CHAPTER II

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The dictionary meaning of social organisation is "a relatively stable pattern of social relationships of individual and sub-groups within a society or group based upon system of social roles, norms and shared meaning that provide regularity and predictability in social interaction" (William: 1988, p.287). R. Firth observes, "social organisation usually has been taken as synonym for social structure" (Firt: 1951, p.35) In the opinion of R.H.Lowie, "social organisation primarily deals with the significant grouping of individual" (Lowie: 1969, P.33). The survival of mankind depends on its mode of appropriating the nature, given the technology; to meet the basic material needs such as food and shelter. Besides these material needs, man has social needs like recreation, religion, cultural activities, etc. Man is not capable of meeting all these needs by himself. He needs other individuals and so forms social organization.

In Padam community, a structural arrangement of individual relationship is institutionally defined and regulated to carry out effectively the various activities for common existence. Thus, an individual shapes the pattern of social life, which is reflected through
different institutions. A group of individuals form the family, which is the smallest unit of the social organization of any community.

**Family**

The Padams trace their descent from Abo Tani, one of the youngest sons of Pedong Nane,\(^1\) the universal mother of all living things. According to some writers like T. Nyori, Doni or Tani was the last son and youngest issue of Pedong Nane but according to others like Yorang Borang the last issue of Pedong Nane was frog and some others consider Kukpiriri (weeping insect) as the last issue. This suggests that they lived as one family and maintained matrilineal descent. However, after Doni, the first human being, descent is always patrilineal, patronymic, residence is patrilocal and family set up is patriarchal.

The family called Ekum erang by the Adis is the smallest unit of social organization of the Padams, which includes father, mother and children. Earlier the system of joint family was popular and common in their society. It comprised of the father, the family head, his wife or wives, the married sons and daughters and their children, unmarried sons, daughters and slaves. At present such family splits into simple form in separate houses, with their own share of property such as landed and livestock. (Nyori: 1993, p.206) Usually a new family is set up when a new married couple starts a separate arrangement in the

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\(^1\) *Pedong Nane* is considered to be the first woman, who spring up from rock and gave birth to all living beings on this earth.
matrilineal descent in the prehistoric period. Of late, not all but majority of the girls born out of extra marital relations began to assume the title of the father’s clan.

As the society is patrilineal, the senior most male member in the Padam family is its head. He is the final authority in all matters and obedience to him is expected from each of its members. However, in his old age, the actual management of the family affairs is delegated to the eldest son. But when the husband dies leaving behind a minor son, the wife becomes the head of her family.

Polyandrous family is not found in Padam society but polygynous family is found occasionally. Usually in a polygynous family, all the wives live in the same house sharing food from a common hearth and use the same granary. However, maintenance of separate house for different wives is not uncommon in the society.

**Clan**

The Padams trace their genealogy from *Pedong Nane*. An individual name has been used for personal identification. *Pedong* → *Doni* → *Nibo* → *Bomi* → *Midong* → *Dolo* → *Lonung* → *Nuda* → *Dayi* → *Yike* → *Kepang* → *Paper*. But, the growth of population, need for more food and fertile land compelled them to move out of the original stock and establish new habitats. In course of time, the problem was

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1. An extract of Interview with Shri Yorang Borang at Damro on 17.6.2000.
2. An extract of Interview with Mrs. Mame Borang at Damro on 19.3.2000.
3. From *Doni* to *Paper*, the father of *Pertin* and *Perme*, individual name was sufficient for personal recognition or identification. But, when they distinguish themselves from other sub-tribes of the Adis, they proudly called themselves as *Bomis*, Minyong as *Nyobo* etc.
how to distinguish one batch of colonizers from the others. Thus, arose the need for such group names, which came to be known as opin (clan).

Generally the clan can be defined as exogamous division of a tribe, the member of which are held to be related to one ancestor by some commonalities, may be believed to descent from common ancestors. Paper→Pertin and Perme. At present, the names of Pertin and Perme have become a clan name. It suggests that before Pertin and Perme or earlier to the settlement at Damro, there was no use of title among the Padams. The details are reflected in the following genealogical chart.

According to Yorang Borang the need of title or surname arose after the Padams had established a contact with the Assamese. He says, “When they were asked for surname or clan, the larger groups assumed the name of their ancestor as clan name. For instance Pertin, Perme and Ratan. Others took the name of their clan after the name of their villages such as Borang and Yirang. The smaller groups traced some generations back and derived their clan name from one of their ancestors. The smallest groups wanted the support of bigger clan in the community work. They were assimilated to the bigger clan. Such as Doso and Saring in the Ratan clan and Sokko Lego in Pertin clan.”8 The clan organization of the Padam is by and large based on genealogy, not on any political and economic factors.

Title: The genealogical chart and origin of clans and sub-clans of the Padams.

Pedong Nane
   ↓
Doni
   ↓
Nibo
   ↓
Bomi
   ↓
Midong
   ↓
Mike
   ↓
Keyi
   ↓
Yiping
   ↓
Piyu
   ↓
Yusap
   ↓
Sapkom
   ↓
Sapno
   ↓
Kibing
   ↓
Kirang
   ↓
Tonkir
   ↓
Tonmuk
   ↓
Yuki
   ↓
Yuton
   ↓
(Sapkom, Sapno, Kibing, Kirang, Tonkir and Tonmuk are the Sub-clans of the Tayeng.)

Dolo
   ↓

Lokung (Minyong sub-tribe)
   ↓
Logu
   ↓
(Gadam sub-tribe)
   ↓
Lonung
   ↓

Guki
   ↓
Nuda
   ↓

Kuming
   ↓
Kuri
   ↓
(Two moieties of Minyong)

Dayi
   ↓
Dangking
   ↓
Yike
   ↓
Keno
   ↓
Kepang
   ↓
Noring
   ↓
Paper
   ↓

Ridak
   ↓
Galo Sub-tribe
   ↓
Riba

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9 There are two Legos among the Padams. Both these clans now traced their descend from genealogy of Minyong, the authenticity of which is still doubtful. Because, opinion of majority Padams are otherwise. Sokko (lower) Lego (excluding Kopak which origin is clear from Minyong) according to majority opinion is a branch of Tapol Midi (Mishmi) and Lingging (upper) Lego is a branch of Sanyang Midi (Mishmi). Therefore, Legos are not included in the genealogical chart and origin of clans and sub-clans of the Padam. Shri Ugyar Borang 2nd Gam of Damro in an unequivocal language voiced the Midi origin of two Legos in their Opin Pityang Kebang at Damro.

10 An extract of interview with Shri Dosik Tayeng at Mebo on 20.01.2004
social organisation

loyalty brings them together with a feeling of kith and kin. Thus clan loyalty brings about clan distinction, a feeling that is felt in the social life of the Padams. Among the Padams, the clan used to be exogamous in the past.

The spread and spread of population clan hostility is shown as discussion and sisters. But exogamy was strictly inseparable and any clans considered incest. The members who involve in such affairs is often as outcast and is severely punished and excluded from the society. In the past, the Royal Palace had a ritual that the members of the same clan or sub-clan share sacrificial meat during Kuma, Roya, Megu, Tanling, and Tinrang.

Litung (Sub-clan) Lisi (Sub-clan) Linyong (Sub-clan) Litin (Sub-clan) Libal (Sub-clan)
Tubang → Bapir → Pirjong → Jotan → Tanling → Lingko → Kotem
→ Temlon → Lomjong → Jorang → Radu (Gindu)

In olden days, the Padams had clan-based settlement for their security and cooperation among the members of the clan. This type of settlement is still found at Damro, the oldest village of the Padams community. However, the villages, which have been founded in later time, do not show any sign of this, possibly the founders belonged to different clans and sub-clans of very small representatives (Roy: 1960, p.211). However, in these mixed villages the members try to maintain their clan solidarity in the selection of Gam, Panchayat members and settlement of disputes. In all affairs of the society, every family considers it as its duty to support the fellow clan members. This clan
loyalty brings them together with a feeling of kith and kin. Thus clan loyalty brings about an inherent clan distinction, which is felt in the social life of the Padams.

Among the Padams the clan used to be exogamous in the past. All the members of the same clan are brothers and sisters. But due to the growth and spread of population clan endogamy began to be accepted in the Padam society. However, sub-clan was strictly exogamous and any sexual relation among the members of the same clan was considered incest. The member who involves in such affairs is treated as Mipak i.e. outcast and is severely punished and ostracised from the society. But, in the recent past, unlike Roy's observation, (Roy: 1960, p .211) marriage within three generations takes place in some sub-clans of the Padams.

The clan loyalty of the Padams is so strong that the members of the same clan or sub-clan share sacrificial meat during Kimu, Roja, Mopun, etc., rituals. This kind of clan loyalty is more evident in Damro village. The clan members also observe taboo together during the performances of ritual ceremonies and accidental death of any member.

Social stratification

Basically, there is no social division among the Padams. Padam as a sub-tribe is one without any broad division but the sub-tribe is made up of several clans. However, their social life may be divided into three classes. The Ato (master), which includes all the individuals whose bloodline was never sold and purchased by any other
individual, forms the top class and *Abil-Adel* or *Gine-Pakne* (slave) and *Mipak* (outcast) on the other hand, forms the lower class of the society. in the Padam society is not restricted by any circumstances.

But, in those days the man’s status was acquired by his ability. Thus different nomenclatures were given to different groups of *Ami* (people) according to their achievements. They are *Mite-Mirem*, the rich and the influential; *Milum*, the orator and the leader of the villages presently called *Gam*; *Miram* and *Migang*, the warrior; *Miri*, the priest; *Miog* or *Migam*, an expert hunter; *Mimang opan*, the poor; *Mide*, the fool, etc. These terms are not much in currency, perhaps, due to the confusion as to the persons who can properly be included under each category. This social grade, which existed in the Padam community, was a common phenomenon in human society. This division of man in society is neither permanent in nature nor hereditary except the slave. The slave may be classed in *Miri*, *Miog* and *Miram*; still the slave remains a slave. But there was no practice of casteism or racialism in the Padam society (Mibang: 1988 p.243). The only outcast called *Mipak* were those who committed incest and sexual relation with the *Abil* (slave).

It is believed that Donyipolo, the Supreme Being determines one to become *Mite-Mirem*, *Milum*, *Miram*, etc., while he was in the womb of the mother. Thus, social mobility entirely depends on the will of the god. *Ngudu oe Gapo kope, Gapo oe Ngudu kope* (god can make a fool

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1. An extract of Interview with Shri Tatdo Borang at Pasighat on 4. 9. 2001
2. But most of the present *Gam*, specially appointed on party basis does not have the quality of a *Milum*
3. An extract of interview with Shri Tojing Borang at Damro village on 5. 5. 2001
out of an orator or an orator out of a fool), and Amie Milik Mipe (change is the way of life). These two sayings reveal that social mobility in the Padam society is not restricted by any circumstances. Even the poor people could find themselves in better position by virtue of his ability.

Slavery

In Padam society slavery was an institution in the past but as of now, for all the practical purposes, it has disappeared from the society.

The 'slave' is one who is the property of another person and entirely belongs to his master. He has to live with his master and work for his master even against his will (Elwin:1957, p.229). In case of a male he is called 'Pakbo' and female 'Pakne'.

The slavery as an institution originated out of economic and social necessities. The traditional economy was based on agriculture supplemented by hunting, fishing and food gathering. In the traditional jhumming cultivation, the agricultural yield was proportioned to the quantum of human labour utilised in the field. And the social status of a person was also determined by the number of slaves he owns. Thus, to secure extra hands and to enhance one's status in the society the Padams began to keep some other members in the house. In this way, the slavery system originated in the society.

There are various ways of acquiring slaves. First, those captured in the course of inter-tribal raids or feuds was made into a slave by the captor. Secondly, the children of the slaves automatically become
the slave. Thirdly, a man who committed a serious offences like theft, murder, adultery, etc., but unable to pay the compensation was sold as slave to some wealthy person. Fourthly, the formal way of securing the slaves was the outright purchase from the slave dealers. Sometimes the people sold unfaithful wives as slaves. One such example is late Tutung (surname of a middle daughter) Aming, a slave of Lisi Erang, a Borang sub-clan. She was born in a Minyong village called Pangkang. When She was five or six years old she was betrothed for an elderly man. When she grew up, she out rightly rejected the elderly man as her husband. The to be husband and his family with rage dragged her out of her family and sold her to a Borang family at Damro. Since then she became a slave. But the most inhuman act was the selling of an orphan by the nearest relatives. Not only this, they also took over the parental property of the orphan.

Though the institution of slavery existed in the Padam society, they (slave) were bought from the neighbouring sub-tribes, Minyong, Misong (Karko, Shimong and allied groups), Midi (Mishmi), Mishing, etc. Not even a single Padam was sold as slave. That is why the Padams proudly called themselves as “Pedong milong si gine singki mane pakne singki mane” (we belong to the pure blood of Pedong Nane and therefore never been sold as a slave). After purchasing, the slaves have to abandon their own clan names. They have to adopt the

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14. An extract of interview with Shri Bolet Borang, the grandson of Late Tutung Aming's owner at Damro village on 10. 4. 2000.
15. Nane T. who originally belong to Karko village was sold to Komkar village during her orphanage. She narrated her pathetic story to Pipil Borang at Mariyang on 5. 1. 1999.
clan names of their masters not because to please their masters but to maintain solidarity with their owners. Even after the emancipation of slavery in Arunachal Pradesh all the slaves belonging to the Padams took the title of their masters. That was a right step, for, after long association, the feeling of brotherhood rooted deeply in the family chain. However, after few decades of emancipation of slavery some over ambitious clans manipulated the ex-slave groups to join their clans. However, for most of them it was not possible to give up their original clan. Likewise those who manipulated the ex-slave to join their clans could bring impurity to their bloodline. The reason being one of their forefathers was sold and purchased by another person.

The treatment of the slave depends on their individual behaviour and the attitude of their masters. Faithful and loyal slaves used to win the affection of their masters. Those slaves who lived with their master for long years developed a strong emotional attachment with their masters. And those slaves were addressed as pate (eldest), payong (elder) payi (youngest), biro (brother), birme (sister), nyanyi (aunt), etc., according to generation, one stood in the master’s genealogy while unfaithful and idle slaves were beaten up and sold out (Nyori: 1993, p.212). There was no court of appeal against the treatment meted out to them by their masters. The master had the power of life and death over his slaves. One of the earliest incidents of killing a slave by the masters thus reported reveal that, ‘Abil Bejong,’ a

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16. After every fresh purchase they had to assume the clan name of the new master. And many slaves were purchased like animals. So, master’s clan became the original clan of the ex-slaves.
slave of Litung Erang, a Borang sub-clan looked after the domestic affairs of his master after his demise. While doing so, he sold out the property of the master and a plot of land in Gemik patat (patch of jhum cycle). The little master when he grew up found the act of his slave as irresponsible. Thus, in a fit of rage, he was mercilessly beaten up and thrown to Sisi Sieng (a lake) as a punishment. The effect of this killing was that the aftermath purchase of any slave by the Litung Erang began to die. Since then the Padams believe that killing of a slave is a bad omen to the family. So, instead of killing, slaves with incorrigible conduct were generally sold out to distant villages by the master.17

In the early Padam society, the institution of slavery had a considerable value. That is why it was one of the root causes of conflict between the Padam and the British (Nyori: 1993, pp.213-214). The slaves were labourers in the fields, helpers of the domestic works, soldiers during tribal feud and a medium of exchange. The slave in fact, was an item of wealth and was of much help in the economic stability of the society. However, with the approaching of new outlook and growing enlightenment the institution of slavery gradually weakened and the number of slaves greatly reduced by the end of the British rule.

There was no custom of segregation between the slave and the freeman. The slaves and the masters ate the same food from the same pot and slept in the same house. A slave could act as a village priest if

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17 An extract of Interview with Shri Yorang Borang at Damro on 3. 6. 2001.
he had the quality. He could also take part in the community hunting and in the inter-tribal wars. However, the slaves were regarded as low in their social status, sex relation between the slaves and the freemen were forbidden by the society. Their marriage could take place only among the slaves themselves. Any child born out of their marriage would automatically belong to the owner of the Pagne i.e. the slave girl. Since the slaves were treated as living property of the owner they were compared with methun. Thus the saying goes "Sobo makmi em tokamang, Abil makmi em tokamang" (there can be no father of a methun, likewise there will be no father of a slave).\(^\text{18}\) In the same way, even if the slave had the power of oratory, he could not take part in the Kebang (village council). The reason being no one is ready to listen to the words of the slaves. The similar saying goes, "Mendo alange ngamkamang Abil agome tatkamang," meaning juice of Mendo (jungle dog) meat has no taste; likewise the word of a slave has no value in the society.

A slave inherits the property of his master when he dies without any issue (Thakur: 1988, p.90) seems to be a generalised statement. In fact, it was the master's nearest lineage, who inherits the property of the deceased, his wife including the slaves. Though the institution of slavery existed in the Padam society from time immemorial it is not free from defects. The British officials in their tours observed the problem of slavery in the Adi area and

\(^{18}\) An extract of interview with Shri Bopang Pertin at Damro village on 18. 4. 2002. It is also a common saying among the Padams.
suggested measures to effect the liberation of the slaves (Nyori: 1993, p.214). They for the first time took practical step for the abolition of slavery in the Padam area.

After independence, as early as 1950, NEFA administration started an anti-slavery campaign all over the region. As part of the anti-slavery movement the NEFA administration set 31st March 1962 as the target date by which time all the slaves were to be released by persuading their masters and if necessary paying compensations at the rate of Rs. 200/- for a minor and Rs. 500/- for an adult (Borpatragohain: 1997, p.20). Also, the slaves themselves were asked to purchase their freedom with the help of the government (Elwin: 1957, pp.231-232). With the active cooperation of the Bogum-Bokang Kebang, an apex body of the Adi Kebang, the slaves were emancipated from the age-old bondage by the government (Borpatragohain: 1997, p.10).

Soon after the abolition of slavery in the area, the ex-slaves were admitted into full membership of the free society. Thus, the deeply-rooted social stigma resting on the slaves quickly disappeared and the slaves began to enjoy equality of status socially and politically with the former masters. Even matrimonial relations began to take place. However, the stigma attached to ex-slave still persists in the society.

Conservative group of people still maintain some taboos between the Pakbo-ali (ex-slave) and Midang-ali (freeman) in the traditional Padam society.
Marriage

The marriage system of Padam is almost similar with the neighbouring sub-tribes like Pasi, Milang and Shimong. The marriage is locally called 'nyameng lanam' which means obtaining of the nyameng (bride). It is the accepted form of union between a grown up boy and a girl. However, in the remote past child marriage system was also in vague in the society. The Padams follow tribe endogamy and monogamy and is the socially accepted form of marriage but polygamy is not considered a crime. Polyandry is not prevalent in the society.

The Padam society approves pre-marital sexual freedom to both boys and girls. The Raseng is the central institution where boys and girls of the same age group start secret relationship. If both the partners are satisfied with each other, they generally establish their relationship on permanent footing (Roy: 1960, p.199). Some immoral persons often change their partners. Those loose characters are looked down by the society. However, virginity of a girl is not valued much. Girls of good character and laborious nature are given due place in the society.19 The following are the types of marriage.

Love marriage

The love marriage called Abir Angong is a common phenomenon in the Padam society. The boy approaches the girl personally in the Raseng (girls' dormitory). If the girl agrees to the proposal, liaisons start from the Raseng and both the partners begins to meet in

19. An extract of interview with Shri Sokeng Yirang at Damro village on 24. 5. 2001.
kumsung (granary) or other secret places. Such love affairs continue for a long period. Finally the boy makes his desire known to his parents either himself or through his friends. If his parents agree, the mother or father (some time most influential old lady or old man of the lineage) goes to the girl’s house with one kaklak of apong (bamboo jug) and two or four squirrels\(^{20}\) as nyameng kepel (present for the bride). If the kepel (present) is accepted, the proposal is considered to be accepted and from that day onwards the boy and the girl become formally engaged.\(^{21}\) After this engagement, the boy becomes a son from the girl’s side, it is confined to the rich section of the society. The kumrang makbo (Son-in-law) and visits the house every night.

Sometimes the parents disturb the happy beginning of a young partner. This happens generally when boys and girls of unequal background try to formalise the Raseng angong (Raseng partner) to marriage. However, some faithful partners get married against the wishes of the parents. Such incidents as reported reveal that the preference for marriage is based on the parents’ background and intelligence of the girl’s partner as his/her skill, intelligence and worthiness. If the parents are not satisfied with the proposal, the parents insist that the couple not be married or fear for the success and failure of the marriage proposal. It is said that if the Raseng lover is accepted as makbo (son-in-law) by the parents, the girl is not angry because the Raseng partner is not of the same social class as the girl and ends up to be related to the girl. The Padams call it dukliknam, such a girl who does not fulfil the formal exchange of present called hungkang apong tonnam in the initial stage but does not spend the evening in the girl’s house has no dignity in the family.

\(^{20}\) In any Kepel squirrels should be always in pair.

\(^{21}\) An extract of interview with Shri Ukyar Borang at Damro village on 24. 5. 2001.
The Padams being the patriarchal society have no such provision for the boys. The only way left for the boy is duknyok bosunam (elopement). But, at present the practise of dukliknam and duliknam is common to both boys and girls.

**Arrange marriage**

Marriage takes place after the negotiation between the parents of the boy and the girl, which is called nyameng tommam. Marriage proposal hardly comes from the girl’s side. Even if the proposal comes from the girl’s side, it is confined to the rich section of the society. The poor has no courage for fear of refusal. Usually the parents as per willingness of their son to marry a particular girl extends the proposal directly or through a relative who acts as go-between for negotiation. An experienced person acts as nyameng tomma (go between) because the success and failure of the marriage proposal depends upon his/her skill, intelligence and tactfulness. When the girl’s parents agree upon the proposal, the parents of the boy then offer two or four smoked squirrel and an apong kaklak as nyameng kepel (bride payment made as bridefishing. They were kept to separate from present). This first present is considered very sacred and binding, and meant for the old men and women of the girl’s clan. This engagement gives the boy the right to visit the girl’s house as makbo (son-in-law). In the initial stage the boy spends only the evening in the girl’s house and spends the rest of the night in the Musup. This type of makboginam (visiting of girl’s house by son-in-law) may last for one

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22. An extract of interview with Shri Kompu Pertin at Damro village on 31. 5. 2001.
month to few years depending on the acceptance of the girl to sleep
with him. After acceptance he starts staying the night with her in her
house thus fulfilling the status of *kumrang makbo* (son-in-law of the
house).

The girl was initially betrothed. The father of the betrothed boy
is also. From the ancient past till the dawn of independence, the well to
do section of the society with whom the economic aspect of matrimony
was very important, settled marriage proposal without the consent of
their children. The marriage proposal was confirmed through the
offering of *nyameng kepel* (bride present) by the boy’s parents. Since
then the boy and the girl were declared betrothed. Such engagement
was often made during childhood of the partners. This report
reveals that the child marriage system was prevalent in the Padam
society. This undemocratic system of mate selection, which was
practised in the richer section of the Padam society, created scare in
the minds of the innocent youth. That is why there were some
instances of opposition raised either by the boy or the girl and
sometimes both. If both the to be partners refused to accept the
engagement made by their parents, they were free to separate from
each other without any complications.

But when the boy agrees to the engagement of the parents it
brings trouble to the freedom of the betrothed girl. The objection of the
girl has no legal value and she can have her own choice only if her
lover pays the traditional compensation (*Roy: 1960, pp.201-202*)
called *nyamdum* to the boy. Even indulging in sexual relation with a

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23. An extract of interview with Shri Minno Perme at Damro village ob 31. 5. 2001
betrothed girl constitutes adultery and makes a man liable to pay *yopot ajeng* (fine), which goes to the betrothed boy. The *nyamdum* and *yopot ajeng* vary accordingly to the economic condition of the boy to whom the girl was initially betrothed. The father of the betrothed boy is always in an advantageous position as a result of which he asks for heavy compensation. However every *Dolung Kebang* (village council) tries to keep a uniform rate of compensation and fine for the same offence committed in their respective villages. But living in a patriarchal society the gender superiority of a man is evident in every sphere. The objection of the betrothed boy is legally valid in spite of the consent of the girl and the marriage is annulled without any compensation (Roy: 1960, p.202).

However, arrange marriage made between the two willing partners is considered to be the most favourite form of marriage among the Padams. The betrothal is generally honoured and it is considered sacred and binding. The duration of betrothal may last from one to five years till both the partners agree for final marriage. After marriage the settling of the girl in her husband’s house may vary from a few months to a few years mostly depends on the economic condition of the boy’s family. If the family of the boy need working hands very badly it is insisted that she should come to the family fairly soon after the marriage. But the women folk generally do not want to go to the husband’s house without any issue. The lonely daughter of a family often refuses to leave her parents and follow her
husband to his house and, thus maintain dual residence for several years (Roy: 1960, p.200).

After betrothal if the boy dies, the younger brother of the deceased has a right to marry the betrothed girl. If the deceased has no brother, marriage with any of the member of the same lineage or clan becomes optional. On the other hand, if the betrothed girl dies, sometime her sister is requested to marry the betrothed boy. However, if she refuses, no parents can compel her to marry the boy.

Beside love marriage and arrange marriage, there are also other forms of marriages which are less common but in practise and have seen arranged marriage is being made by the parents. Usually those the social sanction.

Marriage by exchange

One of the least common forms of marriage is known as birme-biro yepe or ape (exchange marriage). In this form, usually two men exchange their sisters. The proposal of exchange marriage is by and large initiated from the girl's parents who are having worthy daughters and less worthy son. In such cases, the parents feel pity for their son that without their help he would not be capable of getting the life partner. So to continue the generation they use to search a suitable match for their son. Even in Raseng life, daughter of a worthy father asks for her exchange from the Musup boy who approaches her.24 Those who is desirous of marrying a particular girl under takes to fill the gap in her family by supplying a suitable girl for a marriageable

boy in exchange (Roy: 1960, p.203). Though least in practise such marriage is the total expression of unending love and affection of the parents and their children. For this kind of marriage also all the usual formalities of marriage are performed by both the families.

Elopement

Marriage by elopement called duknyok bosunam is an irregular form of marriage but accepted by the society. This type of marriage takes place in the society when the boy fails to obtain the consent of the girl’s parents or when the girl is unwilling to marry the boy with whom arrange marriage is being made by her parents.\(^ {25}\) Usually those who elope leave the village and take shelter in another village as husband and wife. Elopement with the non-tribal is also reported. In case of such elopement the couple have to leave the girl’s village and live in distant land outside the tribal jurisdiction (Roy: 1960, p.203). But, if the girl is caught by her parents on the way, she is brought back to the house. Sometimes the girl elopes with the boy of the neighbouring village. In such case, the girl’s parents fail to trace out the girl on the way but somehow locate the village. Afterwards, if she comes back with her husband, the parents have no option but to accept all the formalities of the marriage.

\(^ {25}\) An extract of interview with Shri Yorang Borang at Damro village on 3. 6. 2001.
Levirate or widow remarriage

Widow called *meyeng* in Padam society is allowed to remarry if she so desires. When the husband dies his wife is inherited by his brother irrespective of age. Usually such marriage is possible only with the advice of elderly people of the clan. Those selected persons who look after the widow is called *meyeng kana*. Generally *meyeng monogamy* is the general practise among the Padama but there *kana* lives in the house of the widow. In those days the widow cannot choose to marry some one else other than the brother of the deceased husband can go for second wife. But some people deliberately take husband or clan brother. If someone marries her without the consent of the legal heir, he has to pay the customary compensation called *nyamdum*. But present society permits the widow to get married outside the husband’s clan if she desires. In this case the widow has no right to inherit the property of the deceased husband. In case of levirate no customary *kepel* (present) and other formality are maintained at either house. If the widow does not want to marry, she remains as widow by looking after her children and property of the deceased husband. Such a woman is respected by the members of the clan.

Sororate

As per the common saying, “*Yikne karoe ropo ramgom terue nipo*” (peeping of sister-in-law is as easy as felling of the corner trees), the practice of sororate is considered as the easiest way of obtaining second wife. But sororate polygamy is rare and circumstantial. A man marries sister of his wife when they become issueless.
The widower can marry his wife’s sister not as a matter of right but to look after the children of the deceased wife. However, it is possible only with the consent of the girl and her parents. In such type of marriage no traditional formalities are maintained.

Polygamy

Monogamy is the general practise among the Padams but there is no restriction against polygamy. When the wife becomes barren, the husband can go for second wife. But some people deliberately take more wives without any special reason. The first wife is called epong, second is eme, third is etem and the fourth is esiri. Unlike other tribes of Arunachal Pradesh, in Padam there is no system of paying bride price in real sense. Moreover the society does not lay down any prescribed number of wives one can have. But the Padams avoid polygynous marriage as far as practicable. One of the reasons is being the difficulty to control two wives in one house as the peace of the house is always threatened. The other difficulty is to keep two wives at the same fireplace. When the two wives keep on quarrelling, the husband is obliged to make another fireplace called romi in the house and asks the second wife to occupy the new one. Even after allotting them separate fireplace if they are not in good term with each other the husband is compelled to make another house for the younger wife and divide the cultivation field into two parts. With this the husband finds himself hanging in between and often does not get

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38 The main fireplace is known as romdang and the second one is called romi, which is in the back corner of the house. In those days when slavery was in existence rich people made romi for the slaves.
food from either house like *Midi Boti. Midi Boti*, a Mishmi fellow became a legendry person among the Padams. He was a greedy man of repute. Once he wanted to take sumptuous food prepared with *yekling* (upper portion of a Pig between the neck and the lower ribs with one leg intact) from two houses in the same evening. It is said, when he came to the first house, the preparation of food was going on. Then he decided to take the food from the other house first. When he reached the second house they had already taken their dinner. When he rushed back to the first house, he found them just finishing their dinner. That is why he is counted as one of the most unfortunate man. Those who venture for two and doing nothing at last is compared to *Midi Boti*. The apprehension of the quarrel, which is most likely to brew between the two wives and the follow up extra burden, perhaps, dissuades the Padams from second marriage. In Damro, the biggest village, there are only six polygynous families and out of six polygynous families only two are in the same house.27

**Prohibition in marriage**

The early genealogy refers many instances of marriage alliance between the Padams and other neighbouring tribes such as Pasi, Minyong, Panggi, Milang, etc. A few examples as quoted by the elders are Taggu Gudeng, a girl of Taggu clan of Minyong, married to Yayi Paper, the worthy father of Pertin, Perme, Borang and Ratan clans; *Nane Rinmul*, a girl of Dai clan of Pasi married to *Yayi Tubang*, son of

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27 The researcher himself is from Damro village and has close relations with these polygynous families.
Yayi Litung a sub-clan of Borang. All these alliances show that earlier, the Padam strictly maintained clan exogamy though tribe endogamy was a general rule.

However, the popular legend of ‘Karpung-Karduk’ reveals that Karpung and Karduk, both sister and brother had committed an incestuous relationship in the land of Engo-Takar. This practice is said to have been inherited by the Padams. That is why the Padam unlike the Minyong brethren maintain clan endogamy.

Nevertheless, marriage or any kind of extra-marital relations within the restricted group of one’s kindred is regarded as incest in Padam society and the very idea of incest is repugnant to them. In those days persons who committed incest were excommunicated and driven away from the village.

Marriage with mother’s brother’s daughter is not permissible because she is considered as amo (maternal aunt). Marriage with father’s sister’s daughter is also not permissible as she is addressed to an one (daughter). However cross-cousin marriage after a gap of five and more generations is considered preferential mates. There is a saying among the Padams “Amoe yopo Pago e doko” which means sex with paternal or maternal aunts is as sweet as pago, a kind of maize. It reflects the social approval of cross-cousin marriage.

29. Karpung and Karduk were offspring of the same parents who committed incest. They were ostracized from the society. But they continued to be together and in the process to express their love and passion for each other they started singing melodious song. Today, they are considered as legendary figure of the Adi culture. Engo Takar were considered to be the first civilized people on this earth.
Marriage with mother's sister's daughter is considered to be an incest as she is addressed as anying (cousin). Parallel-cousin marriage needs more generation gap than cross-cousin marriage as reflected in the Padam saying "Anying e yonging tasing e donying" that is, sex with cousin is as sour as lemon. Illicit relations with the wives of the younger or elder brother is considered as crime in the society.

Age of marriage

There is no prescribe age of marriage. In early days marriage between immature husband and nubile wife and immature wife and adult husband were arranged and socially recognized. A well-to-do family on economic consideration used to arrange the marriage of their minor children. However the formal marriage takes place after attaining adulthood. Most often, marriage takes place when the boy and the girl become mature and are able to work independently.\textsuperscript{31}

Marriage ceremony

There is no particular form of marriage ceremony in the Padam society. The first nyameng kepel (bride present), which includes two or four smoked squirrels, and one apong kakkak (bamboo jug) are considered very sacred and binding, and it can be given during the harvesting season.\textsuperscript{32} This is followed by exchange of kepel (present) in

\textsuperscript{31} An extract of interview with Smt. Nagul Lego at Damro village on 20, 6, 2001.

\textsuperscript{32} As nyameng is considered Laxmi of the house, offering of nyameng kepel during the summer season when epidemic and scarcity of food grain reigns the world is considered unfavourable and believes to bring bad omen to the new bride.
the festivals. This formal exchange of present continues till the final departure of the wife to the husband’s house.

During Lutor or Etor festival, Lungkang ceremony is performed. Performance of Lungkang ceremony depends on the economic condition of the two families. This can be performed after one or five years of marriage. Usually the groom’s parents after rearing a yekra (big pig) informs the bride’s parent their desires to perform Lungkang during Lutor festival. On the fifth day of Lutor festival, the girl along with two older women of the nearest two families come with a large quantity of rice, apong and meat to the boy’s house. The parents of the boy respond by killing a pig (Roy: 1960, p.199) and give a lion’s share of the meat to the bride’s house. Lungkang tonnam (ceremony) continues as long as the girl lives at her father’s house. But when any unforeseen incident occurs like death of a relative or miscarriage of still born, Lungkang ceremony is off for one year.

The clan members of the boy contribute one adin pabu (meat of about one kg) each as nyameng tarong (bride share) in every Lune or Solung festival and are handed over to the bride’s parents. The like-minded members of the girl’s clan take the share of the meat. After a few months the good gesture of the groom’s clan is reciprocated by giving nokyin kaklak (bamboo jug full of raw fermented red rice) to every family who contributed the meat.\[33\]

When the father constructs a new house, the close relatives of the daughter-in-law known as abu-apang (father’s brother, grand

\[33\] An extract of interview with Shri Minno Perme at Damro on 3. 6. 2001.
father’s brother’s son, etc.) used to supply various seeds of grain such as amli (paddy), ruli (finger millet), nyatli (jod’s tear), pali (maize), yakli (fox tail millet), etc. This system of supplying seeds is called ali pannam. It is followed by a grand feast called Duran to mark the arrival of the bride to the house. Usually Duran is performed in the month of March-April on the occasion of Aran and Mopun festival.

This can also be performed at the house of the father before constructing a separate house of his own. The father’s house is for payi, the youngest son. In Duran, the new couple sacrifice methun and pig as per their capacity and distributes the meat along with apong and apim (cooked rice) to abu-apang who supplied seeds of grain. The bride’s parents also send one or two pig as ome igul (help to the daughter) in the Duran ceremony. In the evening nyameng sinum (bride’s friend of the same age group of her own clan in the village) are called upon to perform dances on the occasion. At the same time all the relatives and clan members of the husband are invited to enjoy the taste of apong and dances. The invitees contribute a small amount of money to the ponung party. The ponung party on their part entertains the invitees upto the next morning. The contributed sum is equally distributed among the girls before their departure.34

In those days, limited numbers of animals were sacrificed in the Duran ceremony. As a result every body was capable of performing this ceremony. Any one who failed to perform the Duran was looked down by the society. But now, Duran ceremony has become a costly

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34 An extract of interview with Shri Tokgan Borang at Damro village on 8. 6. 2001.
affair beyond the capacity of the commoners in the society. The number of animals sacrificed in Duran is now three methuns, four pigs and the approximate expenditures exceeds Rs.73, 000/- . In one occasion, invitees contributed Rs.30, 000/- to ponung Party. 

Divorce

Divorce is an institutionalised arrangement for terminating the marriage and allowing each partner the right to remarry (William: 1986, p.188). Though divorce is permitted in the Padam society, practically the case of divorce is very rare. The family ties specially after childbirth becomes so strong that the ultimate step of divorce is by and large not taken unless the matter becomes very serious.

Barrenness, adultery, stealing, non-stop quarrelling with the in-laws, etc., are some of the grounds on which a man seeks divorce, whereas sexual infidelity on the part of man, impotency, mutual quarrel, harsh treatment, etc., are main reasons for which a woman person again, the second husband has in no monopoly to the seeks divorce.

All these problems are brought before the Dolung Kebang (village council). If the wife indulges in adultery, the husband has every right to divorce her without paying any compensation. In such case the adultery, though facing public opprobrium need not pay traditional compensation called nyamdum. If the man decides to take the woman as his wife, the Kebang imposes nyamdum i.e., heavy fine on him.

However, for practical reasons, if the husband does not want to
divorce, he gets *yopat ajeng* i.e., cost for adultery from the man. Usually such a woman is beaten frequently so as to bring her back to reason.\(^{36}\)

If the wife happens to be unworthy because of barrenness or develop stealing habits, she is asked to go back to the parent’s house. In such case no compensation for divorce called *mere-ajeng* is required to pay to her. But when the wife is in right position, the husband who wants to divorce her has to pay a heavy compensation in cash or kind, which is known as *mere-ajeng* or *mepak-ajeng*.\(^{37}\)

If the husband ill-treats his wife, beats her regularly for no fault of hers, does not lend help in the agricultural field and the entire responsibility of running the house rest on her shoulders, the wife, under such pathetic condition is allowed to divorce her husband. In such case, the wife does not pay any compensation called *mere-ajeng* or *mepak-ajeng* to the husband. However, if she marries another person again, the second husband has to pay *nyamdum* to the divorced husband.\(^{38}\)

If the husband becomes opium addict or impotent and does not satisfy the desires of the wife, her appeal for divorce is considered. In this case only nominal compensation is realized from the wife. In such situation the clan members feel ashamed of their own man’s failure to fulfil the duty of a husband.\(^{39}\)

\(^{36}\) An extract of interview with Smti. Ase Borang(Pertin) at Damro village on 13. 6. 2001.
\(^{37}\) An extract of interview with Shri Koleng Borang at Ngopok village on 14. 6. 2001.
\(^{38}\) An extract of interview with Shri Lomtang Borang at Damro on 14. 6. 2001.
\(^{39}\) An extract of interview with Shri Koksup Borang at Ngopok village on 13. 4. 2001
One incident as reported at Damro village revealed that Mr. Jongkep Borang and Omoti Pertin lived together for 15 years as husband and wife. This childless couple at last voluntarily decided for mutual divorce and divided the property equally. After separation Jongkep Borang married another girl and could become a father of three children. And Omoti Pertin remained divorcee till her death under the care of her brother’s son. In mutual divorce no compensation is paid to any one. But such dissolution of marriage is rare in the society.

**Status of women**

In a patriarchal society the status of women is generally inferior to men. The control of family is rests with the father. Same is the case in Arunachal Pradesh except the Akas who have a Rani system for socio-political activities. The other tribes where payment of bride price is compulsory the husband has absolute claim over her person and labour of which she is capable. Even she cannot leave her husband legally unless some one compensates him for the loss (Riddi, A. 1997 p-51). Unlike Nishis, Tagins, Galos, etc., the Padam society is free from bride price. As a result Padam women enjoy more freedom than those of the Nishis, Tagins, Galos, etc. T. Mibang observes, “Women enjoyed a good deal of respect in society. She was never confined to house, she was allowed to work and move freely, she was allowed to choose in the selection of her husband and was allowed to marry.

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*An extract of interview with Shri Yong Borang at Damro village on 14. 6. 2001.*
according to her understanding and judgement” (Mibang: 1988, p.245). Such is the position of an Adi woman in the society. She regards the status of women of the northeast tribes I. M. Simon writes, “By an unwritten agreement worked out over centuries, the sphere of men and women have been clearly delineated and, by and large, no intrusion of one into other occurs. The men do the hard work in the field like clearing a patch in the jungle for cultivation; they take part in ceremonials and rituals, while in the past, they had the added responsibility of fighting or defending their hearth and home from their enemies” (Simon: 1975, p.34). Men’s work is confined to hard work, which the womenfolk are incapable of doing such as felling of trees, erection of fencing, construction of houses, hunting, fishing, etc. For these, the men assert themselves to the superior position. He further writes, “Women as their part are free within their own sphere of duty to assert their own individuality” (Simon: 1975, p.34). Usually sowing, planting and harvesting and all domestic work are women’s work. From the early childhood the girl knows the types of work she has to do from her mother and elder sisters.

The division of labour among the Padams is based on convention, and there is no practice of segregation or seclusion of women. Men and women work jointly for the subsistence of the family, and the workload on the males and females is almost equal. Along with child bearing and upbringing she goes to the field, brings firewood, weaves cloths for the family during off season, passes the art of weaving on to her daughter, doles out the daily requirement of grain
from granary, husks it, brew apong for her husband, cooked food and portions it out for the members of the family and feed the children. She is the last to retire at night and first to rise in the morning. In addition nyamne arda (laborious women) barter grain for various kinds of beads and enrich the dogne aging (beads reserve) of the family. Thus, the Padam women play a vital role in the family. She establishes a healthy tradition of hard work in the family, which becomes self-emulating to her children.

In traditional society arrange marriage was given great importance but there was no restrictions to the girls in the selection of their life partners. However, instances of arranged marriages against the wishes of the girls are not unknown. In spite of inferior position, the women have the right to seek divorce on the ground of infidelity, impotency, cruelty, insolvency, etc. (Borang: 2000, p.31).

In the field of religion and rituals an equal opportunity is given to the women except certain ritual observance such as in the preparation of poison arrows for hunting and war. It is believed by the Padams that Lesing-Letang, that is, the evil spirit, in the garb of a woman try to misguide the warrior and hunter to commit mistake. Therefore women are considered as a dreaded person in these occasions. During such occasions the man cannot sleep with the woman and does not accept anything from her including food. Women are also debarred from taking some sacrificial meat. In other

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41. An extract of interview with Shri Andel Tayeng at Damro village on 5. 5. 2001.
42. An extract of interview with Shri Yabit Lego at Damro village on 4. 5. 2001.
sacrifices or rituals, women in periodic cycle are also not allowed to take part, as she is considered unclean. The Padam women could also become *Miri Ane* (priestess) if she is divinely inspired. Such *Miri Ane* always takes part in many of the rituals.

In political activities, the women have very little to do. They are not entitled to become the member of the *Kebang*. However, there is no restriction for women in making her voice heard and her opinion felt in the *Kebang* (Roy: 1960, p. 206) The widows, in defence of her son's property could take an active role in the *Kebang* and the dutiful and upright women could draw the support of all the members of the community. The women could also participate in the deliberation of *Kebang* if she herself is involved in the case or she has to depose some evidences.

In Padam society, descent is traced through the father, and the property devolves on the male. The system of male dominance is immemorial. According to Yorang Borang, "It is based on natural selection, as nature has given physical strength to men and through their strength they assert themselves to the superior position. The womenfolk who are weak and timid, always need the protection of men and accept their inferior position." The parents, who need the support and protection in the old age, favour the son while distributing their property. Thus, daughters are debarred from

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6. An extract of interview with Shri Tojing Borang at Damro village on 5. 5. 2001.
4. An extract of interview with Shri Yorang Borang at Damro village on 5. 5. 2001
5. An extract of interview with Mrs. Toknem Lego at Damro village on 4. 5. 2001
inheriting land and other valuable property except female beads (Mibang: 1988, p.245).

Though there is a feeling of superiority in the minds of men, they cannot give any sort of inhuman treatment to women. Their abubiros (fathers and brothers) take their side in difficult situation (Nyori, 1993 p-211). In any disfigurement or mutilation of a woman such as wound of a finger, tooth, ear, eye, fracture of hand and leg by a husband, is taken appropriate action through Dolung Kebang and compensation to maternal uncles is very heavy. Inhuman treatment to women is never tolerated in the Padam society. Thus, Padam women enjoy a respectable position in the society.

Inheritance and adoption

In Padam society descent is traced through the father and the property devolves on the male line. The son inherits the property of the family and takes the title of the father. The conventional rule of primogeniture, which is applicable for the most part in many societies, is absent in Padam society, as the distribution of parental property is made almost equally during the lifetime of the father. As the Padams are following ultimogeniture the youngest sons get the lion’s share of movable properties such as domestic utensils, implements, ornament, livestock, etc. As per tradition, the youngest son is to look after the old parents, carry the dead body to the grave and inherit the parental house. Usually the older sons start independent household during the

46 An extract of interview with Shri Minno Perme at Damro village on 10. 5. 2001.
lifetime of their father (Roy: 1960, p.206). The widowed mother may live with any of her sons whom she likes but in practice she prefers to live with the youngest son who remains in the parental house. But some times the youngest brother may not be able to look after the old parents and burial may be conducted by any one of the brothers. In such case, the brother who carries the dead body of the father to the graveyard and conduct the burial rites use to receive the larger share of the property, (Ering: 1971, p.13). However, after the introduction of school education the less educated or illiterate brother takes the responsibility of caring the old parents and inherits the parental house. As a rule the daughter does not have the right to inherit immovable properties of her parents. There is a saying on patrimonial property.

"Dunem Sine tarong ormang Mone marong tekmang,
Mine milo rârulo remte eget em geang maye
Dogne eget em gesang maye"

(Daughters are never allotted a river or land and they are not allowed to go to the family of their husbands with the properties of the parents). Wealth and possession is the pride and dignity of the Padam family and therefore, passing of family properties to the other people is viewed as lowering of family prestige and enriching of the others. However, some rich fathers who enjoy special care or help during the old age, used to give beads and an agricultural plot called

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47 An extract of interview with Shri Loknik Saring at Damro village 20. 12. 2001. And it is also a common saying in the Padam society.
dune latyeng to a worthy daughter. Beads brought by a woman from her father’s house are considered as her property. Generally her daughter and daughter-in-law inherit such beads. But, when there is no daughter or anyone to inherit the same, the maternal uncle called aki originally from where the beads devolves on has the right to take back the beads and is called anyi doklat. Usually, generous and dignified aki never takes it back. More over, there is a saying, “Dune doklat langkune agi tadok em kosu kunako,” which means those who take the maternal beads back generally sell their own. So, most of the people are hesitant to take back such property.

Landed properties such as arik (agricultural land), sitong (fishing streams or spot), morang (forest) and eda morang (hunting and trapping grounds) are acquired by a family during the rikti, the day of land acquisition and distribution of the new village dwellers. This day is declared in the Dolung Kebang immediately after the foundation of a new village. The land ownership pattern of Damro clearly shows that for a few generation the land was divided equally among the sons and the boundary marks were made by a line of stones known as Risu lisik. For instance, Paper and Pangkom, were the two sons of Yayi Kepang who were among the founders of Damro village. The land of Paper was equally divided among his sons-Pertin, Perme and Perying. From Pertin – Tinling (Borang clan) to Litung

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6 An extract of interview with Shri Minno Perme at Damro village 10. 5. 2001
7 In Padams there is a female beads inherited from mother to eldest daughter for generations.
8 An extract of interview with Smt. Ase Pertin at Damro village on 31. 5. 2001.
9 An extract of interview with Shri Minno Perme at Damro village on 31. 5. 2001.
10 Risu lisik is considered sacred and removal of it is considered as social offence and a heavy fine is imposed accordingly.
(grand son of Pertin) division of landed properties continued. But during the lifetime of Litung further division of land other than agricultural land were arrested/stopped. From Litung-Tubang-Bapir-Pirjong-Jotan to Tanling the system of division of agricultural land remained unaltered. Successive division of landed properties remained undisturbed for about five to six generations for eda morang, sitong and nine to ten generations for agricultural land.\textsuperscript{53} Thereafter, a stage came in the wake of increasing population in which the division of land among the sons became problematic and cause of social tension. Out of necessity, clan and sub-clan common ownership system originated and in the course of time became an accepted convention. This system is still prevailing in Damro especially in regard to hunting and trapping grounds, fishing streams, forest and shifting agricultural plots.\textsuperscript{54} But after the introduction of wet rice cultivation or permanent cultivation some changes occurred in the ownership system of properties and inheritance. Permanent cultivation field is divided among the sons. But in rare case, even a son may be deprived of his share if he failed his filial duties and obligation (Nyori: 1993, p.207). Up to this day, however, valuable properties are claimed by all the sons of the deceased which are in the custody of the youngest brother or who takes the charge of parental house and granary.\textsuperscript{55} 

\footnote{\textsuperscript{53} This example is drawn from the genealogy of Litung Erang, a sub-clan of Borang in which the researcher belongs to.}
Adoption is prevalent among the Padams. As the tradition of succession and inheritance follow the male line, a heirless couple has the right to adopt a son of any age. But, a man is not given full right to adopt a son from some one according to his own will. As per customary law of adoption in the society, he should first approach his brother for a son, failing which he may choose from the next relative or from near lineage men. Then he may ask the remote clansmen.\textsuperscript{54} However, if his relatives fail to give a son he can adopt a son from any one he likes. In this case the relatives have no right to oppose the choice of the man.\textsuperscript{55} Whether the adoption is taken from related or unrelated, the man must obtain prior consent of his relatives and the adopted son's relatives. In case the adoption of a son is objected from the very beginning by the nearest relatives, the adopted son cannot claim the immovable properties particularly family heirloom of the deceased or he may have only partial claim over it (Ering: 1971, p.12). Otherwise, the adopted son acquires all properties of the man.

Adoption of son from other tribe or clan is rarely practised in the Padam society. In such rare case, the adopted son should assume the title of the adopter. This is one of the most important conditions of the adoption system of the Padams (Mitkong: 1990, p.210). After adoption he is considered full pledged member of the family and clan, and has the right to succeed to the status and to inherit all the properties if he (adoptee) fulfils the filial duties and obligations. In

\textsuperscript{54} An extract of interview with Shri Amin Pertin at Damro village on 1. 6. 2001.

\textsuperscript{55} An extract of interview with Shri Ugyar Borang at Damra village on 2. 6. 2001.
case the son withdraws his assumed title of the adopter after fulfilling his obligation he cannot claim right over the properties of the family. In such case, he can claim only ure i.e., the maintenance charge from the family.56

Sometimes a difficult situation arises, when a male child is born to the adopter couple after adopting a son. In such case, where there is cordial relation and good understanding between the sons, the patrimonial properties are equally divided, and the burial rite is to be performed by the natural son. In case of differences and quarrel the real son has the right to settle the matter as he likes but he cannot deprive him (adoptee) out rightly (Mitkong: 1990, p.210). In this case he gives reasonable compensation called tomre or a nominal share of the father’s properties.57

After living together for many years, sometimes a problem crops up in between the adopter and the adopted son and causes their separation. In this case an adopted son may or may not get his share of property from the parents, depending upon the nature of the causes of separation. If the separation of the two is caused by wrong motive or intention of the adopter, the adopted son has right to get half of the property or he can claim heavy compensation as maintenance charge and tomre i.e. adoption charge.58 On the other hand, if the adopted son is found guilty or he failed to maintain the family and he himself

56. An extract of interview with Shri Opak Lego at Mebo village on 7. 1. 2001.
57. An extract of interview with Shri Kaling Ratan at Damro village on 1. 6. 2001.
58. An extract of interview with Shri Yorang Borang at Damro village on 1. 6. 2001.
leaves the house, he gets nothing from the father (Mitkong: 1990, p.211) as Musup and Raseng. The Musup is used as the dormitory for boys. Like many other societies of the world, the system of adoption exists among the Padams. Hence, the Padams are unhappy when they fail to have a son, fearing that their life would end without a successor. Thus, they adopt a son from the nearest relatives to continue their male line. But adoption is not compulsory or obligatory for an issueless couple. They can be brought under the maintenance of his nearest family relatives or may live with one of the brothers at the time of old age.

Musup

The bachelors' dormitory called Musup is a unique feature of the Padam society. Different tribes call it differently. According to B.S. Guha, four distinct type of bachelors' dormitories are found in India, viz: the Dumkuria of the Oraons of Chotanagpur, the Ghotul of the Muriyas of Bastard, the Morung of the Naga tribes and the Musup of the Abors (Guha: 1964, p.2). This highly developed organisation is the centre of tribal culture. These dormitory systems contain some common feature, such as the discipline and spirit of corporate life of the inmates, the period of novitiate that they have to pass through, the regulation of behaviour of the youth, the participation of the members in the socio-religious life of the tribe, etc. But it takes different forms according to the habitat, cultural pattern and the tribal personality (Guha: 1964, p.2)
In Padam society, there are two typical traditional institutions known as *Musup* and *Raseng*. The *Musup* is used as the dormitory for boys and the *Raseng* for girls. These two institutions are the nerve-centre of the activities of rural people and hence the Padams attach great importance to the *Musup* and *Raseng*. Beside these, there was another boys' dormitory called *Royup* for *Royup ko* that is, boys of age group 8 to 15 years. It was a house of simple structure and its occupants were small boys, and therefore no significance was attached to this dormitory. With the introduction of modern education, *Royup* has almost disappeared from Padam village.

The *Musup*, which forms the most distinguished feature of the Padam culture, is a sacred shrine of the *Gumin Soyin*, the spiritual protector of the souls of the villagers (Rukbo: 1968, p.6) Whenever or wherever the Padam establishes a new village, the first task is to construct a *Musup* or community building and then construct individual houses one after another on community self help basis. According to Padam mythology, the *Musup* is the first primary shelter for *Tani* (human being) built by *Gumin Soyin* on the advice of *Doying Bote*, the God of wisdom and *Kine Nane*, the Goddess of prosperity.

One of the Padam myths narrates that in the very beginning there was no form or shape but only darkness everywhere. This stage is referred in the *Abang* (rhapsody) as "*Keyum Kamang e yayang ko, Kero tatmang e yayang ko*". From *Keyum* comes *Kasi, Siang, Abo, Bomuk, Mukseng* and *Sedi*. From *Keyum* to *Mukseng*, the universe

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evolved out with almost inconceivable slowness, and Sedi finally took
the shape of the earth. Then Sedi (earth) and Melo (sky) lay close
together and out of their union, things were born, light emerged and
the landscape as we see today with mountains, land and water and all
living beings came into being. All the progeny of Sedi-Melo except the
lineage of Diling became the benevolent gods and goddesses and all of
them were assigned to different world. Pedong Nane, the grand
daughter of Diling married to Yidum Bote, the wise son of Pijing.
Pedong Nane gave birth to numerous benevolent and malevolent
spirits, animals, etc. Her last and youngest issue was Doni or Tani, the
first human, considered to be the common ancestor of the Adis. At
this time there was no distinction at all between gods, men and
animals. They all lived together, inter-married and shared one
another’s joys and sorrows. But the increasing population caused
great congestion everywhere and arable land and game became
insufficient for their maintenance and quarrels and fights among them
became a constant feature. The urgent need of the time was to
establish peace and order in the world. Therefore, wiseman from all
over the world held a Kebang and decided to apportion the land and
wealth of the world, so that all would know which would belong to
whom. The task of distribution of property amongst the million
children of Pedong Nane was entrusted to Susun Mite and Rodong
Migom, the just arbitrators of that time. Doni and Doro, the two great
sons of Pedong Nane got the largest and best shares. But, gradually
rivalry and jealousy grew between them and at last that broke into
open hostility. *Nibo* and *Robo* had under taken various competitions like shooting, trapping, fishing, etc., for the ownership of land and wealth. In such competitions *Nibo* was the ultimate winner. The long drawn struggle lasted for many years and is narrated like an epic. *Robo*, the son of *Doro* was stronger than *Nibo*, the wise son of *Doni* and had the support of all the wicked and evil spirits. In this struggle *Nibo* was left utterly friendless and his condition was deteriorating year after year. On seeing the pitiable condition of *Nibo*, *Doying Bote* had held a telephonic talk with *Kine Nane* through *Jinjong ripong* and advised him to send *Gumin Soyin* to the rescue of *Nibo*. A house was then immediately constructed by *Gumin Soyin* on the spiritual guidance of *Doying Bote* and *Kine Nane*. In order to have a complete protection *Kine Nane* sent other good spirits, namely *Rising Konying*, *Kumbang Pokpo*, *Kok Lombo*, *Gumpir Yagir* and *Batum Bolum* to help the *Gumin Soyin*. *Rising Konying* was assigned to protect the northern side of the house, *Kumbang Pokpo* took the charge of the ceiling, *Kok Lombo* looked after the southern side, *Gumpir Tagir* took the charge of *Regum* (Pigsty), usually in the back door while *Batum Bolum* gave protection at the entrance. Thus, for the first time *Musup* was constructed for *Nibo* where *Robo* and his evil spirits could do no harm to him. Under the spiritual care of *Gumin Soyin* *Nibo* again became healthy, strong energetic and smart.

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Another mythological tale narrates;

*Konno Engo yomsie didum telo,*

*Takar janggo didum telo,*

*Anyi Karpung e mimun lang,*

*Abing Karduk e yame binyi,*

*Birme letik em kabang minsula,*

*Biro lakpong em kabang minsula,*

*Engo ginying em pemin suto,*

*Takar ginbo em simin suto;*

*Delo, Engo yomsie didum telokke,*

*Takar janggo didum telokke,*

*Engo kiruk e rukpak lento,*

*Takar kiruk e rukpak lento.*

*Siking Koje Nane de,*

*Nane ayang e kapang bikane,*

*Sedi Didong e Doying Botem,*

*Nane posie pomo likto,*

*Engo Karduk e yame melang,*

*Takar Karpung e mimun me,*

*Doni Gite pobe so,*

*Engo rutum em tumbi kanman,*

*Takar rarung em rubi kanman;*

*Delo, Sedi Didong e Doying Bote,*

*Bote mijing e mingo lenkane,*

*Doni Gite pobe so Engo Dere ko,*

*Takar Musup ko morep lento.61*

(Long, long a go there lived a civilized people in *Engo Takar*, the land of plenty. Amidst them there lived a sister and brother called *Karpung* and *Karduk*. Both of them were very beautiful. In course of time they established incestuous sexual relationship. This being a strange and

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against the social customs, was viewed seriously, so they were expelled from the Engo Takar land. After being expelled from the Engo Takar land both sister and brother moved heaven and earth to find out a peaceful place, but could not find any place. In course of migration, the two souls came to the notice of Kine Nane and Doying Bote. Kine Nane, the Goddess of Grains invited the attention of Doying Bote, the God of Wisdom and Courage, to the deplorable condition of Karpung and Karduk. She appealed to Doying Bote to think about the rescue of the two and also of their rehabilitation on the earth. Doying Bote after a thought, ordered the people of Doying Ang, the Land of Wisdom to construct a Dere/Musup. By the order of Doying Bote Musup was constructed and, Karpung and Karduk were accommodated there. Thus, for the first time a building called Musup appeared on the earth).

However, most people accept another version of the tradition. According to them, after committing incestuous sexual relationship Karpung and Karduk were driven out to the north eastern corner of the Engo Takar land known as Engo siken kenyung. There they developed the art of Delong and Ponung dances and later Doni or Tani (man) learned the art of Delong and Ponung dances from them.

Some of the elderly Padams, however, narrate that Musup was built by Tanis themselves. According to Loknik Saring, Musup was built by Engo Takar people in the place called Engo yegoe takeng yegoe yeksing. Engo Takar people are none other than great ancestors of men. According to Yorang Borang, Engo Takar land is a mythical
place visited by men in dream. Those people who visit the *Engo Takar* land and participate in the *Delong* and *Ponung* dances in dream are supposed to give birth to many worthy children. Those who give birth to many children are referred to as *Engo Takar Ane-Abu* in poetic language.

In the construction of *Musup*, special care is taken to use only such materials, which possess spiritual significance according to tradition. Hence, bamboo which originated from the broken horn of *Polung Sobo*, a mythical creature, *tapit* and *takmo* trees also from its bones, *tase* (*Impera cylindrica*) originated from another horn of *Polung Sobo*; *talo* a creeper originated from the *tali* (haversack) of the legendary archer *Kari* and *tatke*, a thorny plant grew up from his grave are used in the *Musup*.\(^{62}\) These materials used in the *Musup* are believed to be the favourite of the good spirits and repugnant to the evil ones. The observation of T. Nyori, that *takmo* tree causes swelling (Nyori: 1993, p.233) seems to be without much substance. Because it causes no swelling at all, but when it is burnt, it produces sparks with sound *tek-tek-tek* which annoys the evil spirits as per Adi beliefs. So, it is used in the *Musup*.

After the construction of *Musup*, the myth narrates *apim* (cooked rice), *apong* (local beer prepared out of millet/rice), *ennok* (fermented millet/rice)-*take* (ginger) were brought in first and *Nomgu galing rokpo*, the red cock of *Nomgu Nomnang*, the god of hunting was cut in the *banggo*, the main sacred place of *Musup* where *mobyang*, a

\(^{62}\) An extract of interview with Shri Lomtang Borang at Damro village on 17. 12. 2001.
flat stone means for grinding/powdering emo (aconite) is kept. These food items and red cock are the favourites of the spirit of Nuyi, a legendary hunter and other spirits of hunting. Even today, when the construction of Musup is completed a red cock is sacrificed in the banggo and apong and ennik-take are spread over the mobyang to invoke the spirit of hunting. Also jaws, skulls and horns of animals killed during hunting are hung in the Musup over the banggo with the belief that this will bring them gamying i.e., good luck in the next hunting.63

As per the tradition, the main purpose of the construction of Musup was to provide a secure place for man where he could learn the art of war and self-defence, art of arbitration and justice, discipline and social customs to become a complete man under the spiritual guidance of Gumin Soyin. B.S. Guha writes, “There are two underlying principles on which the institution is built, namely, the creating of the habit of discipline among children at their formative stage of life and in the developing of a spirit of cooperation and collaboration so that the tribe can acts as a unit, and fissiparous tendencies within the body politics of the tribe may have very little room for growth. In addition, it develops among the young a spirit of responsibility, alertness and habit of taking risks in the face of danger, which are essential for the existence of the tribe. Although emphasis is laid on the training for the groups to work together and face a common danger, there is also a provision for showing respect and consideration

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63 An extract of interview with Shri Ngijong Pertin at Damro village on 31. 5. 2001
to the elders of the tribe, specially those who are old and infirm and dependent on the younger members for living” (Guha: 1953, p.83)

Originally the Musup was organised on inter clan basis which was known as Dame Musup, for the whole community, especially from the earliest time to a few decades after the establishment of Damro village. And it was built in a prominent part of the village either in the centre or some strategic location. In those days it was constructed at a place from which the different approaches could be watch (Nyori: 1993, p.233).

However, with the gradual increase of population and admission of new clan to the village, led the people to organise Musup on clan basis. The clan wise organisation of Musup gradually over took the power and functions of the Dame Musup. As a result Dame Musup was reduced to non-entity.

The Musup is built on the same pattern of the dwelling house. But it has two entrance one in the east end and other in the west end and a big notch ladder each called sanggo ego (east ladder) and anggo ego (west ladder). The size of the Musup varies from village to village depending on its population. B.S. Guha found Bodak Musup to 50ft x30ft and Needham measured the Mebo Musup as 240x30ft. (Guha: 1964, p.21). The entire rectangular hall is divided into different meroms (fire places) and each merom is considered a social unit. The membership of the merom does not depend on their individual liking, but is hereditary. The numbers of meroms in a Musup entirely depend on the population of the village or clan. For instance, in 1949, B.S.
Guha found (Irang) Yirang Musup at Damro having only two meroms (Guha: 1964, pp-24-25). But now it has five meroms. Likewise, Wilcox found as many as 17 or 18 meroms in the Mebo Musup, which increased to 24 at the time of Dalton’s (Guha: 1964, pp-24-25) visit, but now it has only 4 meroms. Different Meroms are named differently according to their location in the Musup (Mibang: 1994, p.19). The three meroms called romdang, romtak and romsam generally formed on age basis are notable. Romdang is the main fireplace meant for middle age or senior men, romtak for adolescents and romsam for old men. The entire meroms in a Musup is usually divided into the sanggo (east) and anggo (west) section for all practical purposes of community activities.

All the boys of the village from the age of ten to twelve use the Musup as a sleeping house. Like Ashrama system in Hindu tradition the Musup life of an individual Padam is divided into five stages namely, Musup ko, novice stage between 10 to 20 years of age, Musup yame age between 20 to 35 years, Yangging between 35 to 50 years, Mijing Jitem or Jitem between 50 to 60 years, Pator Mijing, an old man of 60 years and above. But the tradition of Musup ko is at the very core of the entire Musup system. Musup ko means the youngest age group or novice whose duty is to take training in Musup life. They have numerous responsibilities during their probation period in the Musup life. Their duty is to bring firewood for their respective merom

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64 Researcher personally counted during the field study at Mebo village on 23. 12. 2002.
65 An extract of interview with Shri Lomtang Borang at Damro village on 17. 12. 2001.
and kindle the fire in every evening. Besides these, they are to carry out other instructions of the abing yanás (senior members of the Musup). If there is any neglect they are taken to task by the Musup abing yanás. Under the guidance of abing yanás, they gradually learn the value of discipline, obedience, physical fitness and courage in life. In short, they acquired all the qualities of a complete man. That is why the Padams says, “Abing yana de Takar kanggene, delok agom em tatlang ka,” meaning, the elders are the first ones to appear in this world and saw the light of the stars and hence are more experience, and so the younger ones should obey them. The seniors are responsible to link up with the village authorities for timely implementation of village programmes. They plan, command and organise the activities of Musup ko. Musup ko performed gogying which means announcement of village programmes round the village. Usually three or four Musup kos go around the village and inform the people of the notice by shouting to the top of their voice (Bangkung: 1997, p.23).

Musup ko also perform ajeng lanam, i.e., realisation of fine imposed by a Kebang and dokang lanam, which mean realisation of fine for non-observance of village taboos or non-participation in the village programmes. In earlier time they also performed the task of makro duknam, surveying of the movement of enemies in the vicinity of the village for security purpose.

In those days Musups were used for holding different types of Kebang, such as Kebang relating to war and communal hunting,
selection of site for jhumming, fixation of dates of festival, *Kebang* relating to civil and criminal nature, etc. It is believed that holding of *Kebang* in *Musup* has special significance. The belief is that the benevolent gods and goddesses reside in *Musup* and dispense justice and punish the wrongdoer. The *Kebang Abus* never deviate from the true path of justice. Every body irrespective of rich and poor get equal justice in the *Kebang*. The common belief of the presence of dispenser of justice in the *Musup* and general respect shown to it enhances the sanctity of the place.

All kinds of social offerings or ceremonies connected with the tribal life are performed in the *Musup*. All dances like *Tapu, Roja, Delong, Solung Ponung*, etc., are conducted in the *Musup*. In fact, the Adi *Musup* does not operate merely as a centre for hunting and socio-religious purposes but is also the instrument through which administration is carried out by the village *Kebang* (*Bangkung: 1997, p.23*). With the progress of time, *Musup* has become the centre of Government meeting, accommodation for government officials, campaign meeting of political parties, medical camps, social, cultural activities of youths, etc. Thus, *Musup* acquires a socio-cultural and political characteristic.

**Raseng**

The girls’ dormitory called *Raseng* is the women’s counterpart of the *Musup*. *Raseng* is the combination of two words, *Yoo-arang+aseng*, which means entertainment in the midst of darkness. Earlier the
adolescent and unmarried girls of the village use to sleep in their respective clan *Raseng* at night. B. S. Guha defines it a meeting place or rest house (Guha: 1964, p.34). There is no specific myth regarding the origin of *Raseng*. But the *Abang* gives the reason for its construction as need for gaiety, amusement and the art of lovemaking. The *Raseng* is a simple structure having only one square room with a fireplace in the centre. An experienced *abu-biro* (fathers and brothers) or *yame sirum* (*Musup* members of other clans) generally constructs the *Raseng* in the secluded corner of the village. Materials such as bamboo, wooden posts, etc., are collected from the jungle both by the boys and the *Raseng* girls. In return for the service rendered, the *Raseng* girls send two or three baskets of *apim* and ten or twelve *epum* of *apong* (gourd pot full of local wine) to the *Musup* who constructed their *Raseng*. Usually this *apim-apong gebinam* takes place in the leisure time. Unlike *Musup* the presence of good spirits are not invoked after the construction of the *Raseng*. So, no sanctity or spiritual significance is attached to it. Thus, the *Raseng* bears a secular character. Like the clan *Musup* there are several *Rasengs* in a village like Damro.

The *Raseng* is a training institute for young girls of the village. Just as the boys are entitled to be members of the *Musup* when they begin to wear loin clothe, girls who have reached puberty can sleep in the *Raseng* (Guha: 1964, p.5). Though the *Raseng* is not well organised like *Musup*, it has its own system, which is strictly followed. The younger girls pass through a period of novitiate. During this
period they bring firewood, kindle the fire and do other works assigned to them. Every activity of the Raseng is under the supervision of senior or experienced girls called Angong rutum or Ponung rutum. Any disobedience or neglect of duties is punished with reprimand or fine. In Raseng the younger members get training in discipline, comradeship, responsibility, leadership and weaving from their senior Raseng friends (Mibang: 1994, p.53). The Raseng abing yanas (older experienced Raseng friends) also teach the younger, different types of dances, traditional songs, mythological tales and the art of lovemaking.

Like Musup kos, the younger girls’ primary duty is to come first in the Raseng and set every thing in order before the arrival of the senior girls. The inmates come after their evening meals and engage themselves in spinning, singing, gossiping, etc., if there is no moman ponuung (entertainment dances led by visiting boys) until they retire to bed (Ering: 1969, p.18). The younger girls sleep on one side of the hearth and the older on the other where they receive their Raseng abir (lovers)

The Musup yame visit the Raseng and there the boys can study the character of the girls. Very often both boys and girls express their love for each other through the medium of song in the Raseng. Very frequently boys and girls established pre-marital relationship.66 The Padams like many other tribes, such as Konyaks, Noctes, Aos Nagas, etc., among whom the girls’ dormitory is similarly developed, a

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66. This is from the personal knowledge and observation of the researcher.
considerable amount of premarital sexual freedom is allowed to young people of both sexes (Guha: 1964, p.36). He also categorised the Padam Raseng girls into two groups, one those who have recognised lovers with whom they sleep in the Raseng and indulge regular love affairs and others those who do not have recognised boy friends but consort with any of the Musup boy they please (Guha: 1964, p.36). This is the recognised social practice and every affair within the Raseng premises is always kept in secrecy. The Raseng girls may sleep with their boyfriend only in Raseng so long as the nyameng tonnam (betrothal) has not taken place or the nyameng kepel (formal engagement) has not been given. But after formal engagement they are not permitted to sleep in the Raseng. Usually they stop going to Raseng and received the boy friends at their own house at night as Makbo (groom) before finally going to their husbands’ houses. Though laxity and sexual freedom exist during the premarital period, after marriage conjugal fidelity is strictly maintained in the Padam society. Any violation leads to heavy fine called nyamdum or yopot ajeng and divorce.

Besides training in all round development for a respectable womanhood, the other functions of the Raseng are the organisation of dances of Ponung, supply of workers for various works mainly in weeding and harvesting; entertainment of distinguished visitors and, of now in various women organisations.

Earlier Raseng existed throughout the Adi territory (Mibang: 1994, p.35) and was built on clan basis based on the population of the
Raseng goer girls. Therefore the size of Raseng was larger and measuring about 40ft x 20ft. (Guha: 1964, p.35). But now the Raseng organisation has changed manifold and girls are no more sleeping in the Raseng. The inhabitants of the lower Padam area have abolished Raseng institution some decades ago. The Raseng institution is only maintained in Damro and Padu village but is reduced to a small hut measuring about 25ft x 15ft and built on age group wise called sirum. Now one could find one or more Raseng for one clan at Damro.

After the introduction of modern education, the importance of Raseng is waning down at an alarming speed. It is also due to the lack of its sanctity or spiritual significance. All the dances relating to spiritual significance are performed in the Musup or Ponung Yingkong i.e., dancing ground in front of the Musup. In spite of its demerits, however, the Raseng institution played a great role in the social life of the Padams.

**Ani-Abing bonying (friendship pact)**

The Padams having democratic social base in the core from the very beginning maintain various types of relations with the neighbouring tribes. The nature of their relations with the neighbouring tribes has been either cordial or hostile. During those days mistake of a single person led to a full scale war and killing of many innocent persons. The existence of small tribes was therefore, always in danger. To protect themselves from the possible attack of an enemy, the smaller tribes sought the help of major tribes. The Panggi
and Komkar are such examples. Both the tribes living on the left bank of Siang River were arch-enemies and engaged in perpetual warfare. To strengthen their fighting powers both the tribes sought the help of their neighbouring major tribes. Thus, the Panggi strengthened their relations with the Simongs and the Komkar with the Padams. The need of security is the main cause behind the establishment of the village-to-village and tribe-to-tribe alliance.

In those days, passing from one territory to another for trading purpose also involved a great risk. Quite often trade blockade were instituted by the tribe who were living along the trading route and caused great hardship to the tribes who were in the land lock areas, such as Panggi, Karko, etc. (Srivastava: 1990, p.8). The tribes of equal strength some time fought for their way leading to the trade centre. On the other hand, the minor tribes who were ally of the major tribes enjoyed trade facilities as a price of alliance. In peacetime, the neighbouring tribes depend upon one another in economic or business transactions especially during poor agricultural production. Such economic transactions create a tendency of interdependence and a spontaneous relationship in their group life. Thus, the need of security, economic benefits, and recapturing of ran away slaves and methuns were the main factors for the establishment of *Ani-Abing ajon* (brotherly alliance).

In course of time, the tribe based alliance was over taken by clan based alliance due to reasons, such as special meeting of the clan, matrimonial alliance and burial of dead bodies in another village.
and so on. Basing on these incidents as roots, different clans of Padams have alliance with the different clans of the neighbouring tribes. For example, all the Padam clans, irrespective of big and small, have Ani-Abing ajon with the Minyongs. Hence Borang clan of Padam has Ani-Abing, relation with clans like Mize, Jerang, Darang, etc., of Minyong; Pertin with Tatin, Ering, Jamo, Rome, etc.; Lego with Tamut, Tabi, Tapak, Tasing, Tabing, Komut, Kopak; Ratan with Mingki, Mibang; Perme with Tatak, Taggu, Ering, etc.; Yirang with Saro, Melong, Padung; Megu with Tamuk, Talo, Mingki, Mibang and Tayeng with Tasing, Taki, Mesar, Takuk, Taga, Tamuk, Tapak, etc.

Like Dindu of the Tagin, the Ani-Abing ajon is further strengthened by friendship pact called Ani-Abing Bonying. Ani-Abing used to visit each other’s village from time to time. In Ani-Abing Bonying, the visiting partner, usually come with a gift having traditional value, such as she methun, dangki (brass bowl), gatno yoksa (sword of high quality), tale (metal plate), etc. In the Borang-Panyang Bonying, which was held in 1989, a she methun was given to Borang clan, which has now multiplied to nine. The Ering clan of Minyongs visited the Pertin clan of Padam at Damro in 1975 and gave three dangkis as a token of friendship. On the occasion of Ani-Abing Bonying methun and pig are sacrificed, meat are given to the visiting party. The day is a great occasion for both the alliance partners. One or two orators of both the clans delivered Abey one after another,

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68. Researcher personally participated the Ani-Abing Bonying held at Damro in 1989 between Borang Panyang and allied clans of Panggi.
69. An extract of interview with Shri Tageng Ering at Gune village on 27. 12. 2002
narrating the roots of friendship and prays for ever lasting relations, simultaneously with the ardo-bado (time of sacrifices) of methun and pig. All these activities are performed in front of the Musup with the belief that the good spirits residing in the Musup witness the pact and guarantee the eternal friendship of the involving parties. So far, no friendship pact or treaty has been violated by the concerned parties.

Earlier, like Milang and Shimong, the Padams also perform emo gebinam i.e., supply ofaconite to their allied clans of the neighbouring tribes at interval for lasting peace and friendship. Such practices created a feeling of warm relationship among the people.

The introduction of Panchayat Raj in 1967 has opened a new platform requiring a majority support to become a popular leader. From that time onwards, the importance of Ani-Abing alliance has taken a new turn and after the introduction of electoral politics, it has become a weapon of winning sympathy votes. Now Ani-Abing alliance has become like a social organisation in Adi areas covering Padam-Minyong and allied groups. Many clans are now trying their best to extend a network of alliance to strengthen their hold in the society.

Since many decades Ani-Abing organisation has played an important role in promoting brotherly feeling among the allied groups or alliance partners, helping each other in time of need like emergency, dispute, payment of compensation for murder, party politics, etc. In the murder case of Kemji Peyang, Kepang Erang groups including Perme, Pertin, Borang, Ratan Peyang, Danggen and Perying contributed a lot of traditionally valued articles like dokpun
abi (full chain of female beads), kuli and kuro abi (full chain of male beads), dangki, tale, yoksa, etc., of Dumying Pinyi and paid to Apang clan as compensation for the murder of Emo Apang of Karko village. This is the first known case jointly paid by Ani-Abing groups. Henceforth, Ani-Abing alliance has become an emerging social organisation of the Padams with broader perspectives.

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Economic life of the people in a community is the reflection of institutional arrangements at individual and group level to acquire material means of existence. The group includes such social units as a family and other kinship relations. It may be the village community or the tribe itself in the process of communal mode of resource appropriation. At an individual level, he performs such activities, which are institutionalised in the culture due to historical reasons. When a man makes a basket for his own use, it does not reflect any institutional aspect. But behind it there are many aspects like the use of raw material, the purpose of use of the basket itself, gender consideration in the use of it and many others, which are institutionalised in the culture of the people, which they practice from generations to generations.

The economic institutions in a traditional tribal community are not as concrete as in industrial communities. These institutions define the economic life in terms of human cooperation, exchange, and inheritance practices in the

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70. The value of Dumying Pinyi during that time was eight thousands according to Teruk Ering, a retired Political Assistant of Deputy Commissioner office Adi Kebang branch, Pasighat.
71. An extract of interview with Shri Yorang Borang, (who had contributed a Dokpun abi on behalf of Kepang Erang) at Damro village on 20.12.2002.