system with the privileges of seniority continue virtually intact. Similarly clan organisation has remained untouched. Nobody ever dreams of giving up the basic loyalty to respective clan. As noted earlier, Pastor of a neighbouring village was fined by the village community most of whose members were Christians, for casting doubt on the myths of origin of the various clans. Even now seniority of clans with reference to period of settlement, is a hotly disputed subject in many villages, as status in the community and prerogatives in the enjoyment of the resources of the village depend considerably on this. Sometimes, the higher authorities have to intervene in such disputes, to avert violent outbreaks.

It appears that clan organisation and age-group system, constitute hard cores of Ao social structure.

Though bachelors' dormitory on military principle has gone, it has reappeared in a new form. There are dormitories for the boys and girls of the village under control of the church, with facilities for educational and cultural pursuits. There is also revival of interest in some of the symbols of the past. In this village the war-drum was burnt during retribution against hostile activities, but even before that, it was neglected for a long time, due to the influence of Christianity. But now the people fondly cherish the memory of the war drum as relic of their own culture. In the Ao villages where the war drums still exist, they are no longer neglected.

Though most of the non Christian rituals have been given up, some practices still persist. Burning of trees in connection with shifting cultivation starts in the Christian households just like the non-christian households, on the 7th. day after the full moon in March-as this is considered to be the auspicious day for the purpose. During community fishing any type of discord is avoided, as otherwise it will adversely affect the prospect of the catch. If in any household there is a child birth or birth of a domestic animal on the previous night, the members of that household abstain from participating in fishing operation, as it is believed that otherwise the fish will not be caught.

There are a number of other pre-Christian folk customs, which co-exist with Christianity in the village.

It is thus found that while there have been far-reaching changes in certain spheres, there are unexpected persistences in certain others. One may question whether this does not disprove Anthropological dictums of "functional inter-relatedness of cultural traits" and "dynamic equilibrium of culture." It does not necessarily prove or disprove anything. There are core traits and marginal traits of culture and while considering functional inter-relatedness and dynamic equilibrium, the core traits and the marginal traits are to be shifted. Obviously it is beyond the scope of this rapid survey report, to attempt such analysis.

Finally, one may ask what is the gestalt that emerges out through change in certain spheres and persistence in others. The gestalt appears to be that of little community at a low level of technology, striving to find its way through the dazzled alleys of the modern world.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

The principal Chongli clans are given below, grouped under their phratries :

Pongen phratry	Pongenr, Yimsungr, Aotang, Wozukamr, Lungkunqr, Tsitir, Charir, Chongli, Aiyir, Yongpur, Hobir.
Lungkam phratry	Lungkamr, Azupongr, Makamponqr, Mangkotsungmen, Mozin, Shomisensenzyar, Saiyichang, Ratuchang, Shompuchang, Lamtur, Azukamr.
Chami phratry	Chamir, Chamitsur or Tsuwar, Chamichang, Mongkamchang, Tamachang, Mutsubu, Sampur, Longrur, Tutangungshi, Amang, Merang, Lamtu-unqr, Yatenr, Chichir or Michipar, Chaochir. Chisar.

APPENDIX B

The length of the outsretched arms (anam) is the standard measure for short lengths such as the dimensions of a house Similarly appropriate parts of the body are used for small measurements as follows :—

Tekutsuma	is the half of outstretched arms, *i. e.* from the middle of chest to the end of the long finger.
Techa	the length of arm from shoulder.
Tsulep	the length of the hand from the elbow.
Akup	(a) Kuplang—stretch of the thumb and middle finger. (b) Kuptsu —stretch of the thumb and first finger.
Lingku	Length of half of long finger.
Temiyanem	Breadth of the palm.
Yongsemnem	Breadth of 3 fingers.
Yongnetnem	Breadth of 2 fingers.
Temiyongnem	Breadth of 1 finger.

Fish and small pigs are described as being as big as a man's head, arm or leg and thigh *etc.*

The depth of water is reckoned in fathoms, a fathom being a man's height (*teerr*). Knee deep is "*telenjaa*", thigh deep is "*tepejaa*", waist deep is "*teremjaa*", fathom deep is "*teerrtema*", two fathoms deep is "*teerr anetbentema*" etc.

APPENDIX . C (i)

Particulars of casual labour for one week during the presence of the Investigator

Date	Name of person	Nature of work	Place of work	Distance from home	Hours of work	Remuneration	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
17-6-63	Head	Domestic work like drawing water & fetching fire wood & cooking food.	In the house	..	Morning till night.		
	Maongla	Cultivation, pulling weeds	In the field	$2^1/_2$ miles	8 a.m. to 4 p.m.	..	..
	Amenla	,, ,,	,,	,,	,,		It was a holiday for Amenla.
18-6-63	Head & wife	Work in field	Field	,,	,,		
	Amenla	Household work	In the house		1 p.m. to 5 p.m.	..	After school hours.
19-6-63	Head & wife	Work in field	In the field	$2^1/_2$ miles	8 a.m. to 4 p.m.	..	..
	Amenla	Household duty	In the house	..	1 to 5 p.m.	..	After school hours.
20-6-63	Head & wife	Pulling weeds	In the field	$2^1/_2$ miles	8 a.m. to 4 p.m.	..	..
	Amenla	Drawing of water, pounding rice, cooking food	In the house	..	After school hours		
21-6-63	Wife	Engaged in the field	Field	$2^1/_2$ miles	8 a.m. to 4 p.m.		
	Head	Village Sentry (his turn)	In the village	..			
	Amenla	Stays home and does as on 20-6-63					
22-6-63	Wife and Amenla	Engaged in weeding	In the field	$2^1/_2$ miles	Wife from 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. Daughter from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m.		After school hrs. Saturday being half holiday.
	Head	Stayed at home	..	..	..	..	..

APPENDIX C (ii)

Particulars of casual labour for three days during presence of the Investigator

Date	Name of person	Nature of work	Place of work	Distance from home	Hours of work	Remuneration	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
7-5-63	Meyayongdang	Sowing of seeds	In the field	$2^1/_2$ miles	8		
	Maongtola	,,	,,	,,	,,		
	Tenjenkala and her younger brothers and sisters.	Husking of paddy, drawing water and preparing night meal.	At home	After school hours (after 12 O'clock)	..	..	..
8-5-63	Meya	Went to Chunliyinsen on behalf of the villagers being wanted by C.O.	Chunliyimsen	..	..	..	..
	Maongla	Stayed at home		..	..	..	..
	Tenjenkala and her younger brothers and sisters.	Same as on 7-5-63	..	..	..	..	..
9-5-63	Meya	Returned from Chungliyinsen.	..	..	..	..	..
	Maongla	Weeding	In the field	$2^1/_2$ miles	..	..	..
	Tenjenkala and her younger brothers and sisters	Fetching of fire wood, drawing water and cooking food.	At home	..	After School hrs. (after 12 O'clock)		

APPENDIX D

Statement giving particulars of all the persons who have passed Matriculation Examination.

Standard of education	Males	Females	Persone	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
Post Graduate	2	..	2	Both employed
Graduate	1	1	2	Both employed
Intermediate	10	4	14	Mostly students
Matriculate	7	..	7	All employed
	20	**5**	**25**	

Total number of persons who have passed matric examinations	25
Males	20
Females	5

APPENDIX E

Ao

Temulung Meyipangno
Temulung Meyipangno
Kotak yim anase aitogo no
Temulung Meyipangno
Tsungrami atemguka ayuba Khrista
Tsungrem Sanchanu Pa
Niemchirte menen Pungdokba
Otzu tajung She dagi Angang No
Temulung aneyipang no

English

Be repentent, the kingdom
of God is coming near, be repentent and come back
Christ is the lamp of
God, the one
promised by God. He is the Jesus
who has taken away the Sins of men.
Listen Gospel is teaching.
Listen. the kingdom of
God is coming near, be
repentent from sin.

APPENDIX F

POWERS AND DUTIES OF VILLAGE COUNCILS

1 The Village Council shall be responsible for matters relating to the internal administration of the village and its organisation, welfare works and enforcement of all orders, rules and regulations passed by the legally empowered authorities/body including maintenance of law and order.

2 It shall arrest all criminals.

3 It shall report as soon as possible all crimes, violence, deaths or serious accidents and all occurences likely to affect the public peace.

4 It shall report to the nearest Medical Officer or Administrative H.Qs. the occurrence of all epidemics within its jurisdiction.

5 It shall report the presence of all strangers, foreigners, vagrants and suspects within its village and khels and is empowered to arrest such persons and to use necessary force to do so.

6 It may arrest persons guilty of the following offences :—

(a) Rebellion (b) Rioting (c) Counterfeiting
(d) Murder (e) Robbery (f) Theft
(g) Arson (h) Burglary (i) Forgery
(j) Anti state activities which have been declared illegal.

7 A Village Court can settle cases of the following nature:

(a) Land dispute including water dispute.
(b) Simple assaults.
(c) Brawling and drunkenness.
(d) Pilfering cases.
(e) Divorce cases.
(f) Fornication and adultery cases.
(g) Thefts.
(h) Damage to crops by cattle.
(i) Civil disputes provided the value of property does not exceed Rs. 500.

8 Any other case which can be settled according to the customary law procedure.

9 A village court may impose fine upto Rs. 100 and may award compensation thereto if the village court thinks fit.

10 A village court can compel the attendance of witness and inflict fines upto Rs. 50 for non-attendance.

11 Cases shall be settled according to the tribal customary law prevailing at the time provided such settlement is not at variance with ordinary criminal law.

12 No appeal against the unanimous decision of the village court involving the breach of the customary law shall lie.

13 Village court may maintain record of all cases settled but it is not compulsory.

Range Councils

1 There shall be a Range Council wherever there is a recognised Range.

2 The Range Council shall be composed of members elected by the village council in the proportion of one member for every 500 population and part thereof not below 250. Village having population below 500 shall be represented by a member in the Range Council.

Functions

1 The Range Council shall discuss and adopt resolutions regarding welfare and development of the area concerned.

2 The Range Council can also discuss the law and order problem of the Range concerned and shall assist the Officer incharge of the area actively in bringing normally to the respective range and areas through mutual understanding and co-operation.

3 The Range Council shall function according to the customary procedure as decided by the interim body.

4 The Range Council may decide any village disputes according to the customary procedure it is referred to the Range Council.

5 There shall be a meeting of the Range Council once in every three months.

6 The Range Council shall act as an advisory board in matters relating to administration (law and order).

Office

One elected Chairman to preside over the meetings of the Range Council during Session. The Chairman will get a fixed salary of Rs. 150 per month and daily allowances of Rs. 10 during session. The members get a fixed salary of Rs. 150 p.m. and D.A. of Rs. 6 daily during session.

Tribal Council

1 There shall be a Tribal Council area as it deems necessary.

2 The Tribal Council shall consist of elected members in the proportion of one member for every 3,000 population or part thereof not below 1,500 for tribes with bigger population like the Angamis, the Aos, the Semas, the Lothas and the Chakhesang. In the case of tribes/areas with smaller population like the Zeliangkuki, Rengma and Dimapur area, the Council shall consist of one member for every 1,000 population or part thereof not below 500.

3 A Chairman shall be chosen (elected) from among the elected members of the Tribal Council who shall be paid and be a full time worker. There shall be a Secretary to work under the Chairman not below the rank of Circle Officer.

4 The Chairman now gets a fixed salary of Rs. 300 p.m. and D.A. of Rs. 10 during Session and the members get fixed salary of Rs. 100 p.m. and D.A. of Rs. 10 daily during Session.

Functions

1 The Tribal/Area shall discuss welfare and development work at the tribal and area level and can adopt resolutions in the meeting of the Tribal/area council.

2 The Council shall actively assist the Deputy Commissioners in matters relating to maintenance of law and order.

3 They shall discuss in the meeting for finding ways and means in order to help restore normally within their jurisdiction of the Tribal/Area Councils concerned by adopting resolutions which the Deputy Commissioners shall implement as far as practicable.

4 The Tribal Council can adopt resolutions in respect of administration, allotment, occupation, transfer or alienation and acquisition of land within its jurisdiction or any other purpose likely to promote the interest of the tribe.

5 With the previous sanction of the Naga interim council the tribal council can raise additional funds and to take care of the said funds which may be placed at its disposal to be devoted to the welfare of the tribe.

6 The Tribal Council shall represent and speak for the tribes in matters relating to protection of arts, crafts, traditions and ceremonies of tribes.

7 The Tribal Council can decide any dispute involving the breach of the customary law provided these are referred to the Council for a decision.

8 The Tribal Council can adopt resolutions providing the way in which the tribal council shall do its business.

9 The Tribal Council can at any time appoint Sub-Committee to deal with particular subjects.

10 There shall be a meeting of the Tribal Council once in three months.

11 Tribal/Area Council shall act as an advisory body in matters relating to administration (law and order).

APPENDIX G.

TSUNGREMMUNG OR ASEMNI AMU FESTIVAL

The literal meaning of Asemni amu is "three day's genna". It is not as enthusiastic as the "Moatsu" and observed only for 3 days—from first to 3rd August. On the first and second day, they gather together in the Jungba's (Unger) house. Oceans of wine (ayu) are served and Asemni amu songs are sung the whole day. When they feel bored, they visit other's house. On the third day dancing is performed (Malukaba) like the one in Moatsu. The best dress and ornaments are worn while dancing.

Atsutsuba (Feast of merit)

This was not a regular annual festival but celebrated occasionally as a competition among the wealthy and to earn the name and right to wear certain ornaments. This festival was not celebrated by the poor people. The feasts were a series of ceremonies each bigger and more important than the last, culminating in mithan sacrifice. Every man with a little wealth had the ambition to proceed as far as he could in the series and thereby gained honour for himself and for his clan and village the favour and prosperity of the spirits of great men of the past. Moreover the coreted right of wearing certain drees and ornaments and of decorating his house was won thereby. The wife also played an honourable and conspicuous part throughout. The labour entailed in collecting firewood, making rice bear, preparing food, cutting up meat *etc.* was very great and was accomplished with the aid of two friends of the sacrificer who had married or could marry women from the sacrificer's clan.

The first ceremony is called "Masutsu" (bull-sacrifice). In this a red bull and three pigs are killed, the pigs being used as an extra provision for the guests. On the first day wood is collected and rice beer is prepared by the sacrificer's relation-in-laws *i. e.* men who can marry the women of the sacrificer's clan. "Remtong" (a forked post) is also cut by two of them. On the second day invitations are issued. On the third day pigs are killed and in front of the house the forked post is set up to which the bull is tethered and killed in the evening. This is an important day of the ceremony. when the bull is tethered to the forked post, the sacrificer and his wife come out from the houses in full dress and pour water and wine over the bull's head and scatter a little salt and rice uttering solemn prayers as follows- "Let the prosperity of the ancestors and the whole Ao country come to us". The same prayer is repeated as the sacrificer plucks the feathress of an alive chicken and drops them over the bull's head. They then return home for they should on no account watch the killing of the bull. An old man of the sacrificer's clan first gives a deep cut through the spine and immediately after this a deadly blow is given with an axe, on the head by a man who stands in the relationship of an elder brother to the sacrificer. The meat is not eaten by the members of the sacrificer's household. On the 4th day the sacrificer and his wife take a bath ceremonially in the village spring. On the 5th day the sacrificer gives the skull of the bull to one of his clan priest to dry. The dried skull is hung up in front of the room of his house at the next harvest having plucked feathers of a chicken over it and smeared rice flour (ayim) on it.

Before proceeding to mithan sacrifice, two pigs are given to the village priest (Patir) and two to the village councillers (mendenee). Then the sacrificer kills two pigs and presents this meat to all his clan members and one old man of every other clan.

The mithan sacrifice can be performed by a man three years after he has performed the full sacrifice. The ceremonies last for seven days. The ceremonies start with the pounding of rice for one day by the sacrificer's clan and on another day by the wife's clan. These preliminaries over, the proper ceremonies last for five days. On the first day a forked post is set up, and the mithan is tortured by being thrown down and danced around twice. Next day the sacrificer and his wife come out from the house and the couple pour offerings over the mithan's head with solemn invocation. When couple then returns home, the legs of the mithan are severed and the skin behind the right shoulder is cut. Finally it is hit with an axe on the forehead. On that night no one

goes near the carcase for fear of the skyfolk, but the women of his clan dance in his house throughout the night till dawn. On the next day meat is cut and divided. On the fourth day more meat is distributed. On the fifth day an offering of a pig, a fowl and an egg is made by the sacrificer outside his granary. On the sixth day a cow is killed outside his house. On the seventh day meat is sent to friends in the neighbouring villages. The skull of the mithan is then treated in the same way as the bull's head.

Three years after the mithan sacrifice another big feast is given, at which not less than a cow and 30 pigs are killed and eaten. The feast and dance goes on for several days in the house of the sacrificer. To complete the series, another feast may be given three years later and this marks the end of these series of feasts.

APPENDIX H

Folk songs sung during various festive occasions

1 A song in honour of mithan before it is being killed.

Ao	English
Jongpongbai Ongerr;	Seing this mithan
Oh Kumulunga ayuyaroni;	My heart burns with
Oh Jongpongdakji nokchi tetongni;	pity, oh do not be very harsh
Payimbana tsuyuangni.	with it, but kill it with due regards.

2 A song in honour of the village.

Ao	English
Oh Waromungi Tsungrem yimkonger;	Oh Waromung people are God people.
Konyimbana tetsungshi na;	Let no other village threaten it.
Jangjanglongden yusu ajemer;	Having agreement with Jangjanglung (God of stone)
Ao Sarir Ngangnenogs.	The Ao enemies were defeated.

APPENDIX I (i)

NAGALAND

VILLAGE SCHEDULE

1 Name of Village :

2 Name of Investigator

3 Period of Survey—

4 Situation (longitude and latitude)

5 Name of the range in which situated

6 Particulars of — Name — Distance — Since when in existence

(a) District Headquarter
(b) Police Station
(c) Headquarter of Regional Council
(d) Headquarter of Tribal Council
(e) Block Headquarter
(f) Circle Headquarter
(g) Post Office
(h) Telegraph Office
(i) Any other important administrative unit
(j) Rail head
(k) Bus route
(l) Jeepable road
(m) Nearest village
(n) River

7 (a) Is the village situated on a plain/on an undulating surface/on a plateau/on the slope of a hill/on the top of a hill/at the bottom of a depression/any other situation
(b) Altitude of the village
(c) Annual variatian of rainfall and temperature

8 (a) Description of the boundary of the village
(b) Size of the village

9 Particulars about river, stream, road, tank, sources of water, etc., inside the village

Name	Size	Since when in existence (in case of road,, tank etc.)	Association if any with any particular section of the population	Nature of use and No. of familles using	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

10 Flora and Fauna

Local Name	English equivalent	Scientific name	Appr. number	Nature of use	Special association with any section of people	Number of families having the special association	Remarks with special reference to totemism by-canthropy etc.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

11 (a) Household and population

Numbers of households	Population	
Total	Male	Female
1	2	3

11 (b) Clanwise distribution of population

	Christian			Non-Christian		
		Population			Population	
Name of clan	No. of Households	Male	Female	No. of Households	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

12 History, myth and legend regarding the village as a whole, any part of the village, population of the village as a whole, any section of the population separately.

13 Particulars about ancient monuments, structures, relics etc.

Name of the relic	Situation	How old	Brief description	Connected history, myth or legend
1	2	3	4	5

14 Particulars about Khels, hamlets, etc.

		Composition of the population						
		Clan	Christian			Non-christain		
			No. of Households	Population		No. of Households	Population	
Name of the khel/hamlet	History, myth, legend, etc.			Male	Female		Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

15 Name and particulars of Govt. Offices in the village

		Staff		Activities undertaken by the office in the village	Remarks
Name of Office	When established	Designation	Community		
1	2	3	4	5	6

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

16. List of various Acts and Orders regulating the revenue and civil administration as well as the development activities in th village.

17. Particulars of educational institutions in which the children of the village read

S. No.	Type	Name of the Institution	Situation	Since when in existence	No. of students from each clan of the village and outside				
					Clan	Christian		Non-christian	
						Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

School hours	Concessions & facilities enjoyed by the students	Average attendance of students	Occasions of irregular attendance and absenteism	Periods of long vacation	Extra curricular activities
11	12	13	14	15	16

Note on staff			How and by whom the school was established	Brief description of the building	Particulars of management and control	Problems if any	Remarks
Name	Community	Religion					
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24

18. Particulars about hostel attached to educational institution

Name of the educational institution	When established	Particulars about students			Accommodation available		Boarding charges	Seat rent
		Tribe/Clan	Religion	Number	Type of building	Space		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Other Charges	Arrangement for cooking	Nature of supervision	Nature of academic guidance	Extra curricular activities	Daily routine of work	Remarks
10	11	12	13	14	15	16

19. Preliminary data about religious institutions/sacred places (Canvass a special schedule for churches)

Name	Situation	Connected history & since when in existence	Office bearers	Management & control	Religious performances	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

20. Particulars of the markets most commonly visited

Name of the market	Distance from the village	Transport	Weekly or daily	Commodities exported to the market			Commodities imported from the market			General note on the market including its importance in the region operation of middlemen weights & measures etc., recreational activity if any
				Item	Appr. quantity	Appr. value	Item	Appr. quantity	Appr. value	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

21. Particulars about the fairs and festivals commonly visited by the villagers

Name of fair/ festival	Distance	Legend if any	When held	How old	Size of gathering	Commodities	Recreational activities	Religious activities	Cultural & social activities	General note including trends of changes in size of gathering, main attraction, nature of commodities and different activities
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

22. (a) General particulars about co-operative societies that serve the village

Type of societies	Name	Registered Headquarter				Members		Qualification for membership
		Area of operation	Name of the place	Distance from the village	When registered	Total	No. from the village	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
1. Credit Co-op.								
2. Co-op. graingola								
3. Consumer's co-op.								
4. Multipurpose co-op.								
5. Co-op. farming								
6. Other co-op.								

Nature of operation	Aid from Govt.	Extent of business	Loss or profit	Dividend, if any, given	General note on its role including whether all sections of the population are attracted, what are its problems etc.
10	11	12	13	14	15

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

22. (b) Organisational and operational details

Name of Society	Composition of the board of management: Official	Composition of the board of management: Non-official	Date of registration	General reading held after registrations: Date	General reading held after registrations: No. of members attending	General reading held after registrations: Problems faced and impt. decisions	Meetings of the board of management held during last year: Date	Meetings of the board of management held during last year: No. of members attending	Meetings of the board of management held during last year: Problem faced & impt. decisions	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

23. Particulars about the village shop.

Name of shop-keeper	If he is an outsider, his home address	When the shop was established	Extent of business: Name of main commodities	Extent of business: Appr. annual transaction	Nature of transaction (cash, advance, barter etc.,	Side business if any (money lending contract etc.,	General note on business including profiteerism if any, trends of change in the quantity and method of transaction etc.,	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

24. Particulars about Morungs or dormitories in the past and at present

(a) For each morung in the village write the constructional details and cross section and vertical cross section of the huts indicating the various elements including decorative and symbolic elements and place of various activities e. g. sleeping, dancing etc., (Prepare sketch including decorative and symbolic elements).

(b) Furnish the following particulars for each morung.

Special name if any	Location	Size & shape	Wheter associated with particular khel or clan or any other section of the population	How old is the building and in what condition it is at present	What is the approximate cost of the building and how the cost was met	Office bearers: Name of Office	Office bearers: Name of office beares	Office bearers: Clan & religion	Office bearers: How selected	Office bearers: Nature of duty
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

Nature of recreational economic, social, cultural, religious, defensive and other activities and number of participants: Name of activity	When it takes place	Appr. number of participants normally: Christain: Married: Male	Christain: Married: Female	Christain: Unmarried: Male	Christain: Unmarried: Female	Non-christian: Married: Male	Non-christian: Married: Female	Non-christian: Unmarried: Male	Non-christian: Unmarried: Female	Remarks including place of the Morung in the community life and trends of change if any
12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

(c) Particulars of material elements including musical instruments and tools and weapons found in the Morung or dormitory.

Item	Material used	Brief description	How, when and by whom made	Price	Purpose	Symbolic meaning if any	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(d) A running deecription of the various aspects of the Morung on the basis of participant observation.

25. (a) Particulars of village guard.

When established	Number enrolled from			Office bearers					Manner of operation of village guard	Remarks
	Clan	Christian	Non-christian	Name	Office held	Clam & religion	How selected	Nature of duty		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

26. Particulars of hostile activity in the locality aud its effect in on the economic and social life of the village.

27. (a) Following particulars of the latest tribal feud including head hunting in which :—

(i) The village under survey raided another village (name).

(ii) Another village (name) raided this village.

Name of the village involved	When it took place	How many persons participated	What was the result	Whether there is still some antagonism between the villages	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

28. Particulars of the latest feast of merit in the village.

Particulars of the persons who gave feast of merit.					When the feast was given	No. of participants from		
						Outside from village	Village	
Name	Clan	Religion	Office if any held	Economic status			Own khel	Other khel
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

No. of animals sacrificed	Other features of the feast	Rituals performed	General description of the feast	Remarks
10	11	12	13	14

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

29. Particulars regarding emigration from the village.

Name of khel	Name of clan	No. of families emigrated				Area where migrated	Purpose of migration	General note including whether the families concerned still have economic interest in the village and whether they occasionally visit the village.
		Before 30 years	During 20-30 years	During 10-20 years	During last 10 years			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

30. Particulars regarding immigration into the village.

Name of khel	Name of clan	No. of immigrant households				Areas from where migrated	Purpose of migration	General note
		Before 30 years	During 20–30 years	During 10–20 years	During last 10 years			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

31. Particulars of persons belonging to the village who stay outside in connection with service, business etc.

Name	Tribe	Clan	Religion	Age	Sex	Academic qualification	Occupation	Present Address
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

Since when living outside	Whether family lives with him or in the village	Whether has property in the village	How frequently visits the village	Remarks
10	11	12	13	14

32. Particulars of persons belonging to the village who are studying outside.

Name	Tribe	Clan	Religion	Age	Sex	Natures standard of education receiving	Place	Since when	How financed	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

33. Particulars of persons in the village who have passed matriculation.

Name	Tribe	Clan	Religion	Age	Sex	Educational standard	Year of attaining the standard	Present occupation	Present address	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

34. (a) Livelihood pattern 1951
(b) Livelihood pattern 1961

35. Particulars of persons connected with various crafts, nature of employment.

Name of craft	Approximate No. engaged in the craft			No. of persons mainly working in own houses							
		Persons		Independently		Under Co-op.		sponsored		Others	
	Families	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

Number of persons mainly working in workshops set by private employers		No. of persons mainly working in workshops set up by the Govt. or Co-op.		Approximate annual output of the craft in the area	Remarks
Male	Female	Male	Female		
13	14	15	16	17	18

36. Purpose of production of craft.

Name of Craft	No. of families producing for own consumption only	No. of families producing for sale to outsiders only	No. of families producing both for consumption and sale	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

37. (a) Legend, myth or history connected with the origin and development of the various crafts.
(b) Legend, myth or history connected with the different techniques, tools, processes, designs etc, relating to crafts.

38. Local markets/agencies from where the raw materials for various crafts are procured.
(a) Name.
(b) Distance from the village.
(c) Nature of establishments and number of each.
(d) Terms and conditions under which the raw materials are obtained by the artisans from each category of establishment or from clients.
(e) Which category of establishment is preferred by the artisans.
(f) Nature of transport.
(g) Availability of raw materials during different seasons.
(h) Special problems.

39. Local markets/fairs/other agencies for disposal of craft products.
(a) Location.
(b) Distance from the village.
(c) Nature of establishments including middlemen, selling agent and number of each.
(d) Terms and conditions under which finished products are disposed of by the artisans through each of the above categories of establishments.
(e) Which category is performed by the artisans and why.
(f) Nature of transport.
(g) Fluctuation of demand in different seasons (state cause and extent).
(h) Special problem.

APPENDIX I (i)——*contd.*

40. (i) Names of various khels or recognised constellations in the village in terms of certain physical or social characteristics.

(ii) Dominant characteristics of each of the block or other recognised constellations with reference to

(a) Clan or community (including religion).
(b) Kingroup.
(c) Institutions.
(d) Some geographical characteristics e.g. existence of a spring, stream, hillock etc.
(e) Others.

41. History of settlement and growth of each khel or geographical or social constellation and control of the various resources in and around the village as determined by this history.

42. Distance of one khel area from another and system of communication.

43. (a) Are there village factions on the basis of territorial affiliations, or affiliations to khels, clans, religion, kin group ? If so, in what spheres and how such factionalism in manifested ?

(b) Is there grouping of certain clans or kin-groups or any other recognised constellation as distinct from others in the affairs of the village ? If so, what is the basis of such grouping ? And how is it manifested.

44. To what extent the various khels clans, etc. are dependent on each other in the matters of—

(a) Obtaining sources of livelihood.
(b) Employment.
(c) Supply of labour and various sources.
(d) Supply of commodities.
(e) Loan of commodities.
(f) Manufacture of crafts and articles.
(g) Channel for dealing with outside world including Govt. Offices.
(h) Obtaining traditional services.
(i) Obtaining different institutional facilities (e.g. maintaining water line).
(j) Performance of rituals, regulation of sex life.
(k) Performance of village defence.

45. Is/was there any rivalry/co-operation among the khels, clans kin-groups, religious community etc. for control and or use of the centres of common activities e.g.

(a) Village council.
(b) Recreation centre, playground etc.
(c) Performance of various rituals and ceremonies.
(d) Pasturage ground.
(e) Schools, (markets, churches and other institutions.
(f) Different amenities provided by the Govt. (e.g. water supply, irrigation).

46. Is there great concentration of wealth, influence or prestige in some khel, clan, kingroup, religious community or some clearly recognised segment of the population? As a result of this, does a relationship of domination and subordination exist among the different segments ? What are the manifestations of such relationship ?

47. Has every khel, religious group or other known constellations of the village recognised leaders of its own ? Furnish particulars about them. To what extent they unite in the matters of common interest to the village ?

48. In case of quarrel between two persons of the same khel, clan or religious group, are influential individuals from other segments also asked to arbitrate or adjudicate? Discuss with reference to the nature of the offence.

49. In case of quarrel between two persons belonging to two different khels, clans, religious group etc. do other persons of their respective unit support them ?

50. What are the common religious, social and economic activities in the village ? Do all the khels, clans religious groups participate equally or take the same interest in these activities ? If they do not take the same interest, what are the reasons for the different rates of interest taken by the different segments ? Specialisation of function If any for any khel, clan, family.

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

51. Sometimes tension between different segments is channelised through mutual bantering among the people of different segments (e.g. people of certain khel are gluttons, people of certain clan are brave, certain others are cowards etc.). These stereotypes and history of formation of the stereotypes provide an important clue to the study of inter-segment relationship. Furnish the same.

52. Does any khel, clan, kingroup religious group or any other recognised section of the village combine more frequently with a different village or khel, clan etc. of a different village because of geographical, social, economic or any other reasons ? In this matter role of clan affiliation is to be particularly examined in the context of quarrels of clans for special status, seniority etc.

53. Do (i) the males (ii) females (iii) children of various khels, clans, religious groups etc. frequently visit each other for (a) social (b) ceremonial (c) economic (d) educational (e) recreational and for (f) other purposes ?

54. Has there been any change in the relationship of various khels, clans, religious groups etc. in social, economic, political, cultural or any other sphere during the last one generation (roughly 25 years) ? If so, what are the changes and how have these been brought about ?

55. Has the village under survey special relation with some village or villages or some social, cultural, religious, political or economic centre ? If so, details of such special relation is to be noted.

56. Has the village under survey particular antagonism with some village or villages ? If so, details of the same is to be noted. In this connection boundary disputes are to be specially examined.

57. Particulars of all the villages under the same regional council.

Name of the village	Distance from the village under survey	Appr. No. of households	Dominant clan	Nature of relation with the village under survey	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

58. Approximately how many persons from the village find employment in the various construction works and other Government projects in the locality.

Nature of the work and project	Executed by whom	When started	Season of work	Hours of work	Appr. No. of Persons employed		Rate of payment		Remarks
					Male	Female	Male	Female	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

59. What are the wage rates for various works in various season.

	Wage rate in						
	Winter		Summer		Rainy season		
Type of work	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

60. Age and sex distribution of the population.

61. Number of birth, and deaths in the village during the last five years year by year.

62. Particulars of primitive and modern medicine men in the village.

Name	Type of treatment	Nature of training	Diseases for treatment of which more in demand	Particulars of medicine	Appr. No. of patients	Main source of livelihood	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

63. Are/were some Gennas normally performed in the village ? If so, particulars of the same.

64. (a) what is the house-tax for the village as a whole.
(b) What is the house-tax per household.
(c) Who collects the tax.
(d) What is the remuneration for collecting tax.
(e) Others.

65 Land utilisation pattern.

Acres under ownership of				Remarks including terms and conditions on which common land is enjoyed by individual households
Village	Clans	Private	Government	
1	2	3	4	5

I. Forest
II. Pasturage
III. Cultivable fallow
IV. Under settled cultivation
(a) terraced
(b) un-terraced
V. Under shifting cultivation.
VI. Grave
VII. Unculturable fallow (other than grave)
VIII. Homestead
IX. Others

66. Distribution of households according to size group of ownership of land.

	Clan I		Clan II		Clan III	
	Christian	Non-christian	Christian	Non-christian	Christian	Non-christian
	1	2	3	4	5	6
.01— 1.99 acres						
2.00— 4.99 acres						
5.00— 7.99 acres						
8.00— 9.99 acres						
10.00—14.99 acres						
15.00—19.99 acres						
20.00—29.99 acres						
30.00—39.99 acres						
40.00—49.00 acres						
50 and above acres.						

APPENDIX I (l)—*contd.*

67. Ownersnip of land by clans/khel

Name of clan/khel	Acreage of land owned								
	Forest	Pasturage	Settled cultivation	Shifting cultivation	Culturable fallow	Un-culturable fallow	Grave	Others	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

68. Statistics of livestock and domestic animal

Clan/religion	No. of livestock owned											
	Mithun male	Mithun female	Bull	Cow	Bullock	He-buffalo	She-buffalo	Pig	Fowl	Goat	Dog	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

69. Development activities including introduction of terraces improvement of agriculture, water supply, undertaken in the area during the last 15 years

Name of activity	Year of execution	Agency of execution	Impact on the life of the villages	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

70. Particulars of village council

(a) When constituted.
(b) (i) Number of members.
(ii) Office-bearers.
(iii) Employees.
(c) (i) How selected.
(ii) Remuneration.
(d) Nature of operation.
(e) Development activities undertaken.
(f) Administrative and judicial work undertaken.
(g) Other activities.
(h) Income.
(i) Expenditure.
(j) Remarks.

71. Particulars of (regional council)

(a) When constituted.
(b) (i) Number of members.
(ii) Office bearers.
(iii) Employees.
(c) (i) How selected.
(ii) Remuneration.
(d) Nature of operation.
(e) Development activities undertaken.
(f) Administrative and judicial work undertaken.
(g) Other activities.
(h) Income.
(i) Expenditure.
(j) Remarks.

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

72. Particulars of Tribal council

(a) When constituted.

(b) (i) Number of members.
(ii) Particulars of office bearers.
(iii) Particulars of employees.

(c) (i) How selected.
(ii) Remuneration.

(d) Nature of operation.

(e) Development activities undertaken.

(f) Administrative and social work undertaken.

(g) Other activities.

(h) Income.

(i) Expenditure.

(j) Remarks.

73. Particulars of traditional panchayat of the village.

(a) How constituted.

(b) Office bearers.

Name	Clan	Religion	Age	Occupation	How selected	Nature of duty	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(c) Nature of operation of the traditional panchayat.

(d) Developmental, administrative and social activities undertaken.

(e) Other activities.

(f) Income.

(g) Expenditure.

(h) Impact of organisation of village council.

(i) Remarks.

74. Is there any hierarchy of status among the different clans, khels etc. ?

(a) Names of the khels in order of hierarchy.	Mythical, historical or any other reason ascribed for the hierarchy	Symbolic in dress, ornaments, house type etc. indicative of the hierarchy	Remarks
1	2	3	4

(b) Names of the clan in order of hierarchy.

(c) Name of other recognised segments of the population in order of hierarchy.

75. Village Leaders, members of panchayat priests and other office bearers Members

Name of organisation	Name	Clan	Occupation	Age	Since when holding the office	How gained position	Remuneration if any	Other offices held inside or outside the village	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Statutory panchayat									
Caste Panchayat									
Other Leaders									
Members of Board of Directors of Co-operative society.									

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

76. Village disputes referred to different authorities last year.

Nature of adjudicating authority	Leading members of each disputant party			Nature of dispute	Decision of the adjudicating authority	Nature of sanction	Remark (whether the decision was enforced whether there is preference for adjudication by particular type of authority in particular type of case, place of trial etc.)
	Caste Panchayat	Name	Caste tribe				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Caste Panchayat.							
Informal Panchayat.							
Statutory village panchayat							
Court.							
Others (specify)							

77. Recreational and artistic activities enjoyed by the village.

Type of activity	*Brief description	Where placed (if outside the village, name and distance of the place	Frequency and duration (specify whether daily monthly seasonal) etc.	Extent of active participation of people of the main castes & communities in performances (many few, some)	If activity is in the Island, do visitors from other Islands participate? (Approx. Role player audience otherwise)	What agency sponsors, promotes or finances?	Who trains players etc. (His name, cast address, occupation)
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1. Sports & Games.							
2. Drama, music, dancing, etc.							
3. Cinema.							
4. Filmstrip, puppet-show etc.							
5. Fairs.							
6. Festivals.							
7. Other entertainments.							

78. Cultural life of the village.

Name of clubs, Libraries, drama parties or other cultural organisations in the village	When established	Rough proportion of members belonging to			Office bearers				
		Different castes	Different occupation groups	Age	Name	Castes	Occupation	Age	Education
1	2	3	3 (a)	3 (b)	4	4 (a)	4 (b)	4 (c)	4 (d)

Brief note on basis of membership (subscription signing of pledge etc.)	Brief note on objective of the organisation	Brief note on activities of the organisation
5	6	7

(*Indicate nature and reason of celebration)

APPENDIX I (i)—*contd.*

79. Histury of missionary activities in the locality including the history of establishment of churches of various denomination in the locality.

80. Humanitarian activities undertaken in the locality by christian missionary and other organisations.

81. Biography of important leaders of the local churches at different periods.

82. Number of converts in different periods and ethnic and socio-economic background of the converts in different periods.

83. Special benefits and concessions enjoyed by converts in different periods in the institutions sponsored by christian missionaries.

Nature of Institution	Name of the Institution	Since when in existence	Staff		Beneficiary		Special concession for christian	Remarks including particulars of missionary institutions that have ceased to exist
			Designation	Non-Christian	Christian	Non-christian		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

84. Biographical sketch of 20 persons of different clans, age-groups, sex, village functionaries, status groups etc. covering the following points—

(a) Earliest memory—

(b) How brought up and whether it differs significantly from the manner in which the children are brought up at present.

(c) Who had greater influence ? mother or father ?

(d) Who were the playmates and intimate friends (name, age, sex, clan).

(e) Whether friendship continued with the playmates later on in life, or whether the relations changed ? If so, what are the reasons ?

(f) Particulars of admission in Morung and participation in Morung life.

(g) Participation in tribal feuds.

(h) Participation in hunting.

(i) Particulars of prestige killing of animals, feast of merit etc. seen.

(j) Places (approximate distance also to be noted) outside the village, but within the territory, own tribe) visited
  (i) During childhood.
  (ii) After childhood and before 1947.

(k) Places (appr. distance also to be noted) outside the territory of own tribe visited during
  (i) childhood
  (ii) after childhood and before 1947.
  (iii) after 1947.

(l) Particulars of sex life and marriage with special reference to frustration and success.

(m) Aspiration during
  (i) childhood.
  (ii) youth.
  (iii) at present.

(n) Particulars of skills learnt.

(o) Job history with special reference to frustration and success.

(p) Particulars of serious diseases suffered and treatment of the same.

(q) Terms among the various members of the family—
  (a) in his childhood.
  (b) at present.

(r) If brothers and other close kins are living separate, terms with them.

(s) Five most important events in life.

(t) Any other aspect.

APPENDIX I (i)—*concld.*

85. Local measures and equivalent standard measures

Local measure	Equivalent standard measure	Remarks
1	2	3
Weight		
Size of objects.		
Measure of land.		
Others.		

86. Local almanac

Name of month	Number of days	Equivalent English month	Equivalent Assamese month	Season including how the month is determined	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

87. Local names of days

Local Name of days	English equivalent
1	2

88. Local system of counting

89. Local system of reckoning of time

APPENDIX I (ii)

NAGALAND

FAMILY SCHEDULE

Serial No. — Name of village

Household No. — Name of Investigator

Name of head of household. — Date of Survey

1. Composition of the household including the head

Econ. Status	Serial No.	Name	Sex	Age in completed year	Relation to head of household	Place of birth: Name	Place of birth: Distance from the village	Tribe	Scheduled tribe
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Earner
Dependent
Casual member

Clan	Phratry	Religion	In case of Christian: Denomination	In case of Christian: When converted	Language: Mother tongue	Language: Other languages spoken	Education	Technical skill
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19

Occupation: Main	Occupation: Subsidiary	Occupational history	Changes of residence in the past	Marital status	Age of marriage	Marriage payment if, any: made by the household	Marriage payment if, any: Received by the household	Method of performing marriage (Christian ritual, civil marriage others)	Non-christian rites observed during marriage
20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29

Whether there is any kinship with spouse	Special status office, if any held	Ceremonial friend: Name	Ceremonial friend: Address and village under survey	Ceremonial friend: Clan	Ceremonial friend: Age & sex	Ceremonial friend: Special status office, if any	Remarks including symbols of status, if any
30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37

2. Members of the family living outside the family (as in 1 and the additional data as follows).

Present address and distance from the village under survey	Why living away from the family	How frequently and on what occasion visited the family during the last two years	Remittances received from the family	Remittances sent to the family	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

APPENDIX I (ii)—*contd.*

3. Particulars of other families closely connected with the family

Name of the head of the family concerned	Serial No. of the household	Relation to the head of the household	If constituted a single household previously how many years ago	To what extent and how continue to operate as a single unit		
				Farming	Fishing	Forestry
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

To what extent and how continue to operate as a single unit				Terms with any other family (happy unhappy etc.)	Remarks
Other economic matters	Rituals	Social matters	Others		
8	9	10	11	12	13

4. (a) For how many generations counting from the head of the Household backwards has the household been residing in this villages

   (b) For how many years has the household been residing in this village

5. If there is any history or tradition of migration of the household

   (a) Area from where migrated

   (b) Cause of leaving the original place

   (c) Was there any particular reason why came to this village on leaving the original place

   (d) Particulars of other families that might have migrated at the same time

   (e) Whether enjoy the same status and rights as the earlier settlers of this village

   (f) If not, what are the disabilities suffered

6. According to the informant is there any hierarchy of status among the various clans. If so, furnish the following particulars

Name of the clans in order of status	Reason for the particular status	Symbol, if any, indicative of the status	Special rights and privileges, if any, enjoyed	Disabilities, if any	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

7. (a) Has the informant/his family/clan/khel special assocation with any bird/animal/fish/plant/any natural phenomena

   (b) (i) Is this special association related to belief about origin of the clan/khel etc

   (ii) If this association described any other reasons

   (c) Does this special association enjoin taboo in respect of

   (i) Food

   (ii) Sex relation

   (iii) Marriage

   (iv) Function

   (v) Others

   (d) Does this special association enjoin worship, ritual performance etc

   (e) Does this social association influence economic social and other activities in any manner

APPENDIX I (ii)—*contd.*

8. Land

Homestead

(a) Area covered by homestead (Acres).

(b) Is the family owner of the land on which the homestead is situated.

(c) (i) If not, who is the owner of the land.

(ii) On what term the family is occupying the land.

(iii) Since when the family is occupying the land.

(d) If the family is the owner of the land, how and when the family came to own it.

(e) (i) Has the household leased out any homestead land to any other family.

(ii) Has the household allowed any other family to settle an homestead land belonging to the household.

(iii) (a) If so, furnish the particulars of the household which has been allowed to settle or which the homestead land has been leased out.

(b) Terms and conditions of the above settlement.

(iv) Remarks.

9. Other land (Acres)

Common village land under occupation	Common khel land under occupation	Common clan land under occupation	Owned	Leased in	Leased out	Others
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(a) Total uncultivable fallow.

(b) Total cultivable fallow.

(c) Cultivated.

(i) Permanent cultivation.

(ii) Shifting cultivation.

d) In case of village common land under occupation of the family.

(i) How and when the family came to possess it.

(ii) On what terms and conditions the family is possessing it.

(iii) Number of plots and distance of each from the homestead.

(iv) If the household carries on joint cultivation with any other household particulars of the same.

(e) In case of common khel land under occupation of the family.

(i) How and when the family came to possess it.

(ii) On what terms and conditions the family is possessing it.

(iii) Number of plots and distance of each from the homestead.

(iv) If the household carries on joint cultivation with any other household, particulars of the same.

(f) In case of common clan land under occupation of the family.

(i) How and when the family came to possess it.

(ii) On what terms and conditions is the family possessing it.

(iii) Number of plots and distance of each from the homestead.

(iv) If the household carries on joint cultivation with any other household, particulars of the same.

(g) In case of owned land, how and when the family came to own the land,

(i) Number of plots and distance of each from the homestead.

(ii) If the household carries on joint cultivation with any other household particulars of the same.

(h) If the family has leased in any land

(i) Who is the owner.

(ii) Since when the land has been leased in.

(iii) On what terms has the land been leased in.

(iv) Has there been any recent change.

(i) If any land has been leased out.

(a) (i) To how many tenants ?

(ii) Particulars of tenants with special mention of khel, clan, relationship if any.

(b) Since when ?

(c) On what terms ? Has there been any recent change ?

APPENDIX I (ii)—*contd.*

(j) If land has been mortgaged.
  (a) To whom (specify tribe or community, clan, occupation, relationship, village etc.)
  (b) When and why.
  (c) On what terms and conditions.

(k) If there is any cultivable land which is lying fallow.
  (a) Since when is it lying fallow.
  (b) Why is it lying fallow.
  (c) Is this land being utilised in other manner ? (*e.g.* for grazing cattle).

10. Animal husbandry and livestock.

A—Stock at the time of the survey.

Type	No.	hen and where from obtained	Price		Particulars of grazing, and rearing (including equipment and technique)
			At the time of purchae	a present	
1	2	3	4	5	6
Mithun (Male)					
Mithun (Female)					
Bull					
Bullock					
Cow					
Goat					
Sheep					
Fowl					
Duck					
Pig (Male)					
Pig (Female)					
Dog					
Others					

B—Cumulative ownership of livestock during the year.

Type	No. at the beginning of the year	Purchased during the year	Otherwise obtained during the year	Consumed	Sold	Natural death	Gift, present, etc.,	Balance	Amount of product (*e.g.* milk egg) obtained during the year and manner of disposal of same	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Mithun (Male)										
Mithun (Female)										
Bull										
Bullock										
Cow										
Goat										
Sheep										
Fowl										
Duck										
Pig (male)										
Pig (Female)										
Dog										
Others.										

APPENDIX I (ii)—*contd.*

11. Particulars of craft if any practised in the family.

Name of craft	Source of raw material	Type of objects made	Who works	Season of works	Appr. number	Disposal	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

12. Particulars of collection of forest produce in the family

Local name of forest produce	English equivalent	By whom collected	From where collected	Nature of right enjoyed by the family for collection of forest produce of the area	Payment, if any	Who collect (male, female children)	Appr. quantity per year	Nature of use	Economic value	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

13. Annual calendar of economic activities

Name of the activity	Season	Hours of work	Who work	Particulars of work	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

14. Inheritance

(a) What are the salient features of the laws of inheritance followed by family/clan.

(b) Are these different from those found in other families/clans.

(c) Does the informant want any change ?

(d) If so, what are they ?

15. (a) Brief description of the domicile (including number and size of building units for different purposes with special reference to main building, kitchen, granary, quarter for animals, garden, compound or yard, fencing, etc.)

(b) Rough sketch showing situation of the various structural units.

(c) Additional particulars about structural units.

(i) Building

No./size and brief description including members, size, position, and material of door, window, verandah etc.	Plinth	Wall	Roof	No. of slopes and types of support for roof	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

(ii) Other important elements including exterior decoration, elements symbolic of status, clan affiliation, etc.

(iii) Were you provided with a new house when you got married ? If so, by whom.

16. Health and sanitation

(i) (a) What is the source of drinking water for household.

(b) What is its distance from household.

(c) Has the household to contribute anything for maintaining the source of water.

(d) Is water drunk after boiling.

APPENDIX I (ii)—*contd.*

(ii) (a) What is the source of water for washing purposes.
(b) What is its distance from the household.

(iii) Is the surrounding of the house clean ? (observe)

(iv) (a) Is there a latrine in the house.
(b) If not, where do the members of the family ease themselves.

(v) Particulars about illness and treatment in the family during the last 3 years.

Name of the member of the family	Nature of illness	Duration	How diagonised	Nature of treatment	Who treated	Particulars of medicine	Magico religious rites	Expenditure	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

(vi) Do the members of the family take bath and wash their body regularly ?

(vii) (a) Do the members of the family wash their clothes regularly and wear clean clothes.
(b) Is soap used for the washing ? If not is any indigenous object used for washing.

(viii) Are cooking utensils and drinking water pots kept clean ?

17. Indebtedness.

(a) Whether any member of the family is in debt.
(b) Terms and conditions for obtaining loan.

Source	Amount of debt		When taken	Purpose	Rate of interest	Nature of security		Other terms and conditions on which loan was taken	Remarks
	Cash	Kind				Usufruit	Non-usufruit		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

(c) Particulars of any outstanding loan paid back during the year.

Amount	Since when due	How paid (*i. e.* whether from saving or from sale of property or otherwise)	Remarks
1	2	3	4

18. Un-employment.

(a) Is there any member of the household searching for a job.
(b) If so, give the following details.

Name	Academic qualification	Other proficiency	Nature of previous employment	Date of cessation of employment	Reasons for cessation of employment	Any subsidiary work at present	Whether registered with any employment exchange	What job is sought	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

APPENDIX I (ii)—*concld*

19. (a) Is the informant satisfied with his present position.
    (b) If not, what he wants to be
    (c) What he wants his son to be
    (d) What he wants his daughter to be

20. Religion

(i) (a) Is there any particular place in the house for worshipping deities/prayer etc.
    (b) If so, particulars of the place, name of the deity, symbol of deity, nature of worship, ordinarily and on special occasions are to be noted.

(ii) (a) Whether any member of the family holds-special position in matters connected with religion.
    (b) If so, give particulars of the position.
    (c) How did he attain the position and since when.
    (d) (i) Did he receive any formal religious training.
        (ii) If so, when where, and from whom did he receive the training.
        (iii) Give particulars of the training.
    (e) Does he get any remuneration ?

21. Give an annual calendar of religious festivals performed by the family

Month	Name of festival	Occasion	Who officiates (Name tribe, sub tribe, clan, office, if any, held)	Nature of performance	No. of animals or birds sacrificed	Expenditure	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

22. Sustenance by source

Source	Approximate money value	No. of workers mainly supported by the source at Col. 1 during various seasons				Remarks
		Winter	Summer	Monsoon	Autumn	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Shifting cultivation.
Terraced cultivation.
Ordinary wet cultivation.
Horticulture.
Collection of forest produce.
Hunting.
Agricultural labour.
Non-agricultural labour.
Professions.
Services.
Others.

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

NAGALAND

SPECIAL FAMILY SCHEDULE (TO BE CANVASSED AMONG 20 FAMILIES IN A VILLAGE INCLUDING HEADS OF EACH CLAN)

S 1. No.	Name of village
Household No.	Name of Investigator
Name of head of household	Tribe
Clan	
Religion	Age
Office, if any, held	Education

1. (a) According to the informant did all the Naga tribes have a common origin ?
   (b) If so, what are the myths, legends, history, connected with their origin.

2. (a) According to the informant there are how many tribes among the Nagas.
   (b) What are the main Naga tribes.
   (c) (i) Are some of the Naga tribes more closely connected with one another than the rest ?
   (ii) If so, give the following particulars.

Name of the tribes more closely inter-connected	Points of similarity or aspects of closer connection	How the similarity or closer connection is accounted for	Remarks
1	2	3	4

3. According to the informant can the various Naga tribes be placed in a serial order in order of economic, social and cultural development ? If so, give the following particulars.

Names of the tribes in order of stage of development	Salient feature indicative of the stage of development	Remarks
1	2	3

4. (i) According to the informant what are the sub-tribes of the tribe mainly inhabiting the village under survey,
   (ii) What are significant differences among the sub-tribes ?

5. (a) According to the informant what is the myth, legend or history of origin of his tribe and its settlement in the present area ?
   (b) According to the informant what is the myth, legend or history of origin of his sub-tribe and settlement in the present area ?

6. According to the informant how old is this village and what are the most important events here beginning from the earliest period till now.

7. According to the informant what are the myths, legends and history of origin of the various clans ?

APPENDIX I (iii)—*cantd.*

8. According to the informant did all the clans settle in the village at the same time? If not, furnish the following particulars.

Name of the clans in order of period of settlement	Approximate time of settlement	History, myth, legend connected with settlement	Particulars of privileges enjoyed or disabilities suffered at the time of settlement	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

9. According to the informant was/is there any specialisation of function for the various clans.

	Specialisation of function in the past				Specialisation of function at present				In case of difference in specialisation of function in the past and at present, reasons for the same	
Name of clan	Ritual	Economic	Defensive & political	Other	Ritual	Economic	Defensive & political	Other		Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

10. (a) According to the informant is there any grouping of clans into phratries?
(b) In that case, on what basis, this grouping is made?
(c) Is there any myth, legend or history connected with the grouping of clans into phratries?
(d) Does any change take place in the composition of the phratries?
(e) Are there certain common functions of the clans grouped into a single phratry with special reference to :

Ritual performances	Economic activities	Protection against other clans	Others
1	2	3	4

(f) Is phratry organisation related to regulation of marriage?
(g) Is phratry organisation related to occupation of common territory?

11. According to the informant what is the dominant clan in

I Area	II Name of dominant clan	III Reason for dominance	IV Manifestation of dominance	V Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
Tribe				
Range				
Village				
Khel				

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

12. Has the informant any objection to marriages of persons of his/her household with persons of some economic status and religion belonging to the following categories (tick mark the names against which there is no objection)

(i) Angami	(ii) Ao	(iii) Lotha	(iv) Sema
(v) Zeliang	(vi) Zemi	(vii) Chakhesang	(viii) Chang
(ix) Khiemunghan	(x) Konyak	(xi) Phom	(xii) Rengma
(xiii) Sangtam	(xiv) Yimchunger	(xv) European	(xvi) Assamese
(xvii) Bengali	(xviii) Madrasi	(xix) Hindustani	(xx) Brahman
(xxi) Kachari	(xxii) Kuki	(xxiii) Mizo	(xxiv) Khasi
(xxv) Abor	(xxvi) Mikir	(xxvii) Muchi	(xxviii) Manipuri
(xxix) Tangkhul	(xxx) Maring	(xxxi) Kabui	

13. Now-a-days there is much less inter-village feud than in the past. According to the informant how this change has come about ?

14. According to the informant what was the idea behind head hunting in the past ?

15. Has stoppage of head hunting brought about any change in the following :—
    (a) Attitude towards physical vigour.
    (b) Economic activities.
    (c) Social relations and social structures.
    (d) Position of youth.
    (e) Arts and crafts.
    (f) Others.

16. (a) What measures used to be taken in the past for protection of the village from raid from outside ?
    (b) How were these organised.
    (c) What aspects of these continue even now ?
    (d) Remarks.

17. (a) Was/is there any morung in the village.
    (b) Was/is any member of the family of the informant a member of the morung.
    (c) At what age he became a member.
    (d) How he became a member ? Was a ritual performed at that time ?
    (e) (i) Who else became member at the same time ?
        (ii) Is there any special term to denote the persons who become member at the same time.
        (iii) Is there any special bond among the persons who become members of morung simultaneously.
    (f) Is/was there any special training in the morung ? If so, note the nature of training and by whom it was imparted.
    (g) What are/were the activities undertaken in the morung.
    (h) Is/was there specialisation of function in the morung.
        (i) Age-groupwise.
        (ii) Clanwise.
        (iii) Khelwise.
        (iv) On any other basis.
    (i) (i) If there were more than one morung in the village, was there.
        (ii) (1) any sphere of common activity :—
        (2) division of function —
        (3) antagonistic relationship.
        (iii) In case of common activity or division of function, how coordination was effected.
        (iv) Was any of the morungs considered to be superior ? If so, what were the grounds on which it was considered to be superior ?

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(j) Particulars of the office bearers of the morung last in existence or still in existence.

Name of office	Nature of authority, responsibility, etc.	Name of incumbent to the post	Clan	How selected	Insignia, if any, of the office	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(k) Particulars of the different elements of the morung last in existence including the morung building, log drum, and others.

Item	Brief description	When constructed	By whom constructed		Who financed	Rituals during construction	Use	Remarks
			Skilled expert	Unskilled workers				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

(l) (i) Does the informant think that the institution of morung served useful purpose in the past.

(ii) If so, in what manner.

(m) (i) If the morung is still in existence, does he think that it is serving some useful purpose at present.

(ii) If so, in what manner.

(n) In case the morung has gone out of existence, whether any social, cultural, and economic development has followed ? If so, what is that ?

(o) Any other aspect of morung, not covered by above ;—

18. (a) Is there any voluntary organisation of all the Naga tribes ?

(b) If so, give the following particulars.

Name and address of the organisation	When established	Objective	Area of operation	Nature of work	Impact on social cultural and economic life of the people	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

19. (a) Is there any voluntary organisation of the tribe under study ?

(b) If so, give the following particulars.

Name and address of the organisation	When established	Objective	Basis of membership	Number of members and proportion from various khels, clans, religious denominations etc.	Area of operation	Nature of work	Source of finance	Impact on social, cultural and economic life of people	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

20. (a) Is there any voluntary organisation of the youths ?

(b) If so, give the following particulars.

Name and address of the organisation	When established	Objective	Basis of membership	Number of members and proportion from various khels, clans, religious denominations, etc.	Area of operation	Nature of work	Source of finance	Impact on social, cultural and economic life of people	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

21. (a) Is there any voluntary organisation of women ?

(b) If so, give the following particulars :—

Name and address of the organisation	When established	Objective	Basis of membership	Number of members and proportion from various khels, clans, religious denominations, etc.	Area of operation	Nature of work	Source of finance	Impact on social, cultural and economic life of people	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

22. (a) Is there any traditional disability for the females of the tribe ?

(b) If so, what are they ?

(c) Changes, if any, taking place.

23. (a) Is there any traditional disability for the unmarried persons of the tribe ?

(b) If so, what are they ?

(c) Changes, if any, taking place,

24. (a) Is there any traditional disability for the youths of the tribe ?

(b) If so, what are they ?

(c) Changes, if any, taking place.

25. (a) Is there any traditional disability for any section of the tribe ?

(b) If so, what are they ?

(c) Changes, if any, taking place.

26. Geneology showing names of all persons born in the family or married or adopted in the family during the last 3 generations even though now dead or married out.

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

27. For each name on the geneology record the following particulars.

Serial No.	Name	Family name	Sex	Relation to the present head of the Household	Born how many year ago	If dead, dead how many years ago
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	If married, married how many years ago			If ever separated/divorced, time of the same		
Serial No.	1st marriage	2nd marriage	Etc.	1st separation Divorce	2nd separation Divorce	Etc.
1	8a	8b	8c	9a	9b	9c

	Religion		Caste/community (In case of converts preconversion Caste or Community	Mother tongue	Occupation	Sl. No. of the spouse	Special information, if any		Remarks
Serial No.	Religion	Denomination or Sect.					If living how frequently visits ego's household	If living how frequently is visited by members of ego's household	
10	11a	11b	12	13	14	15	16a	16b	17

28. History of the family with reference to

(a) (i) Time of conversion.
(ii) Time of reversion.

(b) (i) Name of the person who was first converted in the family.
(ii) Name of the person who was first reverted in the family.

(c) (i) Circumstances of conversion.
(Important events and names of persons significantly connected with the conversions are to be noted).
(ii) Circumstances of reversion.

(d) (i) Whether all persons of the family of the convert were converted simultaneously.
(ii) Whether all persons of the family of the convert were reverted simultaneously.

(e) (i) Whether conversion led to split of the family ? What were the later developments ?
(ii) Whether reversion led to split of the family ? What were the later developments ?

(f) (i) Approximately how many persons of the same caste living in the same locality were converted simultaneously ?
(ii) Approximately how many persons of the same caste living in the same locality were reverted simultaneously ?

(g) Why did the family choose the particular denomination.

(h) (i) Where the family was staying before (a) conversion. (b) reversion.
(ii) (a) Whether after conversion the family has changed its residence ? If so, how frequently, when and what were the reasons for each change,
(b) Whether after reversion the family has changed its residence ? If so, how frequently ; when an dwhat were the reasons for each change.

(i) (i) What was the main occupation of the family before
(a) conversion.
(b) reversion.
(ii) (a) Whether after conversion the family has changed its occupation ? If so, how frequently, when and what were the reasons of each change.

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(b) Whether after reversion the family has changed its occupation ? If so, how frequently, when and what were the reasons of each change.

(j) Changes, if any, in the economic status of the family and how such changes have come about ?

(k) (a) Changes, if any, in the educational status of the family after conversion and how such changes have come about.

(b) Changes, if any, in the educational status of the family after reversion and how such changes have come about.

(l) (i) Social disabilities suffered by the family before conversion with particular reference to use of sources of water, getting services of barbers and other village servants, residence, use of dress and ornaments freely, so on and so forth.

(ii) (a) Whether the social disabilities suffered by the family before conversion continued after conversion ? In case of any change, how and when the change came about.

(b) Whether the social disabilities suffered by the family before conversion continued after reversion ? In case of any change, how and when the change came about.

(m) (i) Any other significant change in the life of the family as a result of (a) conversion.
(b) reversion.

(ii) Whether they felt any lack of co-operation from their caste fellows (a) after conversion.
(b) after reversion.

29. Particulars of the caste under survey with reference to

(a) Myth and legend of origin of the caste.

(b) History of settlement of the caste in the region.

(c) Traditional occupation of the caste.

(d) Ceremonial disabilities suffered by the clan.

(e) Civil disabilities suffered by the clan.

(f) Religious, political, social and other attempts made by the clan to throw off the disabilities suffered by it.

(g) When and where first conversion took place in the caste ? Did conversion subsequently take the form of a mass movement ? If so, particulars of the same are to be noted along with biographical sketch of the outstanding leaders of the mass movement.

(h) (i) Do all the converts from the tribes/clan under survey in the locality, belong to the same denomination ? If so, how to account for the same.

(ii) Do converts from different tribes/clans belong to different denominations in the locality under survey ? If so, how to account for the same ?

(i) Is there any difference in the occupation, vocabularies (including the language), mode of dress, ornaments, food, drinking habit, other custom between

(a) The converts and non-converts of the same origin.

(b) Converts of the same origin but different denominations.

(c) Converts of diverse origin but same denomination.

(j) Whether converts from Harijan caste are treated on a basis of equality by converts from non-harijan castes.

30. Has the informant any ceremonial friend ? If so, give the following particulars.

Name	Age	Sex	Address & distance from the village	Occupation	Special status, office, etc.	How contacted or selected
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

Establishment of the friendship				Acts of friendship rendered to him by the friend				
When	Where	Ritual or any other procedure for establishing the friendship	Presents, gifts, etc. at the time of the friendship	Ordinary	During ritesde passage	During tribal feuds	During financial difficulties	During other occasions
8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16

Acts of friendship rendered by him to the friend				Frequency and purpose of visiting the friend during last 3 years			Frequency and purpose of being visited by the friend during last 3 years		
Ordinarily	During ritesde passage	During tribal feuds	During financial difficulties	During other occasions	Frequency	Purpose	Frequency	Purpose	Remarks
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25

(b) (i) According to the informant has any change taken place in the frequency of ceremonial friendship among the people ?

(ii) If so, what is the nature of such change and what are the reason ?

(c) According to the informant does ceremonial friendship take place among people of

(i) Same clan but different khels of the same village

(ii) Same clan but different villages

(iii) Different clans of the same khel

(iv) Different clans of the same village

(v) Different clans of the same phratry but different villages

(vi) Different clans of different ranges but same tribe

(vii) People of same range but different tribes

(d) According to the informant did ceremonial friendship serve a special purpose, when the condition of life were very much in secure, due to practice of head hunting, tribal feud, bad communication ?

(e) If so, indicate the special purpose, with particular reference to

(i) support in tribal feuds.

(ii) Maintain trade channel.

(iii) Others.

(f) What is the local term for ceremonial friendship.

(g) Any other aspect of ceremonial friendship not covered by the above questions.

31. Inheritance

(a) If a person dies intestate leaving three sons, one married daughter, one unmarried daughter, wife, mother, and married brother, one unmarried brother and one unmarried sister, how and in what proportion the properties of the following categories will devolve during partition, according to the custom known to the informant :

	Movable	Immovable
I.	Village common property under possession of the person.	
II.	Khel common property under possession of the person.	
III.	Clan common property under possession of the person.	
IV.	Property received from father.	
V.	Property received from mother.	
VI.	Self-acquired.	
VII.	Other.	

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(b) Is there any case of deviation from the custom ? If so, give particulars.

(c) If a person dies intestate leaving three sons, one married daughter, one unmarried daughter, wife, mother, one married brother, one unmarried brother, and one unmarried sister how and in what proportion the properties of the following categories should devolve during partition, according to the opinion of the informant.

(d) Case study of how actually all immovable property (house, land, trees etc.) during last three generations and movable property (appliances and weapons, cash, ornament, livestock, other valuables) during the last one generation devolved in the family.

(e) Is there any difference in the laws of inheritance of the :

(i) clan of the informant and other clans ?

(ii) Tribe of the informant and other Naga tribes ?

(iii) Christians and non-christians of same Naga tribe.

(iv) Christians and non-christians of same clan.

(f) Does the informant want any change in the laws of inheritance of his tribe ? If so, what are they ?

32. Food and food habit

(a) Personally observe preparation of various food items in 3 families (one rich, one average and one poor) and prepare note on (i) Quantity (ii) method of preparation of food stage by stage in each of the above families).

(b) Keep record of quantity of food taken by various persons when the Investigator has a chance to observe the same. The aim should be to cover at least 10 cases, by personal observation.

(c) Make a record of food taken in 5 families during 3 days at the time of the visit of the Investigator.

Date	Name of the member of the family	Time of taking food	Item	Quantity
1	2	3	4	5

(d) (i) Daily normal routine diet of the family under survey.

Time	Item	Remarks (including vegetarian/non-vegetarian, food habits and other special food habits of members including infants, patients etc,)
1	2	3

(ii) Are the following items taken by the various members of the family

(a) Fish

(b) Pork

(c) Beef

(d) Mathon meat

(e) Mutton

(f) Dog meat, Deer, tiger, monkey, Bird meat (specify) other meat (specify)

(g) Fowl

(h) eggs

(iii) Is there any restriction regarding any items of food on the basis of age, sex, tribe sub-tribe, clan, marital status, etc.

Item	Category of people for whom restricted	Reason
1	2	3

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(iv) Is there any restriction of meat of animals or birds of certain colour or certain other type for any category of people (age) sex, tribe, sub-tribe, clan, marital status, etc.

Item	Category of people for whom restricted	Reason
1	2	3

(e) (i) Who normally prepare food and when ?

(ii) Whether other members of the family assist ?
If so, give particulars.

(f) (i) Who normally serves food ?

(ii) Where the different members take food.

(iii) Whether members of different age and sex groups normally take food together ? If not, record which category of members take food first and which category of members take food later.

(g) Seasonal variation of food (types and whether taken in more or same quantity compared to the annual average for the family).

	January-March	April-June	July-Sept.	Oct.-December
	1	2	3	4
(i)	Cereal			
(ii)	Pulses			
(iii)	Fish			
(iv)	Meat			
(v)	Eggs			
(vi)	Vegetables			
(vii)	Condiment			
(viii)	Oil			
(ix)	Milk & Milk products.			
(x)	Others			

(h) (i) Are special preparation made/or restrictions observed during festive and ceremonial occasions.

(ii) If yes, give particulars with reference to each occasion.

(iii) Is there any difference on such occasions in—

(a) Cooking medium.

(b) Spices and condiments.

(c) Any other aspect of preparation of various food items.

(i) Is any food particularly restricted/prescribed for any member of the family including widow—

(i) normally.

(ii) on special occasions.

(j) Is any item of food considered to affect the mental faculty of the persons consuming it ?

(k) (i) Particulars of members consuming alcoholic drinks.

Name of the member	Types of alcoholic drink taken	Since when taking	How frequently taking	Quantity normally taking	Where taken	Alcoholic group, if any	Special note on personality characteristics, if any, of the members	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(ii) Particulars of alcoholic drinks consumed in the family.

Types of alcoholic drinks	Where from obtained	How prepared	How consumed	Attitude of the church	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

33. House and House Type

(a) Ground plan showing proportionate size and situations of the various elements of the dwelling complex.

(b) Ground plan of the main building showing size and situation of the various elements (rooms, doors and space utilisation pattern).

(c) Most convenient vertical cross section showing situation of the various elements. (Use additional sheet wherever necessary).

(d) (i) Construction of the main house—

When constructed	Materials used	How and where from materials were obtained	Particulars af labour		
			Skilled labour	Unskilled labour	Market value
1	2	3	4a	4b	5

(ii) Assistance, if any, received from any relation or friend during construction of the house is to be recorded. It is also to be indicated whether the assistance is conditional or unconditional.

(e) Detailed description of the structure of the house and of the use of different parts of the house and by different members for different purposes. In case of recent construction, price of each material and payment made on labour charges are to be recorded.

(f) How the house-site was selected (Religious, economic, technical and other considerations).

(g) Socio-religious performances, if any, during different stages of construction of the house, and at the time of occupation of the house.

(h) Is there any circumstance when people abandon the house? If so, give the particulars with actual cases for illustration.

34. Material Culture

(a) Dress

(i) For male members

Item	Brief description	No.	When and where from obtained	Average price of each	Manner of use (including whether used by adult, minor, married, unmarried) person of special status, clan, khel, etc.	Remarks including changes taken place
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(ii) For female members

Item	Brief description	No.	When and where from obtained	Average price of each	Manner of use (including whether used by adult, minor, married, unmarried), person of special status, clan, khele, etc.	Remarks including changes taken place
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(b) Ornaments

(i) For male members

Item	Brief description	No.	When and where from obtained	Average price of each	Manner of use (including whether used by adult, minor, married, unmarried person of special, status clan, khel, etc.	Remarks including changes that have taken place
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(ii) For Female members

Item	Brief description	No.	When and where from obtained	Average price of each	Manner of use (including whether used by adult, minor, married, unmarried, person of special status, clan, khel, etc.	Remarks including changes that have taken place
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(c) Tattooing

1. (A) Particulars of the members of family who have been tattooed.

Name of the member of the family tattooed	Age	Age at which tattooed	Part of the body where tattooed	Design	Symbolical meaning, if any, of the design	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(B)

Particulars of Tattooer	Tools used	Technique	Treatment of wound	Remuneration to Tattooer	Ritual, if any, during any stage of tattooing	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Name

Address

including

distance from

the village

tribe, clan

relationship, if any.

2. According to the informant is/was there tattoo design peculiar to

If yes, what changes are/were they.

change, if any, taking place

(a) each tribe

(b) phratry

(c) clan

(d) Khel

(e) family

(f) sex

3. (a) According to the informant was tattooing frequently practised in the past?
(b) If it is less practised at present ; what is the reason for the change.

4. (a) It is stated that among some people tattooing is related to the belief about the future of the soul after death.
(b) Is there any such belief among the people of the village ? If so, what are the salient features of such belief.

5. Any other aspect about tattooing not covered above.

(d) Hair Style

Categories of persons	Hair style		Symbolical meaning, if any, ascribed to any particular hair style	Remarks
	In the past	At present		
1	2	3	4	5

A. Male

1. Status
   (i) Chief
   (ii) Priest
   (iii) Other office bearer
   (iv) Ordinary person

2. Age
   (i) Old
   (ii) Adult
      (a) married
      (b) unmarried
   (iii) Children.

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

3. Social affiliation
   (i) Khel
   (ii) Clan
   (iii) Others

4. Education
   (i) Educated
   (ii) Uneducated

5. Any other category

B. Female

1. Status
   (i) Wife of chief
   (ii) Wife of priest
   (iii) Other office bearers
   (iv) Ordinary person

2. Age
   (i) Old
   (ii) Adult
      (a) married
      (b) unmarried
   (iii) Children

3. Social affiliation
   (i) Khel
   (ii) Clan
   (iii) Others

4. Education
   (i) Educated
   (ii) Uneducated

5. Any other category.
   (e) Footwear
   (f) Other clothes (including beddings, blankets, etc.)
   (g) Utensils
   (h) Furniture
   (i) Tools and implements
   (j) Lighting (lantern/pltromax or hazack, torch).
   (k) Fuel
   (l) Musical instruments including indigenous musical instruments and gramophone, radio, harmonium, etc.
   (m) Sports goods
   (n) Luxury goods
   (o) Transport (cycles, boats)
   (p) Hunting implements
   (q) Implements of war and change

(i) (i) According to the head of the family.
   (a) is education good for the ward ?
   (b) upto what standard the ward should study ?
   (c) what the ward should do after completion of education.

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(j) Has the household anything to say about the present facilities of education or any other aspect of education.

(k) (i) Is there any boy/girl of the age group 6–14 who is not reading in any educational institution ?

(ii) If so, why the boy/girl is not reading ?

35. Education

(a) Is any person from the household reading in any educational institution ?

(b) If so, give particulars about the institution.

(c) Is it under control of the church ?

(d) Is there any non-denomnational school in the neighbourhood ?

(e) If so, why the child is reading in the missionary school and not in the non-denominational school ?

(f) If the child is reading in the non-denominational school and not in the Missionary school in the neighbourhood why is he reading there ?

(g) (i) Does the student go to the Institute regularly ?

(ii) If not, why not ?

(h) (i) Does he/she has enough time to study at home ?

(ii) If not, why not.

36. Fishing and fisheries

(a) Does any member of the family practise fishing for (particulars about the person should be given).

(i) Domestic consumption

(ii) Sale

(b) If yes, furnish the following particulars

Time						
Season	Hour	Place of fishing	Particulars of tools and implements including boat	Type of fish	Operational details	Socio-religious performances and taboos
1 (a)	1 (b)	2	3	4	5	6

(c) How the catch is shared

(d) If tools or implements are obtained from others note particulars as follows

Name of tool or implement	Number	From where obtained	Relationship, if any,	Terms on which obtained	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

(e) If tools and implements have been given to others, note the particulars as follows

Name of tool or implement	Number	Given to whom	When	Relation, if any,	Terms on which given	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(f) (i) Nature of right in respect of the area where fishing is done.

(ii) Payment, if any, made for acquiring right or permission for fishing.

(g) Factors determining the availability of catch of various types of fish.

(h) Particulars of culture of fingerlings.

(i) Processing and preservation of fish.

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(j) Disposal of fish.

Season	Type of fish	Where caught	Approximate quantity	Approximate price	Consumed		Sold		Otherwise disposed		Remarks including trade channel
					Appr. qty.	Appr. price	Appr. qty.	Appr. price	Appr. qty.	Appr. price	
1	2	3	4	5	6 (a)	6 (b)	7 (a)	7 (b)	8 (a)	8 (b)	9

Jan.—March
April—June
July—Sept.
Oct.—Dec.

37. Forestry including hunting

I (a) Is there any joint operation in connection with forestry/ hunting.
(b) If so, give the particulars of the persons composing the group.

II (a) Does any member of the family practise of restry/hunting for domestic consumption for sales
(b) If yes, please furnish the following particulars

Time		Place	Particulars of tools & implements	Type of forest product/game	Operational details	Socio-religious performances
Season	Hour					
1(a)	1(b)	2	3	4	5	6

(c) I Nature of right enjoyed in respect of the area where forestry/hunting is done.
II Payment, if any, for acquiring the right or permission for hunting.
(d) Factors (*e. g.* weather) determining availability of the product.
(e) Processing, preservation and use of the products.
(f) Particulars of disposal of the product (sale, sharing, etc.)

38 Industry and commerce.

(a) Operation

Name of Industry	Raw material	Place of work	Season of work	Working hours	Operational details including particulars of the persons who work, their training for the work, method of processing raw material and brief description of finished product	Quantity of produce	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(b) Storage, preservation and disposal.

Name of finished produce	Quantity of produce	How and where stored and preserved	Quantity consumed in the family	Quantity sold	Quantity otherwise disposed	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

39. Finance and marketing

Name of commodity	Finance for production		To whom sold	Quantity	Terms and conditions of sale	Remark
	Source	Term				
1	2 (a)	2 (b)	3	4	5	6

40. Employment outside the family

Name of the member of the family employed outside	Nature of work	No. of days employed in a month	Remuneration	Place of work	Distance from home	Hours of work	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

41. (a) Particulars of casual labour for a week during presence of the Investigator

Name of person	Nature of work	Place of work	Distance from home	Hours of work	Remuneration	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(b) Do the members of the family refrain from any work on each Sunday.

(c) Are there any other day when they refrain from work or observe certain restrictions regarding work.

42. Indebtedness

(a) Whether any member of the family is in debt.

(b) Terms and conditions for obtaining loan.

Source	Amount of debt		When taken	Purpose	Rate of interest	Nature of security		Other terms & conditions on which loan was taken	Remarks
	Cash	Kind				Usufruct	Non-usufruct		
1	2(a)	2(b)	3	4	5	6 (a)	6 (b)	7	8

(c) Particulars of any outstanding loan paid back this year.

Source	Amount	Since when due	How paid (Whether from saving or from sale of property or otherwise)	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(d) Particulars of creditors

Name of Creditor	Kinship tie if any with the Household	Other social tie, if any.	Economic tie, if any.	Other tie	No relation	Amount	Terms & conditions	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

43 Sale and purchase of valuable assets during last year.

(a) Sale					(b) Purchase					
Time of sale	Buyer's community & residence	Occupation of Buyer	Ave No.	Sale price	Type of asset	Purchase price	Ave No.	Sellers's occupation	Seller's community & residence	Date of purchase
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
					Land					
					Livestock					
					Machinery					
					Tools & Equipment					
					Buildings etc.					
					Jewellers and Valuables					
					Investments					
					Other assets.					

44. Source of finance for capital expenditure

Item	Personal saving	Borrowing from				Sale of assets	Other sources	Total
		Govt.	Co-op.	Other Institution	Others			
1	2	3 (a)	3 (b)	3 (c)	3 (d)	4	5	6
Expenditure on construction and improvement of building and other structure.								
Expenditure on land development.								
Expenditure for purchase of cattle.								
Expenditure on purchase of land & other assets.								
Expenditure on new capital goods.								

45. Major heads of income and expenditure during the last year.

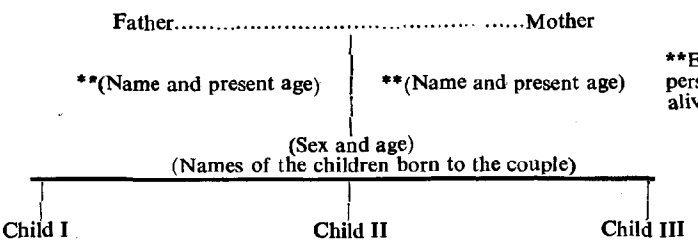
Income		Expenditure	
Major head	Gross income	Major head	Amount
1	2	3	4
Shifting Cultivation		Food (Cereal)	
Terraced Agriculture			
Livestock & products		Non-Cereal	
Wages		Drinks	
Arts & Crafts		Fuel and Lighting	
Fishery		House rent and repairs	
Forestry		Clothing	
Trade and Craft		Travelling	
Transport		Recreation	

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

1	2	3	4
Profession		Education	
Service		Other misc. services	
Rent		Interest	
Investment		Rent	
Remittance		Remittance	
Interest		Hired labour	
Divident and Profit		Purchase for production (Seed manure, etc.)	
		Socio-Religious	
Others		Others	
Total		Total	
Borrowing		*Purchase of assets*	
Principal received back		Construction and improvement of Building and other structures	
Sale of assets		Land development	
Grand Total		Grand Total	

46. Birth—Make case studies as follows :

1. (Prepare geneological chart as follows and underline the name of the child particulars of whose birth have been collected).



**Even if dead, the age that the person would have attained if alive, should be given.

2. (a) How and when pregnancy was recognised ?

(b) According to the informant which of the following is responsible for conception.

(i) Sex union
(ii) Blessing of God.
(iii) Intrusion of ancestral spirit
(iv) Others (specify)

(c) Whether according to the informant birth of a male or female child can be manipulated.

(d) In many parts of the world it has been found that even though there is frequent premarital sex relation, conception is rare. According to the informant what is the reason for it ?

3. Whether there was restriction for the expectant mother during prenatal period in regard to :

Item	Nature and actual time of restriction	Purpose	Whether such restriction was/is the common pattern in the community	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
(a) Diet				
(b) Work				
(c) Visiting of place				
(d) Conjugal life				
(e) Any other matter				

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

4. Whether there was any restriction for expectant father during prenatal period in regard to ;

Item	Nature and actual time of restriction	Purpose	Whether such restriction was/is the common pattern in the community	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
(a) Diet.				
(b) Work.				
(c) Visiting any place.				
(d) Conjugal life.				
(e) Any other matter.				

5. Whether there was any restriction for other members of the family during prenatal period in regard to :

Item	Nature and actual time of restriction	Purpose	Whether such restriction was/is the common pattern in the community	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
(a) Diet.				
(b) Work.				
(c) Visiting any place.				
(d) Conjugal life.				
(e) Any other matter.				

6. Whether during the prenatal period any of the following was specially prescribed for the expectant mother:

Item	Nature and time of the prescribed behaviour	Purpose	Whether such prescribed behaviour was/is common in the community	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
(a) Any special diet.				
(b) Any special type of work.				
(c) Visiting certain place.				
(d) Conjugal life.				
(e) Any other matter.				

7. Whether during the prenatal period any of the following was specially prescribed for the expectant father :

Item	Nature and time of the prescribed behaviour	Purpose	Whether such prescribed behaviour was/is common in the community	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
(a) Any special diet.				
(b) Any special type of work.				
(c) Visiting certain place.				
(d) Conjugal life.				
(e) Any other matter.				

8. Whether during the prenatal period any of the following was specially prescribed for other members of the family.

Item	Nature and time of the prescribed behaviour	Purpose	Whether such prescribed behaviour was/is common in the community	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
(a) Any special diet.				
(b) Any special type of work.				
(c) Visiting certain place.				
(d) Conjugal life				
(e) Any other matter.				

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

9. Particulars of cerenonies performed after conception and before birth of the child :

Time (i.e. month of pregnancy)	Name of ceremony	Brief description of the ceremony	Purpose	Whether performance of the ceremony as in col. III was/is the common pattern	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

10. Did the expectant mother suffer from any physical or mental ailments during conception ? Yes/No
If yes, give the following particulars :

Nature of ailment	Symptoms	Causes, according to local tradition	Remedial measures taken	Result	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

11. What preparations were made for the delivery ?

Nature of preparation	Was/is the particular in col. III in conformity with the common pattern	Remarks
1	2	3

12. Where did the birth take place ?

Mother's place	Father's place	House of some other relation	What was/is the common pattern	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
(a) In the normal sleeping room.				
(b) In a room specially constructed for the purpose				
(c) In some other room (specify).				

13. Particulars of assistance provided during the labour :

Served by indigenous dai						Assisted by kins and neighbours			Served by trained dai or nurse			Remarks (including comments on the quality or assistance received from various sources, whether there was any ceremonial thanks-giving to those who rendered assistance, and what was/is the general pattern in the village)
Name	Age	Caste	Number of days of service	Nature of service	Remuneration	Name	Relation with the expectant mother	Nature of assistance	Number of days of service	Nature of service	Remuneration	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

14. Position of the mother during delivery :

(a) Lying

(b) Slightly raised position (supported by.....
name and relation)

(c) Other

15. (a) Was the delivery a normal one ? Yes/No.

(b) If it was a protracted and difficult delivery, give the following particulars :

Duration of the labour pain	What was the specific nature of the complication	According to local custom, what is the reason for the trouble	Sl. No.	What remedial measures were taken	What was the result	Remarks including what is/was the common practice in the village in such cases
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

16. Severance of umbilical cord.

(a) Implement used.

(b) Manipulation of the implement.

(c) Who did it ?

(d) What is the traditional pattern ?

17. Disposal of placenta.

(a) Place of disposal.

(b) How disposed off ?

(c) Who removed ?

(d) What is the traditional pattern ?

18. Equipment in the delivery room.

Clothes	Particulars	Whether clean or not
1	2	3
(i) For cleaning.		
(ii) Wrapping child.		
(iii) Mother.		
(iv) Bed.		
(v) Other.		

	Hot		Tepid	Cold	
(a) Water	Type of pot		Purpose		
(b) Fire					
(c) Herbs	Name	From where collected		By whom collected	Purpose
	1	2	3	4	5
(d) Objects for warding off supernatural evils.					
(e) Other objects.					

19. Confinement for mother.

Duration	Place	Diet	Practices to recoup health	Practices to protect mother against supernatural evil or other evil	When the mother resumes her normal duties	Rituals if any observed immediatelya fter child birth during confinement at the endof confinement	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

20. Pollution

Duration for				
Mother	Father	Other members of family (specify)	Nature of restriction for each	Remarks
a(a)	1(b)	1(c)	2	3

21. Taking the ceild out of the house.

No, of days after the birth when the child is taken out	Hour	When takes out	Where taken	Any ritual	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

22. Name giving.

When	By whom	How the name is selected	Any ritual	Where the ritual/ selection take place	Whether there is a secret names and whether the name is a traditional tribal name/clan name or borrowed from European names, plain areas etc.	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

23. Total cost incurred during birth of the child (give item-wise delails).

24. Child care-protection.

Measures taken immediately after birth for protection against				Measures taken during first few months for protection against				
Cold	Heat	Other physical harm	Supernatural evil	Cold	Heat	Other physical harm	Supernatural evil	Remrrks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

25. Child care-washing and cleaning.

How often the infant was washed daily during the first week after birth		How often the infant was washed daily during the first two months after birth		How often the infant was washe daily during the first/2 years after birth	
With hot water	With cold water	With hot water	With cold water	With hot water	With cold water
1(a)	1(b)	2(a)	2(b)	3(a)	3(b)

Was any kind of oil rubbed on the body during			Other practices connected with washing and cleaning	Remarks
First week	2 months	2 years		
4(a)	4(b)	4(c)	5	6

APPENDIX I (ii)—*contd.*

26. Practices connected with micturition, defecation.

Upto what age the child was allowed to micturite and pass stool on bed	Attempt to train the child to pass stool outside the bed			Attempt to train child to pass stool at fixed place outside room		Remarks
	First attempt was by whom	When	How (cajole, threat beat, other)	When	How	
1	2(a)	2(b)	2(c)	3(a)	3(b)	4

27. Suckling, weaning and feeding.

Duration of suckling	Regulation of suckling		Weaning		Supplementary food (liquid and solid) for the child		
	Upto what age allowed to suckle whenever cried	When restriction commenced	When	How	Item	When commenced	Quantity at different stages of growth
1	2(a)	2(b)	3(a)	3(b)	4(a)	4(b)	4(c)

Hours of feeding of thechild	Restriction if any, observed by the mother during suckling period in regard to her food, work habit, bathing habit, conjugal life etc.	Remarks
5	6	7

28. Carrying about of the child (How the child used to be carried about) ?

Ist 4 months	4 months 1 year	1 year–3 years	Remarks
1	2	3	4

29. Barrenness.

Reason	Method of overcoming including magico religious performances	Any known case of overcoming barrenness by the method indicated	Remarks
1	2	3	4

30. Still birth.

Reason	Method of preventing (including magico-religious performance).	Any known case of application of the preventive method	Remarks
1	2	3	

APPENDIX I (ii)—*concld.*

31. (a) Wilful abortion

(i) Who generally practise it ?
(ii) What is the purpose ?
(iii) What is the method ?
(iv) What is the frequency in the region ?

(b) Contraception

(i) Is it generally in use among
married couples,
unmarried persons.
(ii) What was the method in the past ?
(iii) What is the method at present ?

32. Preference

(i) (a) Do the people prefer to have a son or a daughter during first birth ?
(b) Reason for the particular preference.
(c) What the informant wants and why ?

(ii) (a) Do the people want to have larger number of sons or larger number of daughters ?
(b) Reason for particular preference ?
(c) What the informant wants and why ?

33. General statement on custom relating to birth :

(a) If there is any difference in the practices observed during the birth of a son and a daughter respectively ?
(b) If yes, what are they ?
(c) Is there any difference in the practices observed during birth by the different clans ? If so what are they ?
(d) Is there any difference in the practices observed during birth by the people of different villages ? If so what are they ?
(e) If there any difference in the practices observed during birth by the people of diflerent sects ? If so, what are they ?
(f) Is there any difference in the practices observed during birth by the people of the same religion in the mainland and the island under study ? If so, what are they ?
(g) Is there any aspect of the practices connected with birth which the medical personnel have advised to abjure ? If so, what are they ?
(h) Is there any aspect of the advices given by medical personnel in matters relating to child-birth and child-care which are not in conformity with the local custom, if so, what are they ?
(i) Is there any other aspect of child birth which should be recorded ?

Name giving baptism and confirmation

(a) After how many days the infant and the mother is taken to the church. Any difference in this aspect according to the sex of the infant.
Any special ceremony at the church or home associated with it ? Any difference in those performances on the basis of the sex of the infant.

(b) Name giving, baptism and confirmation taken place together or separately ? if separately, after how many days each of these takes place.

(c) Baptism.

(i) What is the Significance of Baptism in your church.
(ii) What is the name given ?
Why that name ?
(iii) Who is the god father/mother
Why that particular person ?
on what day it took place ?
(iv) (a) Who baptised and how
(b) Persons attended.
(v) Any payment to church/priest.
(vi) Any feasting or other ceremony at home.

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(d) Confirmation.

(i) What is the significance of confirmation in your church :—

(ii) On what day confirmation took place.

(iii) Give the particulars of confirmation as follows :—

		Special Training							
Name	Age	Duration	Who gave the training	Any special dress	Person officiated	Persons Attended	Any feast or other ceremony	Any payment to church or the person officiated	Remarks
1	2	3(a)	3(b)	4	5	6	7	8	

47. Sex and marriage.

(i) Particulars about the person whose marriage is being studied.

(a) Name

(b) Age.

(c) Relation to the head of the family.

(d) Puberty rite if any–how and when it was performed.

(e) Any restrictions regarding Socio-religious activities and economic activities like agriculture, fishing, hunting etc.

(ii) **Segregation of sex.**

(a) Age at which boy/girl was required to avoid persons of the opposite sex of the same age group in
Sleeping
Playing
Eating
Economic activities
Other activities.

(b) How and by whom the behaviour appropriate to the age group in the matter of sex segregation was taught to the child.

(c) Was there any problem of adjustment in the case of the boy/girl under study.

(d) Remarks.

(iii) Desirable qualities and ways of life of persons of different sex.

(a) Acording to the informant what are the five most desirable qualities of :—

(i) A boy bolew 12 (ii) a girl below 12
(iii) an adolescent boy of 12–18 (iv) an adolescent girl of 12–18
(v) adult male (vi) adult female

(b) According to the infomant should assistance in economic activities be rendered by

(i) a boy of 5–8	Yes/No	If yes, nature of assistance.
(ii) a girl of 5–8	Yes/No	
(iii) a boy of 9–12	Yes/No	
(iv) a girl of 9–12	Yes/No	
(v) a boy of 13–16	Yes/No	
(vi) a girl of 13–16	Yes/No	

(c) In case of the person under study record the particulars of the efforts made to develop the desirable qualities and ways of life indicated in (a) and (b) above.

Below age of 6			Age 6–8		
How	By whom	Response	How	By whom	Response
1	2	3	4	5	6

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

age 9–12			Age 13–16		
How	By whom	Response	How	by whom	Response
1	2	3	4	5	6

(iv) Had the boy/girl opportunity to freely mix with persons of opposite sex whom he/she could marry.

(v) Particulars about selection of partner of conjugal union.

(a) Name, age and adress of the spouse.

(b) Who selected.

(c) How the selection was made.

(d) Was the person under study, consulted & how the person concerned was consulted.

(e) If yes, what was the reaction.

(f) s there any other relation with the spouse.

(vi) (a) Was there any betrothal ceremony.

(b) If yes

(i) Age of betrothal.

(ii) Place and time.

(iii) Nature of ceremony.

(iv) Associated social and other activities.

(v) Name of participants and relationship.

(vi) Gifts, presents etc.

(vii) Who was the main organiser of the ceremony.

(viii) Who had borne the cost.

(ix) Total expenditure.

(vii) Particulars about the marriage.

(a) Age of Marriage.

(b) (i) How and by whom the date was fixed ?

(ii) Any particular day preferred for it, if so why.

(c) Particulars of dowry/bride price and other terms and conditions of marriage and how the same was settled and who took the leadership in handing over it etc.

(d) Particulars of visits and return visits by the two parties at the time of the fixation of the date of marriage (including the name of the persons involved, and their relationship with bride/groom, how, by whom and where the visitors were received, what were the rituals performed during these occations, where were they performed, who officiated etc.). What was the role of the neighbours different village friends etc.).

(e) Details of the celebration of the marriage including.

(i) (a) Places of the various activities connected with the marriage.

(b) At whose place it is celebrated.

(ii) Categories of persons invited.

(iii) Number of persons attended in different parts of the ceremony and associated activities.

(iv) Role of different kins (F : M : FB : MB : EB : YB : ES : YS : FS : MS etc.).

(v) Role of neighbours.

(vii) Who officiated.

(vii) particulars of marriage procession if any.

(viii) Rituals performed at various stages including starting from home, procession, reaching the church, exchange of rings, etc., taking of oath, services, performances at the time of leaving the church visit to place of bride/groom, formal adoption in the family/clan of bride/groom etc.

(ix) Rite of civilnature if any.

(x) Documentation if any.

(xi) (i) Any auspicious time and who determined it.

(ii) Is there any preference/prohibition to celebrate the marriage on any day.

(xii) Publication of banns.

(xiii) Non-religious observances connected with the marriage observed at home and church etc.

(xiv) Dress and ornaments worn by bride/groom and their body decorations.

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(xv) (i) Persons acted as bride's maid/groom's best man and her/his relation to the party.
(ii) Ceremonial dress worn by any kin.
(xvi) Other paraphernalia used during marriage.
(xvii) Music and dance.
(xviii) Formal transactions if any.
(xix) Payment to church, priest etc.
(xx) Feasting etc.
(xxi) What is the essential item of performance of which the marriage is considered to be solemnised.

(f) When and where consummation of marriage took place ?

(g) Was any folk rite performed during any stage of marriage ?

(h) (i) Were presents given by kins, neighbours, friends ?
If so, give particulars.
(ii) Were presents given to kins, neighbours, friends & servants ; if so, give particulars.

(viii) What was the expenditure incurred by the family during the marriage.
For rituals.
For entertainment of guests.
For giving presents.
For payment of dowry/bride price.
For contribution to public funds.
For other purposes.
Total

(ix) How was the cost met.
(a) Saving.
(b) Debt ?
If so, from where and on what terms.
(c) Contributions.
If so, by whom.
(d) Sale of property.
If so, particulars of the property.
Sold, to whom sold, and at what price.
(e) Other source. Give details.

(x) Widow remarriage.
(a) What is the attitude of the informant towards widow remarriage.
(b) What is the teaching of church towards widow remarriage.
(c) Is there any difference in the religious and/Social ceremonies connected with widow remarriage.
Is there any preference/prohibition for marriage with any of the following category :—

(a) Mother's	Brother's	Daughter	(b) Father's	Sister's	Daughter
(c) Father's	Brother's	Daughter	(d) Mother's	Sister's	Daughter
(e) Wife's	Elder	Sister	(f) Wife's	Younger	Sister
(g) Elder	Brother's	Widow	(h) Younger	Brother's	Widow
(i) Elder	Sister's	Daughter	(j) Sister's	Sister's	Daughter

(k) Any girl belonging to the same clan or gotra (l) Any girl having same family name.

(xi) According to the informant is looseness in sex life in increase or decrease.
In either case what is the reason.

(xii) According to the informant is premarital sex relation considered to be equally wrong in case of females as in case of males.
(b) How are the males punished in such cases.
(c) How are the female punished in such cases.
(d) Case history, if any.
(e) Remarks.

(xiii) (a) According to the informant is extramarital sex relation considered to be equally wrong in case of married girls as in case of premarital sex relation of unmarried girls ?

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(b) If not, how the difference in the attitude of the society is exhibited in such matters.
(c) Case history, if any.
(d) Remarks.

(xiv) (a) According to the infarmant is extramarital sex relation considered to be equally wrong in case of married males as in case of premarital sex relation of unmarried males.
(b) If not, how the difference in the attitude of the society exhibited in such matters.
(c) Case history if any.
(d) Remarks.

(xv) Particulars of differences if any in the following ways.

	Unconverted persons of the caste under survey	Converts from the caste under survey belonging to			Other Christians of the locality belonging to		
		Deno 1	Deno 2	Deno 3	Deno 1	Deno 2	Deno 3
1	2	3(a)	3(b)	3(c)	4(a)	4(b)	4(c)

(a) Age of marriage.
(i) Male.
(it) Female.
(b) Residence after marriage.
(c) Payment of bride price.
(d) Payment of dowry.
(e) Other orders of marriages, service,exchange etc.
(f) Role of kins.
(g) Frequency of Divorce.
(h) Frequency of polygamy.
(i) Frequency of widow remarriage,
(j) Frequency of marriage with
F.B.D.
M.B.D.
F.S.D.
M.S.D.
W.E.S.
W.Y.S.
E.B. Widow.
Y.B.Widow.
Girls of lower Castes.
Girls of higher castes.
Girls of same castes.
Girls of same caste, but different religion.
Girls of same gotra or clan.

(k) Place of marriage.
(l) Role of priests.
(m) Method of soleministon of marriage.
(n) Others.

(xvi) Divorce, desertion (actual case study)
(a) Names of pair involved.
(b) Divorced how many years after marriage.
(c) Divorced how many years ago.
(d) Cause of divorce.
(e) How divorce was effected.
(i) (Whether any complaint was lodged before any religious or civil authority ; who took decision ; how it was given effect to ; whether any ritual was performed symbolising the separation).
(ii) Whether a divorce can remarry or not ?

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(f) Financial settlement if any.
(g) What was the role of the various kins during divorced proceedings.
(h) Particulars of the children born of the union.
(i) What sort of right or responsibility the divorced father bears in respect of the children.
(j) What sort of right or responsibility the divorced mother bears in respect of the children.
(k) If the divorced wife is connected by some kinship whether the normal behaviour of that kinship exists now.
(l) Remarks.

48. DEATH (Make case studies as follow).

Case I.

Before 10 years.	Within 10 years.
Adult male 1	Adult male 1
Adult female 1	Adult female 1

1 case of infant death, 1 case of death in case of 1-12 ; 2 or 3 cases of accidental death ; 2 or 3 cases of death, of a person who has married in the clan/Tribe which is not preferred.

1. (a) Household No ;
   (b) Name of head of family ;
   (c) Religion—Christian/Non-christian ;
   (d) Clan ;
   (e) Economic status ;
   (f) Other relevant particulars.
2. (a) Name of the person whose death is being studied;
   (b) Relation to the household.
   (c) Present age, had the person been alive;
   (d) Age of death.
3. In case of accidental death, relate the circumstances of the accidental death.
4. In case of death due to illness :
   (a) (i) How long ill.
   (ii) What was the nature of illness.
   (iii) What were the natural causes ascribed for the illness.
   (iv) By whom diagnosed.
   (v) Was any supernalural cause ascribed for the illness.
   (vi) Where did he stay during iliness.
   (vii) Where did he die.
   (b) When it was evident that the person will die ?
   (c) How it was known that the person will die.
   (d) How the symptoms were determined ?
   (e) Was the news divulged to the members of the family ?
   (f) (i) Had the patient any premonition of death ?
   (ii) If so, what was the reaction.
   (g) Particulars of the last minute attempt made to ward-off death.
   (h) (i) Was the patient removed to a different room or part of the house immediately before death ?
   (ii) If so, why ?
   (i) Was any other preparatory measure taken immediately before death ?
   (j) Hour of death.
   (k) Particulars of kins who gathered at the time of death.
5. (i) Immediately after death, where, how and for how many days the dead body was kept before being carried to the platform for exposure or to the burial ground, (orientation of head etc.).
   (ii) Arrangement of the corpse, cross and other things in that place.
6. (a) Particulars of treatment of the corpse before being carried to the burial ground (washing, dressing, mortuary garments etc.).
   (b) Preparation of coffin
   (i) From where it is obtained.
   (ii) Give the details of following:

Name of the person who prepared	Religion	Tribe/clan	Occupation	Relation to the dead	Payment	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

7. (i) Was any person (kin, official etc.) required to be formally informed of the death ? If so, particulars.
(ii) Was any special prayer at home before taking the corpse to bury. If so, who officialed.

8. (i) (a) How and by whom the place for disposal of the dead body was selected ? (If it is family burial ground, specially note that).
(b) If it is a family burial or old burial ground, indicate what is done to the old remains.
(ii) Was any permission required to be obtained ? If so give particulars.
(iii) Was any payment required to be paid ? If so, give particulars.
(iv) Was any special place in the grave yard allotted to—
(a) Male & Female.
(b) Adult & children.
(c) Different clans.
(d) Headman, priest.
(e) Head hunter.
(f) Others including one who had performed some Gennas.

9. (i) How the dead body was carried to the burial ground (carrier, orientation of the head, whether before being carried to burial ground, the body was carried to other places, whether the body brought out by the main door, or by some other exit).
(ii) (a) Before taking to the gravey ard whether the corpse is taken to the church and offered special prayers.
(b) If so at which part of the church the body was kept.
(i) in case of male.
(ii) in case of female.

10. Who carried the dead body ?

11. Who accompanied the dead body ?

12. During carrying the dead body to the burial ground, was any other object ritually taken there (e.g. water, food, tools and implements used by the deceased when alive etc.).

13. Were there special observances before/after or at the time of carrying the dead body to the burial ground (shuuting all doors, putting special dress by kins, special prayer etc. making of hole on the roof for eseape of the soul etc).

14. Digging of grave :
(a) Who dug ?
(b) Implements used ;
(c) Is there any special practice in connection with digging of grave ?
(d) Orientation of the pit

15. Performance in the burial ground before placing the dead body in the grave

Nature of performance	Who performed	What other participants did	Remarks
1	2	3	4

16. (a) Who placed the dead body in the grave ?
(b) Orientation of the head.

17. (a) What are the things put in the grave alongwith the corpse.
(b) How and by whom soil was placed to cover the grave.

18. After burial, was any ritual performed in the burial ground ?

19. After burial, did the participants disperse or come to the house of the deceased or did they go to any other parlicular place ?

20. Before dispersal, was there any special observance ? (Taking bath, prayer in church etc.).

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

21. Was there any period of pollution and ceremonial mourning for different kins ?

Kin	Period of pollution	Nature of restriction (seclusion abjuring oranments, observation of vegetarianism	Nature of special observance (putting special dress, prayer etc.)	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5
H.				
W.				
F.				
M.				
Z.				
D.				
B.				
S.				
M.B.				
S.Z.				
F.B.				
F.S.				
M.S.				
M.S.Z.				
M.B.Z.				
Other kins.				

Persons of the same clan
(in case of ordinary person).
(in case of clan senior and other important person).
Persons of same khel
(in case of ordinary person)
(in case of khel senior or the important person).
Persons of same village.
(in case of ordinary person)
(in case of headman or some other important person).
Persons of the villages having alliance for defence for offence.
(in case of important person).
Is there any difference in these observances according to the age and nature of the change of death.
(H—Husband ; W—Wife ; F—Father ; M—Mother ; Z—Son ; S—Sister ; B—Brother).

22. For how many days and how mourning was observed (cessation of work, cooking, amusements, non-participation of festivals restriction to vegetarianism etc.) in.
(a) Own clan ;
(b) Husband/wife's clan ;
(c) Any other kin ;
(d) Co-villagers.
(e) Remarks.
Is there any difference in these observations according to the age of the dead and nature of the cause of death.

23. Particulars of purification ceremony, if any :

Name of ceremony	Performed how many days after death	Where performed	Who officiated	Who participated	Remarks including a brief description covering the different stages of the ceremony
1	2	3	4	5	6

24. Any other aspect of rites connected with death.
25. Total expenditure and who bore the expenses at different stages.

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

26. Particulars of commemoration ceremony if any.

Name of ceremony	Performed how many days after death	Where performed	Who officiated who participated	Brief description the performances	Total expenditure	Who bore it	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

27. According to informant is there any differences in the observances and practices connected with death and funeral rites according to
(a) Status and age of dead.
(b) Nature or cause of death.

28. According to the informant.
(a) What differentiates animate object from in-animate object.
(b) (i) After death, does any aspect of the person continue to exist ?
(ii) If so, what is that ?
(iii) What is the local name of that some thing of the person which continues to exist ?
(iv) In what form does it exist ?
(v) Where does it exist ?
(vi) Whether future of this something which continues after death can be influenced by any activity during life time.
(vii) What are these activities and how do these exercise their influence.
(viii) Is there any difference, between the concepts and practices of the christians and non-christians of the same tribe in this matter ? If so, what are these differences ?
(c) (i) What does the informant understand by day of judgement ?
(ii) Does belief in day of judgement influence the day to day behaviour of the people ?
(iii) If so, how ?
(d) (i) Is there rebirth after death ?
(ii) If so, whether the nature of life is influenced by any of the activities in the present life ? Describe them.
(e) In the past many tribes throughout the world used to believe that future of the soul after dealh was influenced by success in head-hunting—success in love making.
(i) Was there similar belief among the people of this tribe/village/clan/family/religious denomination.
(ii) Is there similar belief among the people of this tribe/village/clan/religious denominations/family.
(f) Among some people there is a practice of calling back the soul.
(i) Is there any similar practice in this village/clan/family.
(ii) If so, give the particulars.
(g) (i) Is there any stone megalith in this village/adjoining areas.
(ii) (a) If so, when was it constructed and why ?
(b) Who constructed.
(c) How.
(d) Who contributed labour and in what term.
(e) Was there any associated ritual ?
(h) (i) Are magaliths constructed for purposes other than the one described above.
(ii) If so, by whom, and for what purpose.
(i) (i) Is there any difference in the shape, size and position of the megaliths according to the purpose.
(ii) If so, give the particulars.

Neighbourhood pattern.

(i) Draw a sketch showing distribution of all the households within a radius of 1 furlong and indicating the head of the household, family name and caste.

APPENDIX I (iii)—*contd.*

(ii) Particulars of the households within a radious of one furlong.

Household No.	Name of head of the household	Religion and Denomination	Caste	Kinship if any with refferent household	Distance from referent household	Terms with referent Household				
						Very friendly	Friendly	Formal	Hostile	Very hostile
1	2	3	4	5	6	7(a)	7(b)	7(c)	7(d)	7(e)

Causes for the particular type of relation	If there is some deviation from the general pattern of relation of the two households, in case of some individual members, particulars of such deviation and causes of such deviation	Reaction of other members of the household to the deviation behaviour of any particular member	Remarks
8	9	10	11

(iii) Particulars of present/help given by the referrent household to other household during one year (including those not listed as neighbours).

Name of head of household to which present/help was given	Religion denomination and caste	Kinship & other particulars	Type of present/help	When given	Occasion	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(iv) Particulars of present/help received by the referrent household from other households (including those not listed as neighbours) during last one month).

Name of head of household from which present/help was received	Religion, denomination and caste	Kinship and other particulars	Type of present/help	When received	Occasion	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(v) (a) Whether the referrent household is happy about their neighbourhood.
(b) If not, why.

(vi) Remarks.

50. Attitude, opinion and consensus about neighbouring communities.

(i) (a) Is kinship with persons who are in different religion still recognised ?
(b) Particulars of such kin.

Name	Adress	Nature of kinship	Frequency of contact
1	2	3	4

APPENDIX I (iii)—*concld.*

(c) Nature of contact if any during performance of—

Birth rites.
marriage.
Death.
Other occasions.

(d) Mutual assistance if any in economic activities.

(e) Contact if any during performance of religious festivals.

(ii) (a) Is there any sort of brotherhood or solidarity with people of the same caste but different religion ?
(b) If so, how it is expressed. Is there any Panchayat of such people.
(c) If there is no solidarity of the people described above, why there is lack of such solidarity.

(iii) (a) Do the people of the same caste but different religion intermarry.
(b) If so, give case studies.

(iv) (a) Do the people of the same religion and denomination but different caste origin intermarry freely ?
(b) If so, give case studies.
(c) If not, why not ?

(v) (a) Do the christians of higher caste origin discriminate against christians of low caste origin ?
(b) If so, how ?
(c) Give case studies.

(vi) (a) Is there solidarity of the people of same religion and same caste origin but different denominations ?
(b) If so, how is it expressed. Is there any Panchayat or Association of such people.
(c) If there is no solidarity of the people described above why is it ?

APPENDIX I (iv)

AGRICULTURE, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO SHIFTING CULTIVATION AND TERRACE CULTIVATION

Part A—General

1. What is the local term for shifting cultivation ?

2. It is found that some of the Naga tribes practise shifting cultivation and some do not. According to the informant, how far the following factors are responsible for same :

Factors responsible for				Which factor is more responsible so far as the tribe under survey is concerned and how	Remarks
Shifting cultivation	Terrace cultivation	Ordinary wet cultivation	Kitchen gardening		
1	2	3	4	5	6
(a) Geographical factor (with particular reference to altitude, rainfall, temperature, depth of soil, slope etc.)					
(b) Technological factor (with particular reference to presence or absence of skill).					
(c) Irrigation facilities.					
(d) Economic factors (with particular reference to availability of finance).					
(e) Food habit with particular reference to attechment to crops which cannot be cultivated by alternative method).					
(f) Religious belief (e. g, it is wrong to pierce breast of mother earth, crops grown by shifting cultivation are indispensable for certain rituals).					
(g) Attachment to tradition (e. g. particular method of cultivation was introduced by culture hero and deviation will bring disaster).					
(h) Others.					

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

3. Changes in the proportion of the area of the village under various types of cultivation :

Period	Proportion in a particular year under				Reason for change	Remarks
	Shifting cultivation	Terrace cultivation	Ordinary wet cultivation	Kitchen gardening		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Before II World war.						
After II World war but before independence.						
After independence.						

4. Changes in the area under various types of cultivation in the family :

Period	Actual area under				Reason for change	Remarks
	Shifting cultivation in a particular Year	Terrace cultivation	Ordinary wet cultivation	Kitchen gardening		
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Before II World war						
After II World war but before independence						
After independence						
During 1959–60						
During 1960–61						
During 1961–62						

5. (a) Draw up a rough sketch showing the distribution and size of various plots of land under various types of cultivation by the family. Communication and sources of irrigation are also to be indicated in the sketch.

(b) What is the local measure/unit by which the size of the plots are measured ?

(c) Take measurements of a few plois to check whether the local measure actually follows a unifrom system.

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

PART B

SHIFTING CULTIVATION

1. (a) Is there any myth, legend or history connected with origin of Swidden cultivation ?

(b) Is there subtribe/khel/clan wise demarcation of land for shifting cultivation ?
If so, how this demarcation has been made ?

Is there any myth, legend or history associating a particular sub-tribe/khel/clan with a particular area for the purpose of shifting cultivation ?

(c) Does inter-subtribe/inter-khel/inter-clan quarrels sometimes take place for occupation of the areas for shifting cultivation ?

(d) Is there any sort of boundary pillar or mark to indicate the area under occupation of each unit ?

(e) Is any particular subtribe/khel/clan/family/person/etc. considered to be particularly adept in Swidden cultivation ? In what respect, the skill is particularly noted ?

7, (e) Is there family-wise demarcation of plots on a permanent basis, for practising shifting cultivation by moving from one plot to another ? If so, what is the size of the total area demarcated for shifting cultivation by the family under survey. On an average, how much of it is cultivated in a particular year.

(b) (i) Are the rights enjoyed by the families in respect of these plots, considered to be inferior rights, subject to the superior rights of the village/tribe/sub-tribe/clan ?

(ii) Indicate these nature of the various rights possessed by the various units.

(iii) Are the rights aetually exercised or are there cases of violation of the superior rights of the various units ? when this violation took place and what was reaction ? In the past, how the village community or the unit eoncerned used to react in such situations ?

(c) (i) Are there cases of sale of plots or clearings made for shifting cultivation ?

(ii) Has the family concerned ever made such sale ? If so, give the following Particulars.

Size of the plot or clearing sold	When sold	To Whom sold		Price	Adverse reaction from any section of the people	Remarks
		name	clan			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(iii) As the family concerned, ever purchased such a plot or clearing ?
If so, give the following particulars :

Size of the plot or clearing purchased	When purchased	From whom purchased		Price	Adverse reaction from any section of the people	Remarks
		Name	Clan			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(iv) Particulars of other cases known to the informant :

Size of plot or clearing	When sold	By whom sold		To whom sold		Price	Adverse reaction from any section of the people	Remarks
		Name	Clan	Name	Clan			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

APPENDIX I (iv)--*contd.*

(a) What proportion of the total area over which shifting cultivation is carried on in various years in the village is actually cultivated in a particular year ?

(b) Is there year-to-year variation of the size of area brought under shifting cultivation ?

(c) If so, what are the factors responsible for such variation ?

Factor	Manner in which responsible	Ramarks
1	2	3
Availability of alternative economic pursuits.		
Health		
Divination by supernatural means		
Others (specify)		

9. Selection of area for Swidden cultivation in a particular year.

	On consideration of the					
Selected ownership of the area	period lapsed since last cultivation	Size of plants under growth to be slashed and burnt	Proximity of the area last cultivated.	Any other natural phenomenon	Supernatural divination/ dream etc.	Any other Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(a) village land
(b) sub-tribe land
(c) khel land
(d) clan land
(e) private land
(f) other land
  (i) who makes the above selection ?
  (ii) when the selection is made ?
  (iii) How is it communicated to the people ?

10. (a) If the Swidden cultivation takes place on land, other than permanently demarcated private land, how the plots for individual families are selected after selection of the area for swidden cultivation by the various families during the year.

(b) Is there preference for some type of land ? If so, what type of land is preferred by the informant and why ?

(c) How adjustment among the various contending families is made ?

(d) Is there any recognised office bearer or any informal leader or group of leaders who have decisive voice in this matter ? If so, give the following particulars in respect of them.

Name	age	Sub-tribe	Clan	Office-if any held.	Source of influence	Does he exercise it judiciously	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(e) Did the informant always get the particular plot of land which he wanted to have during the last three years ? If not, why not ? Were there other claimants ? How and by whom and in what manner adjustment was made ?

(f) In case, the selection is made by supernatural divination, or any such means, particulars of the divination and other processes.

11. As shifting cultivation requires some land to be left fallow, for cultivation by rotation, it often happens that the cultivated area recedes to a great distance from the residential area. In such a situation, many communities shift their village site.

(a) Is this practice in vogue in the village under survey ?

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

(b) If not, how the problem of distance is solved by the various families ?

(c) How the family of the informant solved this problem ?

(i) 15 years back.

(ii) 10 years back.

(iii) last year.

(d) (i) Is it possible that during the Swidden cultivation period, some members of the family stayed in temporary structures in the the cultivation site and others lived in the permanent village ?

(ii) In that case, which members of the family of the informant lived in the cultivated site, and which lived in the village during the shifting cultivation seasons ?

(iii) How did the members who lived in the cultivation site get their food and water ?

(iv) Did it also mean a break of their sex-life ?

(v) When head-hunting and radding of one village by another was frequent, was there problem of security in living in the cultivation site ?

(vi) How this problem of security was met ?

12. After a plot is cleared for Suidden cultivation, for how many years it is cultivated, and then it is allowed to remain fallow for how many years before cultivation is resumed ?

13. Note the following particulars about all the plots under Swidden cultivation of the informant :

Si. No.	Situation of the plot	When cleared for present cycle of swiddsn cultivation.	When will the present eycl of Swidden cultivation be complet.	After the completion of the present cycls of Swidden cultivation will the informant continud to have any right or interest ouer it ?	Particulars about the last cycle of Swidden cult-ivation		By whom			Remarks (including whetter any formal transfer of right took place from previous occupant to the present onc).
					When cleared	Duration of cultivation	Name.	Clam	How related to informant	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

14. Annual cycle of activities connected with shifting cultivation.

Nature of activity	Month when it is normally undertakon	When actually it was undertaken by the infarmant's family during the last year	Remarks
1	2	3	4

15. Details of the various activities :

A, Felling of trees :

I. What is the relation of the trees to the area of cultivation with particular reference to the following.

(a) The trees are cut elsewhere and caried to the field

(b) The trees are cut in the field itself

(c) The trees are cut and piled one upon another in rows, Bushes and shrubs are also cut down and piled in rows.

(d) Trees and branches are cut and arranged in a few heaps

(e) Trees and branches ore cut and left as they are

(f) Trees are stripped of all branches leaving a bunch at the top so that tree does not die

(g) Trees are stripped of all branches and then the trunks are cut and placed on the branches; so that the leaves may not be blown away by wind

(h) Trees are stripped of all branches and then the trunks are cut and strrwn on different parts of the sloping field to prevent soil erosion

(i) Others (specify)

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

II. (a) Species of trees and plants which grow on the Swidden cultivation field

Name of speciers	Local name	Botanical name	Eng. Equivalent	Approximate No.	Remarks
1.	2.	3.	4.	5	6

(b) Are these quick growing species ? In how many years they attain maturity ?

III. Are the trees cut with a Jagged section or are these cut flush with ground and with a clean section ?

IV. Whether untouched strips are left in between the various plots or whether the following is continuous ?

V. What tools and implements are used for felling trees ?

VI. No. of days required for completing the following operation

Size of plot	Manpower		No. of days of operation	Hours of operation	Remarks
	Male	Female			
1	2	3	4	5	6

VII. Whether any ritual is performed before felling of tree begins in the village ? If so, give the details with particular reference to

Name of the ritual	Particulars of performance			who officiates	Deities to whom offering is made	Nature of offerings.	Remarks
	when	where	by whom				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

B. Burning

(i) For how many months the felled trees and branches are allowed to be dried before burning.

(ii) Particulars of burning

Size of plot	Who lit the fire	How the fire was lit or made	Time required for completion of burning	Measures, if any to control fire.	Manpower for the operation		Remarks
					Male	Female	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(iii) (a) Whether as is allowed to remain on the field as it is, or is it spread on the field ?

(b) If it is spread on the field, what are the tools used ?

(c) Who does the operation ?

C. Preparation of the field.

(i) Before sowing, is there any preparation of the field ?

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

(ii) If so, give the following particulars about preparation of any of the plots (if different mothods were adopted for different plots, one for each type should be described)

Situation of the plot	Tool used (digging stick, Hoe, spade, plough, others)	Particulars of operation			Remarks
		Who operated	when operated	How operated	
1	2	3	4	5	6

D. Crops

(i) What are the crops generally grown in the village under Swidden cultivation ? Is there any system of rotation of crops under Swidden cultivation (e.g. first year pulses and second year rice or vice versa) ? Give the details.

(ii) What crops were actually grown by the informants family under swidden cultivation during the last three years?

Situation of the plot	Crops grown during			If there is year to year variation, what is the reason	If there is variation from the general pattern of the village, what is the reason ?	Remarks
	1st yr.	2nd yr.	3rd yr.			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

E. Sowing and seed

(i) Time for sowing

(a) Does it take place simultaneously for all the crops ? If so, when does it take place and what is the technique applied ? (dibbling and putting the various seeds in the same hole; broadcasting etc;)

In case of dibbling what is the distance of one hole from another, and how they are arranged ? (draw a sketch).

(b) If sowing of the different crops take place at different times, note the following

Name of crop	When sown	How sown	By whom sown	Particulars of operation, if any, after sowing (e.g. upturning soil with hoe)	Remarks (with special reference to mixed technique if any, e.g. sowing of pulses and beans by dibblifg of holes and putting the two together and then broadcasting castor seeds)
1	2	3	4	5	6

(c) Particulars of seed :

Name of crop	Now and wherefrom seed was obtained during last 3 yrs.	What are the characteristics of best seed	What was the quality of seed used last	Normally what is the ratio of the seed and yield in case of best seed	what was the ratio of the seed and yield in the family of the informant during last seasan	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

(d) Time required for sowing

Size of plot	Manpower		No. of days of operation	Hours of operation	Remarks
	Male	Female			
1	2	3	4	5	6

(e) Is any ritual performed during sowing ? If so, give the following particulars.

Name of ritual	Particulars of performance				In case of any worship, deities to whom offering is made	Nature of offering	Remarks
	When	where	by whom	who officiated			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(f) weeding, fencing and protective measures :

(i) Particulars of weeding as follows :

Situation of plon	Size of plot	Type of crop	Type of weeds that grow up	Season of weeding	Days required	Hours of work	Manpower		Remarks
							Male	Female	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

(ii) Fencing

(a) Whether fencing is done ?

(b) In that case, is it done for each plot separately or for the whole area brought under swidden cultivation of the community during the particular year

(c) Particulars of materials in connection with fencing.

Area fenced	Material used for fencing	Constructional details of fencing including, height strength, pillars etc.	When fenced	By whomfenced	Manpower required for fencing		No. of days required	Purpose of fencing	Cost of fencing		Remarks
					Male	Female			Total	Share of the household	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

(iii) Other protective measures

(a) Is a watch house constructed ? In that case do all the households engaged in swidden cultivation have separate watch houses or do they combine to have common watch houses ?

(b) Why these watch homes are constructed ?

APPENDIX 1 (iv)—*contd.*

(c) Particulars of the watcn houses used by the family under survey

Situation of the plot	Situation of the watch house	Particulars of other households with whom shared	When constructed	By whom constructed	Manpower required for construction		No. of days required for construction	When actually used	Remarks
					Male	Female			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

(d) Description of the watch house and various meterial goods in the watch house during the period of its use. (Drawn sketch of the watch house, prepare list of the various material goods as follows)

Name of object	Brief Description	Owner	Purpose served on the watch house	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

(e) Particulars of the members who usually stay in watch nouse during thc swidden cultivition season :

Name of person	Relation to head of the family	Hours of stay	How frequently stays in the watch house in a week	How Frequently visits famity house in a week	How gets supply of		
					Food	Water	Other necessities
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Agricultural activities undertaken while staying in thc watch house	Non-agrtcultural activities if any in the watch house in addition to keeping watch (with particular reference to practice of crafts, hunting etc.)	Remarks
	10	11

(f) (i) Does depredation of crops by wild animals and pests take place ?
(ii) What are the animals and pests and how they are chased away or controlled?

Name of animal/ past	Local name	Crop which is particularly damaged by the animal/pest	Average depredation caused in the village in an year	Time when the depredation is particularly moved for	How chased away or controlled	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

(g) Depredation of crops caused to the fields of the family under survey during the last three years.

Situation of field	Name of crops	Animal/pests causing depredation	Extent of damage	Circumstances in which it was possible to cause depredation	Time of depredation	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

(h) Particulars of manures and fertilizers :

Situation of plot	Size	Name of crop	Name of manure and fertiliser used	Quantity	When used	How used	Cost	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

(i) Particulars of irrigation facilities

Situation of plot	Size	Name of crop	Source of water	How carried to the field	when	cost	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(j) Harvesting and storage of crops

Nature of operation	size	No. of deys required	Hourr of work	Manpower required		Tools and implements used	Rituals	Total cost	Remarks
				Male	Female				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Reaping									
Collecting									
Threshing									
Winnowing									
Transport to granary									
Dehusking									

(k) Balance sheet of cultivation of a swidden cultivation plot

Situation of plot	Size of plot	Cost for							Value of trees burnt or destroyed	Value of the yield of crop	Remarks
		Seed	Labour	Manure and fertilizer	Tools and implements	Rituals	Land charge	Others			
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

(l) Factors determining yield of crop*.

Situation of plot	Size of plot	Quantity of seed sown	Average yield during last 3 years	Actual yield last season	Was the yield more/less than the average	If more/less than average what was the factor responsible for variation (rainfall, extension of irrigation, pest, wild animal etc.)	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

*Consult correspoeding schedule under Horticulture.

APPENDIX I (iv)—*ontd.*

(m) Disposal of net yield† (after meeting cost of cultivation)

Quantity	Net yield	Consumption in family in various forms	Payment of debt.	Sale on barter	Gifts and presents	Others	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Quantity							
Yield							

†Consult corresponding schedule under Horticulture.

(n) Particulars of labour for each plot

Situation of plot	Size of plot	crop	Nature of operation	No. of days of work	Hours of work	Names and particulars of workers: Name	Age	sex	clan	Relation to head of household
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
			(a) Felling trees							
			(b) arranging felled trees and leaves on field							
			(c) Burning and spreading of ash							
			(d) Sowing							
			(e) Weeding							
			(f) Watching and chasing away wild animals							
			(g) Controlling pests							
			(h) reaping							
			(i) threshing							
			(j) Winnowiug							
			(k) Dehusking							

Terms and conditions including remuneration under which engaged	Remarks (including details of)
12	13

(o) Whether there is any magic religions performance connected with draught, excessive rainfall etc.

(p) Whether there is any ceremocial offering of forest fruit,

(q) If during the last 10 years, ihe household has adopted any innoration or improved variety of any of the following, please give the particulars as under :

Brief description	When adopted	Source from where obtained	Increased investment	Whether satisfactory result obtained	Comments
1	2	3	4	5	6
Improved seed					
Chemical fertilizer					
Organic manure					
Improved implement					
Pestictde					
New type of crop					
Any other new farming Pr3ctice					

APFENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

(r) Particulars of tools and implements used by ihe family for swidden cultivation

Name of tool and implement	No. owned by the family	Price of each	Total price	Brief description	Wherefrom obtained	When obtained	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Digging stick							
Hoe							
Spade							
Rake							
Plough							
Sickle							
Winnowing.							
baskets for storage							
Others.							

(s) (i) What happens to the land after a cycle of swidden cultivation is complete ?

(ii) Is any quick growing species planted for slash and burn cultivation later on ? If so, by whom ?

(iii) Is there any attempt to convert swidden cultivation plot into terrace cultivation plot ? If so, by whom and since when ?

(iv) How much swidden cultivrtion plot has been converted into terraced cultivation plot by the familiy under survey ? Since when ? Was there any outside help, guidence persuasion etc. ?

(t) (a) According to the informant, how much land, a family of 5 members having thrre adult working hands can normally cultivate under swidden cultivation ?

(b) According to the informant, is the capacity of yield of swidden cultivation by a family sufficient to support the family for the whole year ?

(c) (i) If not, for what period a family can suslain on the capacity yield of swidden cultivation ?

(ii) What are the other economic activities that the family is to undertake to supplement income from shifting cultivation ?

Nature of activity	Period for which supported by it	Remarks
1	2	3

(d) (i) Did the family under survey undertake shifting cultivation upto the maximum capacity ?

(ii) If not, why not ?

(u) Does the informant agree that swidden cultivation may be harmful in the following manner

Harmful effect	Agree	If not, why not	Whether according to informant, the harmful effect is perceptible in the region	If so, how and to what extent	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
(a) Causes widespread destruction of valuable timber.					
(b) Denudes the hill sides and causes of soil erosion.					
(c) Causes the streams, river beds to dry up and affects cultivation in adjoining plains.					
(d) others (specify)					

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

(v) Has there been any move in the area to control shifting cultivation or improve the conditions of shifting cultivation ? If so, give the following particulars :

Measures adopted	Since when	By whom	How executed	Response of the people	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
(a) Total prohibition of shifting cultivation.					
(b) Probibition of shifting cultivation above a certain slope.					
(c) Permission of swidden cultivation only on plots demarcated for the purpose.					
(d) Conversion of swidden cultivation plots into terraced fields.					
(e) Horticulture (cultivation of orange, pine apple, cashewnut etc) on slopes under shifting cultivation.					
(f) Introduction of soil conservation measures.					
(g) Diversification of economy.					
(h) Introduction of leguminous crops.					
(i) Introduction of demonstration plots.					
(j) Extension of wet cultivation facilities and allotment of plain land.					
(k) Colonisation away from hilly area.					
(l) Others.					
(m) Any other aspect of shifting cultivrtion not covered by the above.					

(w) (i) Is the informant in favour of abolition or regulation of shifting cultivation ?
(ii) If not, why not ?
(iii) If yes, does he think the existing measures adequate or appropriate ? Has he any suggestion to offer ?

(x) (i) Are there cases of violation of the measures to stop shifting cultivation ?
(ii) If so, what type of action is taken by the administrative agencies concerned ?
(iii) Are cases instituted against persons carrying on shifting cultivation ?
(iv) Statistical data, if available about such cases:

Year	Nature of offence	No. of cases instituted	No. of convictions	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5

(y) Is there any other aspect of shifting cultivation not covered by the above ? If so, give the particulars.

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

PART C

TERRACE CULTIVATION

1. (a) Is there any myth, legend or history connected with origin of terrace cultivation in this area ?
   (b) Is any sub-tribe/khel/clan/family/person considered to be particularly adept in terrace cultivation ? In what respects the skill is particularly marked ?

2. Particulars of plots under terrace cultivation.

Sl. No.	Location of plot	Size of the plot	Position of the plot with reference to gradience of slope	Since when under terrace cultivation	No. of terraces in the plot	Average width of each terrace	Average height of one terrace from the next lower one	What was the nature of use of the plot before being converte into terrace cultivatio
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.

Who was the owner prior to the conversion of the plot into terraced field.	Who is the owner at present.	In case of transfer of right, was any payment made or permission obtained.	How much time did it take to construct the terraces. Total period Mandays	Was there opposition from village community durin construction of the terraces.	Was any aid received gfrom Govt. or from any other agency for construction of the terraces.	Remarks.
10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.

3. Consrtuction of terraces.
   Note the procedure in the village and also in the family under survey with reference to the following, procedure found in some areas.

Procedure found in some areas.	Procedure generally followed in the village.	Procedure actually found in the vario-us plots of the informant.	If there are differences in the procedures described in col I and procedure generally followed in the village and the procedures in the plots of the family, the reasons for the same	Remarks (including observations of the Investiga tor based on actual inspection of the plots.)
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
(i) To prepare terrace, digging is started at the base of the slope.				
(ii) Stones that come out are deposited at a lower edge as a loose retaining wall.				
(iii) Dug out soil is then spread or inside this wall in such a way that a plain surface is formed.				
(iv) Filth rain and alluvium help to make the terrace more perfect and to impro. ve the soil fertility.				
(v) At each ploughing, as many stones as possible are removed and stored up to strengthen the walls.				
(vi) It takes years to complete the terroce.				

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

(vii) Where stones are not available from dug up soil, they are brought from nearest source.

(viii) Construction of terrace is undertaken only during spare time, specially winter.

(ix) Women and children generally bring stones and men place them in position.

(x) Others (specify).

4. (i) Do land-slides occasionally occur in the terraced fields due to heavy rains and other reasons ?
(ii) If so. give the following particulars about the major land slides that took place in the village during the last five years :

Year	Cause of landslide	Extent and nature of damage of		Remarks
		terraced field	other land	
1	2	3	4	5

5. (i) What measures are taken in the village for protection of the terraces against weeds and other factors ?
(ii) What measures were actually taken by the family on its various plots during last one year ?

measure	When done (month/ season)	By whom	Mandays required.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5

(i) Cutting of weeds.
(ii) Burning of weeds.
(iii) Strengthening wall.
(iv) Others.

6. Description of terraces.
Note the salient features compared to the following description of the terraces in some areas :

Description of the terraces in certain areas	Position generally found in various part of the village	Position actually found in the various plots of the informant	If there are differences in the descriptions of col. 1 and these at cot. 2 & 3 the reasons for the same according to the informant.	Remarks (Investigator should prepare supplementary note based on actual measurement of sites on various parts of the village as well as a few plots of the informant)
1	2	3	4	5

(a) Narrow terraces at the gulley of large streams.
(b) At the head of the valley the terrace are partly dug out of the hill side and partly built up with a difference of 1–3ft. in level of individual terraces or group of terraces.
(c) As the valley broadens the terraces grow in size and the differences in their level dwindle to one or even half a foot.

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

(d) In small ravines subsidiary series of small terraces are built up to meet the water practically at its source. Here the individual terraces are narrowest and the dams are highest the difference between one terrace and the next being often as much as 5–6 ft.

(e) Terraces are constructed to climb mountain slopes for a thousand feet or more.

(f) In some areas, terraces do not go up to great height on mountain slope.

(g) In some areas, contour of each terrace is bounded.

(h) In some areas contour of each of the terraces is not bounded.

(i) The terraces face a particular direction keeping in view the direction of wind

(j) others.

7. Irrigation facilities.

Note the salient features compared to the following position found in some areas:

Position found in some area.	General position in the village.	Position actually found in the various plots of the informant.	If there are differences in the position described at col. 1, and those at col. 2 & 3, the reasons to the same.	Remarks	(Investigator should prepare supplementary not based on actual measuaement of sites on various parts of the village as well as a few plots of informant).
1	2	3	4	5	6
(a) Every one of the larger streams is tapped soon after it emerges from the forest. A short distance above the terraces occurs the first diversion from the stream but usually only a little water is here deflected. The stream continues on its course while the feeder channel branching off at an angle leads water alongside the series of terraces so that by blocking or opening the connecting ducts any fields can be flooded or drained as required.					
(b) Sometimes the stream holds enough water in upper course but little or none in lower position. In such a case, the village at upper point constructs a wate channel for its own needs and passes surplus water to the village lower the dam by means of long channels. All the villages that are under the, scheme supply labour for digging up and annual reconstruction of canals; and there are definite rules for regulation of water supply enforced by common consent.					

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

(c) A small outlet is made in the emban kment of the higher terrace by removing some earth and water is allowed to fall on the lower terrace. Some stones are placed on the point where waterfalls so that a pit may not be formed.

8. Particulars of the construction, maintenance and use of water channels.

Location of the channel	Length and average breadth and depth	Command area	when constructed (year)	Mandays required for construction	Cost of construction	By whom constructed	Cost of construction		
							Amt.	Who paid	How paid.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Maintenance

Who looks after maintenence	Particulars of maintenance during the year under survey	Who did the repair work	No. of mandays required	Cost of annual repair and maintenance
1	2	3	4	5

Particulars of rules and regulations for supply of water of the channel concerned	When and by whom these rules and regulations were formed	Who enforces these regulations	Particulars of the cases of violation of the rules and regulations	How, by whom and with what result sanction was applied	Remarks
6	7	8	9	10	11

9. Are there qualitative differences among the various types of terraces with reference to various crops, and economic status of the owners ?

Type of terraces	Generally owned by richer or poorer section	No. and area of plots owned by the informant	Crops for which more suitable	Crops actually cultivated by the informant during last year	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6
(i) Broad and contour bunded near the head of the spring.					
(ii) Broad and rainfed terrace at the top without contour bunding.					
(iii) Narrow and contour bunded terrace getting supply from channels.					
(iv) Narrow and rainfed terrace without contour bunding.					
(v) Other type of terraces (specify).					

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

10. Particulars of cultivation :

(i) Particulars of crops and seed

Name of crops	Total area under cultivation last year	How and where from seed was obtained	What are the characteristics of the best seeds	When was the quality of seed used last	Normally that is the ratio of seed and yield in case of best seed	What was the ratio of seed and yield in the field of informant last year	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(ii) Particulars of operation (for each crop separately)

Name of operation	When (season)	No. of person		Hous of work	No. of days of work	Tools used	Cost	Remarks
		Male	Female					
1	2	3(a)	3(b)	4	5	6	7	8

(a) Repair of field.
(b) Preparation of seedbed.
(c) Sowing.
(d) Preparation of land for transplantation.
(e) Actual transplantalion.
(f) Weeding.
(g) Harvesting.
(h) Transport.
(i) Manuring.
(j) Irrigation.
(k) Others.

(iii) Particulars of operations on the same terraced field throughout the year.

Location of the field.	Size	Brief description.	crops cultivated.	Nature of operation during.											
				Jan.	Feb.	March	Aprol	May	June	July	Aug.	S pt.	Oct.	Nov.	Dec.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16

(iv) Input output ratio for terrace cultivation with reference to capital expenditure.

Situation of the field.	Size	Year of construction.	Cost of construction and development.	Cost for purchasing tools and equipments. Including draught cattle if used.	Cost for learning the skill.	Source of finance.	Value of output upto last year.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

(v) Input output ratio for terrace cultivation last year with reference to recurring expenses.

		Cost for										
Situation of field.	Size	repair or maintenance	other labour	Seed	Manure and fertiliser.	tools and implements.	Rituals	Land charge	Others	Value of yield of crop and by products.	other income from the plot.	Remarks.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

(vi) Particulars of labour for each crop.

					Names and particulars of workers				Terms and conditions including remuneration on which engaged	
Situation of the field	Size	Nature of operation	No of days of work	Hours of work	Name	Sex	Age	Relation to head of household		Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

(vii) Yield of crop.

Acreage under cultivation	Astat yield during last 3 yrs	Yield during last yr	Was the yield of last yr more or less than average	In more less than average what was the factor responsible for variation	Remakrs
1	2	3	4	5	6

(viii) Magico religious performance connected with the various stages of cultivation ;

(ix) Whether there is any magico-religious performance connected with draught; excessive rainfall etc.

Items same as in shifting cultivation

1. Sowing and weeding.
2. Weeding, fencing and protective measures.
3. Depredation.
4. Manures and fertilisers.
5. Harvesting and storage.
6. Factors determining yield of crop.
7. Disposition of net yield.
8. Magico-religious performance.
9. Ceremonial offering of first fruit.
10. Innovation or improvement during 10 yrs.
11. Tools and equipments.

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

PART D

HORTICULTURE, KITCHEN GARDENING ETC.

1. Horticulture-land and crop.

Plots of land belonging to the family which are suitable for horticulture, kitchen gardening etc,

Situation			Whether brougnt under horticulture, kitchen, gardening etc. during			If, suitable plots have not been used the reason thereof.	Fruits vegetables for which suitable.	Fruits, vegetables actually cultivated during		
Topography	Distance from household.	Size	1959—60	1960—61	1961—62			1959—60	1960—61	1961—62
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

If there is variation, or if fruits, vegetables which could be grown, are not grown the reason thereof	Size of area actually under cultivation during			Variation if any in size of area under cultivation & nature of cultivation, reason thereof	REMARKS
	1959—60	1960—61	1961—62		
12	13	14	15	16	17

2. Particulars of seeds/cutting of fruits/vegetables

					In case of use of seed			
Name of family it vegetable etc.	Varieties found in the area	Varieties actually cultivated by the family	Reason for selection of the particular variety	Whether seed or cutting is used.	How and where from seed was obtained.	What are the characteristics of best seed,	What was the quality of seed. last used.	Normally what is the ratio of seed nd yield in case of best yield
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

What was the ratio of seed and yield in the plots of the informant during			In case of use of cuttings		
1959—60	1960—61	1961—62	How and wherefrom it was obtained	How and when it was planted	REMARKS
10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.

3. Preparation of field (as in shiftting cultivation)

4. **Sowings** -as in case of shifting cultivation

E (1) a, b, d, e, f,

5. **Cuttings**

(i) Are cuttings of various plants planted simultaneously

(ii) What is the technique for taking the cutting from the host tree ? From what part of the host tree it is cut ?

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

(iii) What processings are made before planting,

(iv) Particulars of plantation of the cuttings

Name of fruit vegetable etc	When planted	By whom Planted	How planted	Distance of one plant to another	Arrangements plant	Particulars of operation if any after plantation	REMARKS
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

(v) Time required for plantation.

Size of plot	Man-power		No. of days	Hours of operation	Remarks
	Male	Female			
1	2	3	4	5	6

(vi) If any ritual (secular or religious) performed during plantation ? If so, give the following particulars.

Name of ritual	Particulars of ritual				In case of any worship		Remarks
	When	Where	By whom	Who officiates	Deities to whom offering is made	Nature of offering	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

As in Shifting Cultivation.

6. Weeding.
7. Fencing and other protective measures.
8. Manures and fertilisers.
9. Irrigation facilities.
10. Harvestinn and storage of crops.
11. Yield of fruits, vegetables etc., and factors responsible.

Name of crop	Situation of plot	Size of plot	Quantity of seed sown	No. of trees planted	Approximate yield during		
					1959–60	1960–61	1961–62
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

Average during the period	If yield in a particular year is more/less than the average, what factor was responsible for the variation (rainfall, extension of irrigation, pest, wild animal, manuring etc.)	By products if any		Remarks
		Description	Quantity	
9	10	11	12	13

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

12. Maturity of plant and yield.

Name of crop.	After lapse of what time after sowing or plantation the plants or trees begin to bear fruit	For how many years or months the plants or trees bear fruit	What is the average size of the plant (height)	What is the average size and weight of the fruit	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6

13. Disposal of yield (after meeting the cost of cultivation)

Name of fruit/ vegetable/plant	Unit	Gross yield	Payments to meet cost of cultivation.	Net yield	Consumption in family in various forms	Payment of debt.	Sale or barter	Gifts and presents	Others	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

14. By products:—

(a) Name and process.

Name of fruit, vegetable plant etc.	Quantity utilised for processing of by product	Name of by product	Method of processing	Quantity and value of by product
1	2	3	4	5

(b) Utilisation of by product

Names of by product	Consumption in family		Payment of debt		Sale or barter		Gifts and presents		Other (Specify)		Remarks
	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	Quantity	Value	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

15. Particulars of labour for eacn plot,
16. Innovation during 10 years. } As in shifting cultivation.
17. Tools and equipments,

18. (a) Whether there is any magico-religious performance connected with draught, excessive rainfall etc ?
    (b) How is it generally performed in the village ?
    (c) When the last ceremony in which the family under survey participated, was performed ?
    (d) How was it performed ?
    (e) If it deviates from the general pattern of the village, what is the reason for that ?
19. (a) Whether there is any ceremonial offering of first fruit of the crop concerned ?
    (b) How is it generally performed in the village.
    (c) When and how it was last performed by the family concerned.
    (d) If it deviates from the general pattern of the village, what is the reason for that ?

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

20. Input and output ration for horticulture with reference capital to expenditure

Situation of field	Size	Development work undertaken for introducing horticulture			Cost for purchasing tools & equipment	Cost for purchasing draught cattle	Cost for learning the skill	Source of finance	Value output upto last year	Remarks
		Nature of work	Year of work	Cost of work						
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11

21. Input output ratio for horticulture last year with reference to recurring expenses.

Situation of field	Size	Repair or maintenance	Other labour	Cost for						Value of yield of crop and by products	Other income from the plot	Remarks
				Seed	Manure	Tools & implements	Rituals	Land charge	Others			
1	2	3	4	5	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

PART E

Wet cultivation in plain land

1.	Land and crop–as in horticulture, etc.	As in Shifting cultivation.
2.	Sowing and seeds.	
3.	Preparation of field.	
4.	Sowing	
5.	Weeding.	
6.	Fencing and other protactive measures.	
7.	Manures and fertilizers.	
8.	Irrigation.	
9.	Harvesting and storage.	
10.	Yield.	As in Horticulture.
11.	Maturity of plant and yield.	
12.	Disposal of yield.	
13.	By product.	
14.	Particulars of labour for each plot.	As in Shifting cultivation.
15.	Innovation during 10 years.	
16.	Tools and equipments.	
17.	Input and output ratio with reference to capital expenditure.	
18.	Input and output ratio with reference to recurring expenditure.	As in Horticulture.

APPENDIX I (iv)—*contd.*

PART F

1. Consolidated statement of the annual cycle of festivals connected with the various agricultural activities.

Name of crop	Nature of activity	Name of associated festival	Name of festival	Unit performing festival (family/clan/church village/ sub-tribe/tribe etc.	Cost	Remarks (detailed description not already furnished should be furnished on spare sheeds
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

2. Consolidated statement on tools and equipments.

Name of tools and implements	No. owned by the family	Price of each	Total price	Brief description	Where from obtained	When obtained	Nature of use	Arrangement of reciprocal aid if any with some other household	Remarks
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

INDEX

A

Abor 12
Achang 59
Achan Songs 94
Achem 33
Agricultural Department—
  Chungliyemsen 57
  Mokok Chung 57
Ahom 1
Aier 10, 17, 18, 41, 51, 97
Aiya 75
Ajang 78
Ajen Manger 44
Ajem Naro 44
Ajepyong 2, 3
Akangtep 98
Akangla 9
Aketeyu 44
Akha 69
Akhi 73, 74
Akho 73, 74
Akhu 34
Akhuki 5
Akhutong 73
Akiaku 36
Aki Chirap 45
Akitetsung 33
Akum 44
Akusangok Keyong 7
Alapachar 41
Alen 3, 4
Alichips 36
Alik 42
Aling Temba 72
Alingnaba 73
Alungkulemba 91
Aluninger Wasep 44
Alung Tsungrem 91
Alu-Yanga 62
Alzutzu 15
Amen 75
American Baptist Mission 5
American Missionary 93
Amguri 2
Amlata 44
Amok 78
Amtsa 29
Anethenankhung 44
Angami 12, 13, 19, 31
Angami Traders 41
Angupang 69
Anichar 41
Anok (Billhook dao) 57, 71
Anna 35, 72, 74
Anu or Sutsukum 40, 76
Ao III, 5, 9, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 26, 27, 31, 76, 91, 93, 95
Ao-Church Association (Ao Mundang) 94, 95
  Hemohi 42
  Houses 33
  Language 13, 20
  Social Structure 102
  Students Conference 97
  Students Union 96
  Traditions 15
  Tribal Council 1
  Villages 5, 71, 95
Aokkika 15
Aomokpu 80
Aowa 72
Apak 74
Apang 75
Apen 60
Apha 74
Aphi 75
Aphu 63
Apong 34
Archi 68, 69
Archumenger 23
Areju or Morung (Bachelor's Dormitory) 5, 21, 22, 23, 26, 35, 41
Arejuninger 23
Arjun 1
Arong 69
Arr (Poison) 69
Asemben Ankhung 44

INDEX—*contd.*

Asestkong range III, 9
Aset dang 68, 69
Ashi 35, 72
Assam IV, 78
Assam Christian Council 95
Assam rifle 2, 12
Asu 40
Asung 36
Atsa 38
Atsank 38
Atsulemba 9
Atsung 38
Atsutsuba 101
Axe (Au) 57, 58, 62, 78
Ayakusu 40
Ayangyok 68, 69, 70
Ayang Yinla Mai 75
Ayaterem 45
Aya Tsuangmpang 44
Ayu 39
Ayupha 2

B

Bachelor's Dormitory 19
Bamboo shoot (eja) 38
Bandang 16
Baptist 26
Baptist Church 95
Baptist Mission in U. S. A. 95
Basketry 27
Baryang Ao 64
Billhook 57, 71
Blanket 39
Bows & Arrows 72
Boy's Hostel 87
Brahmaputra IV, 9
Burma 1
Branch Post Office 1
Burning 58
Burial ground 6, 8

C

Chakeseng 21
Chalipang (Season for harvesting & eating) 44
Chalipang late 44
Chamen 28
Chami 17
Chamitzar 15
Chang 12, 15
Chang Changlung 5, 91, 92
Changket Melok 45
Changki 1, 13, 76, 98
Changkikong range III, 1, 2, 4, 7, 9, 80
Changki language 13
Chakmelan 45
Changklong 45
Changkolong chatang 45
Changlu 66
Changphom 12
Char (eat) 16
Chariati 80
Chatang 69
Chawhi 36
Chengmu (Lowerkhel) 66
Chenzu 43
Chisel (Atenbong) 79
Christian 24, 90, 91, 92, 93
Christian Endeavour Association 94
Cristian Endeavour Jublee Stone 8
Christianity 11, 13
Christian Institution 93
Christian Missionaries 86
Chongliyionti Salang 97
Chuchong 14
Chuchusubng 40
Chungli 6, 7, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 37, 42, 68, 91, 94
Khel 100
System 14
Women 15
Chungliyimsen 1, 2, 81, 98
Chungliyimti III, 13, 15, 16, 18
Church at American Baptist 93
Church Association 94
Chuzen 23
(Dr.) Clark 93
Community Development blok 1
Cooperative Sugar-cane farm 79
Council of Baptist Churches of North-East India (C. B. C. N. E. I.) 95

INDEX—*contd.*

D

Daflas 9, 12
Dao 30, 32, 41, 58, 62, 68, 71, 72, 74, 78, 90, 100.
(Mr) Das Shashtri 19
Dibuia 2, 90, 98
Digging stick (lending) 57
Dikhu river III, 10, 16
Dimapur 81
Dormitory 62
Dowali 75
Dramas 94

E

Echen 38
Ejak 38
Eji 38
Elwin 12, 19, 20
Etsutem 38
Executive Committee 96

F

Fazal Ali College 1
Finance Committee 96
Fish (Anga) 38
Fishing 25, 68
Fishing Tank 6

G

Gaonbura or headman 8, 18, 29, 54
Garo 12
Ganna 31, 63, 92
Girls dormitories 8
Girls Hostel 87
Godhula Brown 11, 93
Govt. L. P. School 94

H

Hammer 78
Hametong Keyong 7
Harvesting 58
Head Hunting 19, 20, 21
Himalayas IV
Hizemkep Korang 40
Hoe 60, 65, 78
Hostile Naga 81
Huge boulder 5
Hunting 25, 70-72
Hutton 12

I

Imchemer 10, 17, 18, 58, 97
Imchunger 12
Imkong Tsungrem 91
Imlang (lowerkhel) 6, 15
Imnakokla 20
Impang (upperkhel) 15, 67
Impur 94, 95
Inchenkimung 98
India 1
Iron Scrapper 57
Isuaktisua 60

J

Jami 13, 15, 41
Jami Village 10
Jangpot 91
Japanese 102
Japukong Range IV 7, 80
Jarer clan 9, 10, 17, 18, 51, 97
Jemdang 44
Jokli 68, 79
Jorhat Bez Boroa High School 94
Jorhat Bible School 94
Jungle-Clearance 62
  Cutting 58
  Produce 72

K

Kabui 12
Kabzar clan 5
Kachari Naga 12, 19
Kalaro 75
Kampul 36
Kangphalung 5
Kapu 58
Karchang (Kupzar) 93
(Dr) Kauffman 19
Keyong 7, 95
Khambang 41
Khaplang 41, 42
Khari 9, 98
Khel 6, 23, 32, 35, 89
Khiyang 73
Khiza 73
Khotager Azang 75
Khuzu 80
Kibulung 5
Kichen 42
Kichuchar 41
Kidongli 50
Kilongaksu 95
Kimungham 12

INDEX—*contd.*

Kimung Tsumgrən 34, 91
Kindergarten School 95
Kohima 10, 81, 95, 102
Kohima Technical School, Kohima 79
Konyak 12, 13
Korlang 16
Kosa 33
Kotari 74
Kubok 16
Kuja Keyong 7
Kumba Maro 41
Kumpok 58
Kupzar clan 5, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 41, 64, 79, 92, 95, 97, 99
Kuyanga 22

L

Lai 78
Lakapwangkum 42
Lakhunti 5
Langpha 5
Langkungla 16
Langpathang 28, 30
Langpongkong Range III
Lanukaba 92
Layongpong 9
Lazu 59
Lemtur 10, 17, 18, 41, 42, 51, 71, 97
Lengchang of Aetkong Range 80
Lengsuer clan 71
Lentong 72
Lerimon 80
Lezesuphu 93
Lhota 19
Lhota country 5
Library Committee 96
Liangnais 12
Lizaba 20, 70, 91
Lisentsuad 60
Lmliyang 3
Longchachor 41
Longchar 16
Longchang 66
Longertsu 93
Longhuya 75
Longjakrep 15
Longkum 9, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 41, 42
Longkum Phratry 17
Longmi 35, 72
Longmiba 14
Longpachen 9
Longpa village 9
Longpok 15
Longsa 74
Long stone 16
Lora Raja 1
Lords supper 26
Losa 50
Lotha 12, 13
Lowerkhel 8, 55
Lungkar Phratries 13
Lungkumr 14
Lungtsuchar clan 41, 42
Lungterok 13

M

Machang (platform) 6
Madhu 91
Madu 43
Maha-Bharat 1
Maibongmaro 42
Main Post office 1
Majila (Sowing season) 44
Makrong 75
Manen 60
Mangkolemba 1, 81
Manipuri Artisan 94
Mapthi 43
Marok 36
Maso 60
Mal (apak) 73
Mayotsuak 60
Meat (asa) 38
Mechentsu 42
Mechi 70
Meitei 19
Mejanj 75
Mejungchashi 42
Melak 3
Melak river 68
Melok 73, 74
Melokza 73
Memorial Stone 8, 33

Menang Ankhung 44
Menchen (Village Council) III
Menen 34, 35
Menjen 36
Menjener 97
Mepu 7
Mepu Amen 15
Mepule 15
Merkeyong 7
Merinokpo 74
Merinokpu 80
Mesuku 33
Metang 75
Metongnezota 79
Meyu (weeding season) 44
Meyong 78
Mibongchokut (Mdudubia) 68
Middle English School 6, 79, 87, 88
Middle Khel 8
Milen 36
Miten 75
Mills 13,19
Minchen 14, 18
Minden 14
Miri 9
Missionary of Impur 26, 94
Miyangchao 63
Moatsu 63, 100, 101
Moatsu Festival 22
Moatsulata 44
Mokokchung 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 13, 16, 48, 65, 74, 79, 80, 81, 95, 102
  Bazar 39
  Hospital 85
Mokongtsu 13
Moli/Molir Clan 10, 14, 16, 17, 18, 40, 41, 51, 95, 97
Moli Medicine 16
Molongyimchen 2, 98
Molungyesen 2
Mokokba (Molir) 93
Molongyimsen 93
Mongchen 81, 98
Mongmung 75
Mongpu or askaw (season for drying of corps or cold season) 44
Mongsen 6, 7, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 37, 40, 41, 68
  Village 9, 16
  Khel 91, 100
Mu (Upper Khel) 66
  System 14, 15
Mongsen Tsungr Clan 14, 15, 40, 41
Mongyimsen 98
Monkey 4
Mopongchuket, village 9
Mopungchuket (dialect) 14
Morepsala Maso 60
Morung 21, 79, 98, 100
Mosak 75
Moutsngba 91, 93
Mozing 91
Mungdimuiyba 92
Musang 58

N

Naga Tribes 1, 5, 11, 19, 20, 21, 95, 102
  Baptist Christian Council 95
  Churches 95
  Religion 93
Nagaland III, 1, 13, 83, 95, 102
Naginijan Bazar 1, 3, 38, 75, 80, 81
Nagpur 95
Nakachari 1
Namkam drums 5
Narap 75
Naro 41
Nashi Achi 15
National Christian Council 95
Natusoarea 9
Nayam 63
Namtsa 73
Nesang 4
Nesnilang 75
Ngarem 70
Ngatsau 68, 69
Ngatsu mayong 38
Nibatsung 38
Nitongtsuang 38
Nivatsungrmapang 44

Nizvaungia 44
Nocte 12
Noklu 79
Nokmasangba (Molir) 93
Nokrangr 9
Nomination Committee 96
Non-Christian 92, 93
Nungjaugsangwa laba 44
Nungshimayang (wazakum) 93

O

Ochechar 41
Olangozen 24
Ongpangkong range III
Ongsichair 16

P

Pongchala 43
Pangta of Kupzar Clan 9
Pati Pangmi 24
Penjangs 34
Pereu 69
Perr 34
Persanger 23
Phakophako 44
Phakza 73
Phoms 12
Phratry 17
Phujung 63
Poaratang 45
Police Station 1
Polyandry 30
Polygyny 30
Pongen 10, 13, 15, 16, 17, 18, 41, 42, 51
Programme Committee 96
Ptolemy 12
Puamelok 45
Pudumenden 96
Puja Melok 45
Putir 91
Putumen-den 56
Putu Menjen 97

R

Rachembar 91
Rachenlar 34
Range Council 1, 97, 98, 99
Reaping 62
Recogsung 79
Remok 68, 69
Rengma 12
Retsa 68, 69
Retuali 9
Riangsanger 97
Rionsanger 23
River-Melak 2, 4
Tsurong 2
Role of Clans 95
–Khel 95
–Villagers Sojouring Outside 96

S

Saba 41, 42
Samen 14, 97, 98
Samen Menden 97
Sangpang Molir Clan 9
Sangpong 9, 10
Sangtem 12, 13
Sanchi 15
Scounskong 5
Sema 12, 13, 19, 31
Sepupet 15
Seratli 41
Siluti 16
Shosanglok 14
Shisalep 80
Sibsagar district 1
Sickle (lai) 5
Smith 13, 20, 28. 30, 68
Smallhoe (ejang) 57
Snare 72
Songratsu (dialect) 14
Songti 45
Sojourners 10
Sowing 58, 62
Spear 5, 71, 72, 90
Su 39
Sunak 40
Subangruba (Jarir) 93
Subosu/Sunkasu 39, 40, 76
Subusurem 40
Sugsa 58
Suli 69
Sumaor Angen 39

Sunak 39
Sunaksb 39
Sunga 70
Sungaong 36
Sunger 98
Sungko 30
Sungkong or Tongden (Wardrun) 5
Sungland 16
Sunglong 33
Sungphu 79
Sungsa 4
Sungurs 23
Sunguyonga 22, 23
Supetior shirt 39
Supeti 40
Sutsu 16
Students union 62

T

Tamaneng' a 80
Tangchang maro 41
Tangko 76
Tankhukorang 40
Tankhul 12
Tanku 42
Tanula 92
Tasgshi 75
Tatar meden 97
Tatarmenjen 97
Tattooing 42
Tazungliba 14
Tekonglu 55
Teligraph office 1
Temendangba 76, 94
Temeriku 68, 69
Tenapang 23, 70
Terama 45
Terara 23
Teruto 44
Tetakkni 62
Teulung 91, 92
Teutung 92
Tezungpar 14
Tezpur 81
Tiang Sanger 96
Tibeto-Burman language 12
Tiemechen 30
Tiger 4
Tinbatong 78
Tinmejepha 78
Tiya 30
Tiyang (Middle Khel) 6, 32, 33, 68, 92
Tiyangumu (Middle Khel) 66
Tiyiprep 45
Tokong 15
Tikongpur 14
Tongba 75
Tonglu 14
Tongpang 42, 43
Tongpangchanglu keyong 7
Tongpok 15
Tongton 2
Totsu 68
Trap 72
Tribal Council 97, 98, 99
Tsanak 28
Tsanak Kalia 28
Tsangong 38
Tsan Mejaba 77
Tsan Roba 77
Tsitir 41
Tsnaktemkhi 45
Tsubalnog 3
Tsubanlog Streams 4
Tsukpora Zung 75
Tsungba 14, 15, 18, 99
Tsungizaro 44
Tsungkotepsu 39, 40, 76
Trungkotepsm 76
Tsungrammung 101
Tsungran 5, 91
Tsupalong stream 26
Tsurong 3, 4
Tsurong River 68
Tsurongyongza 2
Tsushi 36
Tudi 60
Tuensang 12, 79

U

Uba 59
Ubok-risu 44
Ulupi 1

Umpo stream 2
Unger menden 97
Unger 45, 71, 91, 92, 99
Ungers 63
Ungma 9, 16, 39, 71, 74
Ungma village 40
Ungr-Headman 14
Ungterok 13
Unonro 77
Upper Khel 8, 55
Urangbalata 44
Utongsa 77

V

Village Church 8
Council 96, 97
Court 98
Industry 72
Lower-Primary School 8

W

Waicem 60
Walenger 41
Waromung Citizen's Association 96
Waromung Sensomongdang 96
Wayi 40
Wazakum Clan 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 37, 41, 51, 85, 95, 97, 99.
Waropakin 15
Weeding 58, 62
Wgalang 69
Wild Sankes 4
Winnowingfan (Appha) 57, 74
Wokha Hill 93
Womes Association 62

Y

Yabo 36
Yacham Language 13
Yanga 22, 23
Yangalar 22
Yangler 30
Yanglong 74
Yangren 22
Yariba 85
Yichu 91
Yikhu 91
Yeknuyiju 36
Yimchenkimung 2
Yimkhi 45
Yimli 50
Yimsen Keyong 7
Yinchence 78
Yinchenchar 41
Yinchenki 78
Yinten Keyong 7
Yintipi 23
Yipjen 36
Yipra 73, 74
Yipsenmapang 44
Yitsuba 75
Yokya 50
Yongmen 42
Yongtsungsu 39
Yorili 50
Yungpur 41

Z

Zeliangs 12
Zemio 12
Zumung 75
Zuptonglik 42

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1 Ao, T. Ao Naga customary laws, 1957

2 Elwin, V. Nagaland, 1961

3 Majumdar, S.N. Man in India, Vol. IV, No. 1 & 2, 1924

4 Mills, J.P. The Ao Nagas, 1926

5 Smith W.C. The Ao Naga tribe of Assam, a study in Ethnology and Sociology, 1925