Chapter VI

Conclusion

The study conducted on the sources of oral history of the Tiwa people brings out the following findings:

1) The oral traditions support the claim that the place of origin of the Tiwa people was the Tibet region of China. It could not be ascertained as to how or when the Tiwa people migrated to the plains of the Brahmaputra. It could also not be ascertained whether the Tiwas came in a single wave of migration or there were successive waves. There is not enough oral evidence to determine the time frame of the trail of the Tiwa people to the hills of Karbi Anglong and Meghalaya. It could not be decided as to whether the Tiwas actually settled in the Hills first and then dispersed to the plains. There are oral traditions to support both the phenomena. There is only linguistic and anthropomorphic evidence to support the view that the migration of the Tiwas to their present habitat was part of a larger migration of the Tibeto-Burmese group of Mongoloid people.

2) Oral historical evidence confirms that the Tiwa people migrated and settled in the southern bank of the Brahmaputra as well as in the foothills and in the Khasi-Jayantia and Karbi hills in successive waves. There is oral historical evidence to suggest that the Tiwa people in different locations of their habitat went through various phases of
internal migration. This internal migration within the Tiwa habitat was determined by a number of reasons. These are as follows:

a) The search for productive agricultural land.

b) Adverse or hostile social and political situation.

c) Strict cultural practices and customs of the Tiwa people in the hills.

Two main aspects of strict customs are as follows:

i) The matrilineal system which deprived the right to property of the male lineage.

ii) The custom of human sacrifice as part of shakti worship among the Tiwa people in the Tiwa dominated areas.

3) Customary laws and practices were instrumental in causing migration of the Tiwa people from one place to another within the habitat. The Tiwas customarily owe their allegiance to a hierarchical system in which the formation of the clan and the fraternity of the exogamic clans called the khel has a large role to play. On top of the khel happens to be the traditional Tiwa ruler called the Deoraja. In case after case, among the Tiwa settlements in the plains particularly, it was observed that most of the migration took place in terms of the safety and security of the raja and by extension, of the khel. If a particular khel of the Tiwa people perceived a threat or an opportunity to move from one place to another, then the entire exogamic fraternity moved to a new place. The settlement patterns in most ‘kingdoms’ or customary clusters of exogamic clans strongly suggest this cultural phenomenon in terms of Tiwa settlement and migration.

4) Many settlements in the plains also strongly suggest a remodeling of the customary laws and customs after the pristine model of customs and traditions that were left behind in the hills when a section of the
Tiwa people migrated back to the hills from their habitat in the plains. However, in majority of the settlements in the plains, the adoption of the Hinduised way of life has slackened the hold of the traditional way of life resulting in the change of the, food habit, costume and other spheres of traditional life. Some of the Tiwas, particularly those living in the plains in close proximity with the Assamese speaking people have adopted Assamese as their mother tongue.

5) The Tiwas are bound by ties of strong tradition which determine their status within the household, the village community, the clan, the cluster of clans and the council of elders within the customary kingdom. The social order is hierarchically determined and the community subscribes to the order. There are checks and balances to maintain, preserve and sustain the traditional order.

6) Practice of nature worship, ancestral worship and worship of a pantheon of gods, goddesses, deities and spirits is the hallmark of the traditional Tiwa society. The Tiwas have permanent sites for worship called *thans* or shrines. These shrines have evolved out of the participation of a particular group of exogamic clans. This group of exogamic clans exerts great influence on a particular habitat which the Tiwas designate as kingdom. It is quite clear that the spiritual head of the group of particular exogamic clans also happens to be at the apex of the social hierarchy. This spiritual head is known as the *Deoraja*. Many kingdoms were established across the Tiwa habitat over the centuries. The social administration of the Tiwa community is anchored around the office of the king or *Deoraja*.
7) The most prominent kingdoms which still exert their hold on the community like the Gobha, Neli, Khala and Sahari offer a model of the social administration. Among these kingdoms, the Gobha kingdom and the Gobharaja are regarded the final arbiter in matters of culture and society by all Tiwas across the kingdoms.

8) The Tiwa communities living in the hill settlements have retained their traditional order in the pristine form. The hill Tiwas also believe that the Gobha kingdom is the supreme arbiter in matters related to Tiwa culture. It is this belief that makes the Gobha kingdom such a potent symbol of social hierarchy, order and discipline.

9) The Deoraja is at the apex of the social organization. He is followed by his Barbaruah/Senapati/Dekaraja who is assisted by mid-ranking officers down to the common farm hands who double up as the army in times of emergency. The spiritual hierarchy goes down from the king to the Loro and his deputies in the village community.

10) The village council is the first court of appeal where petty offences and crimes are settled. Crimes of serious nature are referred to the Deoraja’s council, duly appointed by the Deoraja. There is a structurally laid-out punitive system in place in the Tiwa society, across the kingdoms, which is enforced with utmost earnest when criminal acts threaten to disrupt the orderly community life.

11) There is a unique institution of youth dormitory or the Samadi. The Samadi carries out important functions of Tiwa culture and society by being both the nursery and performance venue of all Tiwa cultural resources. The Samadi also acts as the local courthouse for petty offences which are heard and justice delivered to the injured or aggrieved party in the local community.
The study of Tiwa place names brings out certain patterns followed in naming the places. These patterns are as follows:

a) Place names like Gobha, Sahari, Neli, Khaigar etc are a throwback to a mythological past and therefore are important sources of oral history.

b) Place names like Komarkuchi and Amswai indicate the prevalence of a particular traditional profession in a particular place and are therefore important sources of oral history.

c) Place names like Gorongkuchi, Bherakuchi and Andherisal reflect specific unique feature of a habitat and therefore can be important sources of oral history.

d) Place names like Molankota and Mortem are commemorative of the heroic deeds of a leading personage of that place and are therefore important sources of oral history.

e) Place names like Kasomari, Waguri, Dimoria and Gomariati reflect the intimate relationship between the Tiwa people and their habitat and are therefore important sources of Tiwa oral history.

f) Place names like Markhangkuchi, Tiwa Jonthon, Mikirbheta and Gariajuri reveal the control of a particular group of people over the habitat and therefore, are important sources of Tiwa oral history.

g) Place names like Khala, Kanabori etc. indicate the oddity of human beings and therefore are important sources of Tiwa oral history.
h) Place names like Bor-Marjong and Hatbor (not the Hatbor in Kaliabor) reflect the human tendency to be impressed by the mass or size of the habitat and are therefore important sources of Tiwa oral history.

i) Tiwa heroes like mythical figures like Jongal Balahu, Mortem Khitri, Pun and Apun and historical figures like the peasant leaders of the 1861 Phulagurir dhewa are vivid in the memory of the Tiwa people. Together with the place names, these legendary figures help construct a narrative of the history of the Tiwa people.

12) Tiwa fairs and festivals contain important sources of oral history of the Tiwa people. The great range of diversity of the various clans and clan clusters gets full cultural expression through their religious and cultural beliefs through the fairs and festivals. The fairs and festivals have evolved over a long period of time, accumulating and shedding of elements of the Tiwa culture as the Tiwa people negotiated with the changes taking place in their day-to-day struggle as well as in their participation in the twists and turns of history. The key areas which emerge from the discussion are identified below:

13) During every important event in the agrarian life cycle, the Tiwa people worship their deities and spirits and seek their blessings for a good and prosperous life. However, the forms of worship vary greatly.

14) The Tiwa cultural life is full of energy and vigour. The primordial Tiwa consciousness responds to the glory and bounty of nature and
captures the energy of nature through its own energy of expression by way of festivities where songs and dances are integral.

15) For the Tiwa people living in the hills, nature presents itself as a spiritual entity. In other words, the animism practised in the hills is of an unmixed variety where the influence of more structured and complex religious faith like Hinduism has little impact.

16) For the Tiwa people living in the plains, the form of nature gods undergoes a synthetic experimentation. The finest example of such synthesis is the Bhakatsewa form of worship in which Vaishnavite influence is clearly identifiable. However, there is no central consciousness at work in the formation of religious belief across the numerous clans and clan clusters which have cultural allegiance to their traditional kingdoms.

17) The rootedness to the tradition of the orientation of clan and cluster of clans is a rare and unique phenomenon of the Tiwa cultural life. The difference in the observance of customs and rituals among the various clans and clan-clusters is extremely sharp. This also explains the existence of numerous rites, rituals and customs among the Tiwa people.
18) There is a process of evolution taking place in the religious and cultural belief system among the Tiwa people across the board. Practices which seem outmoded and unhealthy to the full expression of human potential based on justice and individual freedom have slowly been discarded by the Tiwa people.

The present writer wishes to acknowledge the fact that the discussions and findings delineated in the present study are by no means exhaustive. Moreover, the assertions made during the discussion are also by no means binding and final. Oral history by its very nature is a fluid discipline. However, a sincere attempt has been made to present facts as they exist in the field by arranging, deducing and filtering them into inferences which form the crux of this research. It is hoped that the present study will add to the scholarship of the Tiwa people and their way of life and open up ways for future research on the subject of Tiwa history.
15. Bordoloi, Dharmeswar: *Dolchatrabhari*, Male, 63 years  
   Place of Interview: Libira, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro  
   Date of Interview: 18\textsuperscript{th} October, 2013

16. Bordoloi, Dibakar: Male, 35 years  
   Place of Interview: Gomariati, Kandali, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 7\textsuperscript{th} May 2013

17. Bordoloi, Dipak: Male, 40 years  
   Place of Interview: Maanipur, Morigaon  
   Date of Interview: 25\textsuperscript{th} July, 2013

18. Bordoloi, Ganesh: Male, 55 years  
   Place of Interview: Raha, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 27\textsuperscript{th} November, 2011

19. Bordoloi, Ghanakanta: *Khelburah*, Male, 60 years  
   Place of Interview: Monjoigaon, Kandali, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 26\textsuperscript{th} November, 2013

20. Bordoloi, Gobin: *Changmaji*, Male, 46 years  
   Place of Interview: Libira, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro  
   Date of Interview: 18\textsuperscript{th} October, 2013

21. Bordoloi, Hiramoni: Female, 22 years  
   Place of Interview: Gomariati, Kandali, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 28\textsuperscript{th} March, 2013

22. Bordoloi, Jyotisma: Female, 25 years  
   Place of Interview: Dighalpani, Kandali, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 26\textsuperscript{th} Frebruary, 2014
23. Bordoloi, Jugeram: Male, 58 years
   Place of Interview: Nawagaon, Khetri, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 20th October, 2013

24. Bordoloi, Jursing: Lankhia, Male, 50 years
   Place of Interview: Charangkuchi, Jagiroad, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 5th December, 2013

25. Bordoloi, Kolai: Male, Ojah, Male, 65 years
   Place of Interview: Nambar Lalunggaon, Kothiatoli, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 26th November, 2013

26. Bordoloi, Konsing: Changdoloi, Male, 65
   Place of Interview: Nambar Lalunggaon, Kothiatoli, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 26th November, 2013

27. Bordoloi, Krisna: Gangburha, Male, 62 years
   Place of Interview: Nambar Lalunggaon, Kothiatoli, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 26th November, 2013

28. Bordoloi, Mihiram, Changdoloi, Male, 60 years
   Place of Interview: Garajuri, Kandali, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 26th January, 2014

29. Bordoloi, Minakshi: Female, 40 years
   Place of Interview: Monjoigaon, Kandali, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 7th March, 2013
30. Bordoloi, Mongalbar: Male, 50 years  
   Place of Interview: Sidhabari, Morigaon  
   Date of Interview: 25\textsuperscript{th} July, 2013

31. Bordoli, M. N.: Male, 60 years  
   Place of Interview: Thengkuchi, Kandali, Nagaon  
   Date of interview: 9\textsuperscript{th} May, 2013

32. Bordoloi, Mihiram, \textit{Changdoloi}, Male, 60 years  
   Place of Interview: Gariajuri, Kandali, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 26\textsuperscript{th} January, 2014

33. Bordoloi, Nagen: Male, 78 years  
   Place of Interview: Sidhabari, Morigaon  
   Date of Interview: 25\textsuperscript{th} July, 2013

34. Bordoloi, Nakul: \textit{Barzela}, Male, 63 years  
   Place of Interview: Nambar Lalunggaon,  
   Kothiatoli, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 27\textsuperscript{th} November, 2013

35. Bordoloi, Narayan: Male, 55 years  
   Place of Interview: Nambar Lalunggaon,  
   Kothiatoli, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 27\textsuperscript{th} November, 2013

36. Bordoloi, Pintoo, \textit{Hadari}, Male, 24 years  
   Place of Interview: Nambar Lalunggaon,  
   Kothiatoli, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 26\textsuperscript{th} November, 2013
37. Bordoloi, Putul: Male, 50 years
   Place of Interview: Bamuni Bar-Lahunggaon, Kandali, Nagaon
   Date of interview: 28th March, 2013

38. Bordoloi, Rabindra: Male, 50 years
   Place of Interview: Monjoigaon, Kandali, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 10th June, 2013

39. Bordoloi, Ratneswar: Male, 49 years
   Place of Interview: Tetelia, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 11th December, 2013

40. Bordoloi, Santanu: Male, 40 years
   Place Of Interview: Sidhabari, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 25th July, 2013

41. Bordoloi, Sarudhan, Bharali, Male, 85 years
   Place of Interview: Habigaon, Kandali, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 29th May, 2013

42. Bordoloi, Shombar, Loro, Male, 75 years
   Place of Interview: Dhupguri, Khetri, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 18th October, 2013

43. Bordoloi, Subhen: Male, 55 years
   Place of Interview: Silchang, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 23rd November, 2013

44. Bordoloi, Sukhen: Male, 50 years
Place of Interview: Habigaon, Kandali, Nagaon
Date of Interview: 22nd September, 2013

45. Bordoloi, Suneswar: Male, 75 years
Place of Interview: Sitalpam, Khetri, Kamrup Metro
Date of Interview: 20th October, 2013

46. Bordoloi, Tulsi: Male, 55 years
Place of Interview: Jagiorad, Morigaon
Date of Interview: 13th August, 2009

47. Bordoloi, Tulsi: Changdoloi, Male, 52 years
Place of Interview: Bamuni Bar-Lalunggaon, Kandali, Nagaon
Date of interview: 28th March, 2013

48. Chomchal, Phunasing, Gaonburah, Male, 43 years
Place of Interview: Bar Amri (Bhakshong, Karbi-Anglong)
Date of Interview: 25th July, 2012

49. Chagra, Ronoi: Male, 48 years
Place of Interview: Natungaon, Jagiroad, Morigaon
Date of Interview: 16th January, 2012

50. Darpang, Chatrasing: Gaonburah, Male, 52 years
Place of Interview: Maslaikhunji, Mortem, Karbi-Anglong
Date of Interview: 26th December, 2013
51. Darphang, Meda: Male, 60 years
   Place of Interview: Pachim Nagaon, Jagiroad, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 16th January, 2012

52. Darphang, Moniram: Male, 58 years
   Place of Interview: Bhumuraguri, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 18th January, 2012

53. Das, M. D.: Male, 63 years
   Place of Interview: Khetri, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 18th January, 2012

54. Dekaraja, Probesh: Deuri (priest), Male, 45 years
   Place of interview: Namgaon, raha, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 23rd November, 2013.

55. Deoraja, Gobin: Changdoloi, Male, 30 years
   Place of Interview: Dighalpani, Kandali, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 22nd July, 2013

56. Deoraja, Ramsing: Raja, Male, 36 years
   Place of Interview: Neli, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 17th October, 2013

57. Deuri, Ajit: Male, 30 years
   Place of Interview: Bherakuchi, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 15th October, 2013
58. Deuri, Bhuban: *Loro/Gangburha*, Male, 59 years
   Place of Interview: Topatoli, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 15\textsuperscript{th} October, 2013

59. Deuri, Dhiren: *Barika*, Male, 35 years
   Place of Interview: Monjoigaon, Kandali, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 26\textsuperscript{th} January, 2014

60. Deuri, Ghanakanta: Male, 58 years
   Place of Interview: 12\textsuperscript{th} December, 2013
   Date of Interview: 2\textsuperscript{nd} February, 2014

61. Deuri, Jeton, *Loro*, Male, 60 years
   Place of Interview: Nambar Lalunggaon, Kothiatoli, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 26\textsuperscript{th} November, 2013

62. Deuri, Khemeswar: *Loro*, Male, 65 years
   Place of Interview: Thenkuchi, Kandali, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 22\textsuperscript{nd} July, 2013

63. Deuri, Lakhi Kanta: Male, 45 years
   Place of Interview: Bherakuchi, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 15\textsuperscript{th} October, 2013

64. Deuri, Moneswar: Male, 63 years
   Place of Interview: Morigaon Town, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 25\textsuperscript{th} July, 2013
65. Deuri, Nadiram: Male, 52 years
   Place of Interview: Markhangkuchi, Jagiroad, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 11th December, 2013

66. Deuri, Nanda: Male, 72 years
   Place of Interview: Sidhabari, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 27th July, 2013

67. Deuri, Simantar: Male, 45 years
   Place of Interview: Sidhabari, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 27th July, 2013

68. Deuri, Sonsing: Loro, Male, 58 years
   Place of Interview: Bherakuchi, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 15th October, 2013

69. Doloi, Boneswar; Gangburhi, Male, 65 years
   Place of Interview: Kulajari, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 20th October, 2013

70. Doloi, Monoram: Male, 50 years
    Place of Interview: Sidhabari, Morigaon
    Date of Interview: 27th July, 2013

71. Doloi, Sarat: Male, 55 years
    Place of Interview: Jarabari, Kandali, Nagaon
    Date of Interview: 22nd July, 2013
72. Doron, Dhansing, *Loro/Gangburhaa*, Male, 78 years
   Place of Interview: Bahtulagaon, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 2nd November, 2013

73. Gaonkhuwa, Amar: Male, 30 years
   Place of Interview: Barapujia, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 20th August, 2010

74. Hukai, Dipor: *Changmaji*, Male, 60 years
   Place of Interview: Bahtulagaon, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 2nd November, 2013

75. Hukai, Phulmon: *Parika*, Male, 62 years
   Place of Interview: Bahtulagaon, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 2nd November, 2013

76. Hukai, Sidu: Male, 61 years
   Place of Interview: Amswai, Karbi-Anglong
   Date of Interview: 25th December, 2013

77. Kakhar, Arun: Male, 45 years
   Place of Interview: Charangkuchi, Jagiroad, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 7th July, 2011

78. Khelma, Guneswar, *Khelma*, Male, 65 years
   Place of Interview: Toragaon/Bargain, Neli, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 17th October, 2013
79. Kholar, Arna Ram: Male, 42 years
   Place of Interview: Nakhala, Jagiroad, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 7th July, 2011

80. Kholar, Khodorsing: Gaonburah: Male, 48 years
   Place of Interview: Thourakrai, Karbi-Anglong
   Date of Interview: 25th December, 2013

81. Kunwar, Ashok: Male, 58 years
   Place of Interview: Kasomari, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 30th April, 2012

82. Kunwar, Babul: Male, 46 years
   Place of Interview: Gomariati, Kandali, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 27th May, 2013

83. Kunwar, Bahiram: Male, 70 years
   Place of Interview: Gomariati, Kandali, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 27th May, 2013

84. Kunwar, Bimal: Gaonbura, Male, 63 years
   Place of Interview: Kasomari, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 30th April, 2012

85. Kunwar, Chanakya: Barzela, Male, 51 years
   Place of Interview: Kasomari, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 3rd June, 2013
86. Kunwar Dhupsing: Male, 73 years
   Place of Interview: Kotohguri, Raha, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 24th July, 2013

87. Kunwar, Dimbeswar: Male, 43 years
   Maloni, Male, 43 years
   Place of Interview: Libira, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 18th October, 2013

88. Kunwar, Gaman: Male, 42 years
   Raja, Male, 42 years
   Place of Interview: Kotohguri, Raha, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 24th July 2013

89. Kunwar, Jina: Female, 31 years
   Place of Interview: Kotohguri, Raha, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 24th July 2013

90. Kunwar, Joykanta: Male, 60 years
   Place of interview: Nagaon Town, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 1st May 2012

91. Kunwar, Paddeswar: Male, 60 years
   Maloni, Male, 60 years
   Place of Interview: Dahaligaon, Neli, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 17th October, 2013

92. Kunwar, Ramesh, Male, 72 years
   Gaonburah, Male, 72 years
   Place of Interview: Bamphorgaon, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 15th October, 2013
93. Kunwar, Surendra Nath:  *Raja*, Male, 66 years  
   Place of Interview: Amsoi, Sahari, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 24th April, 2011

94. Kunwar, Umesh: Male, 61 years  
   Place of Interview: Kasomari, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 3rd May, 2012

95. Ladur, Pabitra: male, 40 years  
   Place of Interview: Nagaon Town, Nagaon  
   Date of Interview: 26th February, 2013

96. Ladur, Saraswati: Female, 29 years  
   Place of Interview: Silchang, Morigaon  
   Date of Interview: 23rd November, 2013.

97. Lumphoi, Robert: Male, 38 years  
   Place of Interview: Jagiroad, Morigaon  
   Date of Interview: 13th August, 2009

98. Machlai, Bidon: *Loro/Gangburha*, Male, 65 years  
   Place of Interview: Libira, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro  
   Date of Interview: 12th September, 2012

99. Mador, Dipsing: Male, 55 years  
   Place of Interview: Bar-Marjong, Karbi-Anglong  
   Date of Interview: 24th December, 2013
114. Moshrong, Lila: Male, 60 years  
Place of Interview: Kasomari, Nagaon  
Date of Interview: 3rd May

115. Moshrong Kunwar, Mamoni: Female, 55 years  
Place of interview: Kasomari, Nagaon  
Date of interview: 3rd May, 2012

Place of Interview: Gariajuri, Kandali, Nagaon  
Date of Interview: 19th August, 2012

117. Nordzang Kunwar, Tankeswar: *Barzela*, Male, 60 years  
Place of Interview: Gariajuri, Kandali, Nagaon  
Date of Interview: 19th August, 2012

118. Pator, Amiya: Female, 45 years  
Place of Interview: Nagaon Town, Nagaon  
Date of Interview: 2nd April, 2011

119. Pator, Babul: *Gaonburah*, Male, 65 years  
Place of Interview: Bherakuchi, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro  
Date of Interview: 15th October, 2013

120. Pator, Bhadreswar: Male, 65 years  
Place of Interview: Topakuchi Rajagaon Raha, Nagaon  
Date of Interview: 29th July, 2011
121. Pator, Bhakta: Male, 30 years
   Place of Interview: Koadal Krai, Gobha, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 30th April, 2011

122. Pator, Dalimi: Female, 32 years
   Place of Interview: Koadal Krai, Gobha, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 30th April, 2011

123. Pator, Dharmananda: Male, 34 years
   Place of Interview: Komarkuchi, Gobha, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 30th April, 2011

124. Pator, Dipen: Male, 27 years
   Place of Interview: Yangli than, Gobha, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 10th April, 2010

125. Pator, Durgasing: Male, 65 years
   Place of Interview: Kodal Krai, Gobha, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 30th April, 2010

126. Pator, Gandhor: Male, 58 years
   Place of Interview: Bar-Lalunggaon, Kothiatoli, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 26th November, 2013

127. Pator, Kalakochu: Barzela, Male, 75 years
   Place of Interview: Maanipur, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 25th July, 2013
128. Pator, Kameswar: *Toloi/Gangburhi*, Male, 65 years
   Place of Interview: Henabar, Khetri, Dimoria
   Date of Interview: 20\textsuperscript{th} October, 2013

129. Pator, Khagen: *Hadari*, Male, 35 years
   Place of Interview: Bherakuchi, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 15\textsuperscript{th} October, 2013

130. Pator, Labakanta: Male, 28 years
     Place of Interview: Komarkuchi, Gobha, Morigaon
     Date of Interview: 21\textsuperscript{st} April, 2011

131. Pator, Madhram: *Barbarua*, Male, 48 years
     Place of Interview: Kumoi, Jagiroad, Morigaon
     Date of Interview: 11\textsuperscript{th} December, 2013

132. Pator, Mahendra: *Dhulia*, Male, 51 years
     Place of Interview: Maanipur, Morigaon
     Date of Interview: 25\textsuperscript{th} July, 2013

133. Pator, Maheswar: Male, 54 years
     Place of Interview: Marjong, Amsoi, Nagaon
     Date of Interview: 20\textsuperscript{th} July, 2012

134. Pator, Meghali: Female, 26 years
     Place of Interview: Marjong, Amsoi, Nagaon
     Date of Interview: 24\textsuperscript{th} March, 2012
135. Pator, Mileswar: Male, 61 years
   Place of Interview: Morigaon Town, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 25th July, 2013

136. Pator, Mousumi: Female, 48 years
   Place of Interview: Marjong, Amsoi, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 24th March, 2012

137. Pator, Narasing: Maji, Male, 57 years
   Place of Interview: Bherakuchi, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 24th October, 2013

138. Pator, Phanidhar: Male, 55 years
   Place of interview: Gomariati, Kandali, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 27th July, 2013

139. Pator, Sarat Ch.: Male, 58 years
   Place of Interview: Gandhibari, Raha, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 20th October, 2013

140. Pator, Saratsing: Hadari, Male, 40 years
   Place of Interview: Bherakuchi, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 24th October, 2013

141. Pator, Sigrab: Bardhulia, Male, 55 years
   Place of Interview: Mokoria, Neli, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 17th October, 2013
142. Porsing, Bulen: *Toloi/Gangburhi*, Male, 59 years
   Place of Interview: Libira, Dimoria, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 18th October, 2013

143. Puma, Dilip: Male, 21 years
   Place of Interview: Bar-Marjong, Karbi-Anglong
   Date of Interview: 23rd December, 2013

144. Puma, Khudiram: Male, 57 years
   Place of Interview: Charangkuchi, Jagiroad, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 12th November, 2013

145. Puma, Radhon: Male, 54 years
   Place of Interview: Amswai, Karbi-Anglong
   Date of Interview: 25th December, 2013

146. Puma, Ramesh: *Loro*, Male, 57 years
   Place of Interview: Lakhigog, Khetri, Kamrup Metro
   Date of Interview: 24th October, 2013

147. Puma, Ratan: Male, 58 years
   Place of Interview: Charanfkuchi, Jagiroad, Morigaon
   Date of Interview: 18th January, 2012

148. Senapati, Bidyut Bikash: Male, 35 years
   Place of Interview: Barapujia, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 20th August, 2010
149. Senapati, Bolairam, *Burabhakat*, Male, 85 years
   Place of Interview: Bakorigaon, Barapujia, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 22th July, 2013 & 1st December, 2013

150. Senapati, Milemai: Female, 55 years
   Place of Interview: Namgaon, Raha, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 23rd November, 2013

151. Senapati, Padmeswar: Male, 40 years
   Place of Interview: Nagaon Town, Nagaon
   Date of Interview: 24th June, 2012

152. Sukai, Tuleswar: Male, 45 years
   Place of Interview: Konabari, Jagiroad, Morigaon
   Date of interview: 18th January 2012