PART ONE
CHAPTER ONE
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCING THE PROBLEM AND PROBLEM AREA:

Assam is an anthropological museum containing many socio-religious groups of people. The history of peopling of the region has been closely linked with India on the one hand and the south-east Asia and the Pacific countries on the other. Assamese culture is the sum total of the primitive and the advanced cultures, contributed both by the Aryan and non-Aryan elements. Indian history will remain incomplete without a thorough understanding of the origin and development of the civilisation in Assam - the ancient Kamarupa. Since the prehistoric period, the land has been exposed to invasion from the east, north-east and west. From the dawn of history of the region (C 1700 BC), its link became closer both politically and culturally with the rest of India.

It is very difficult to show a distinct historical link between Assam on the one hand, and Myanmar and the other south-east Asian countries on the other, except for some stray references, even though their cultural links cannot be doubted.

Assamese culture is a composite one, contributed by Austro-Asiatic, Mongoloid and Aryan elements.

The absence of chronological treatment of the socio-political events of the past in India hinders the researchers in making a thorough probe of the growth and development of the Indian cultures and nationalities. Although the Assamese chronicles and other historical records

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are no doubt trustworthy to a certain extent, these also hardly give any liberal clue to the socio-cultural growth of the Assamese nationality.

It is, of course, an admitted fact that there was no systematic chronicle in the form of history for ancient Assam and it is not till the Ahom invasion in 1228 AD that we obtain anything at all approaching even a concealed account of the people and their rulers.

One of the interesting but difficult problems of north-east India, is the study of its racial elements. Pre-historic archeology and some other evidences prove that Assam, being located on one of the migration routes of the mankind, received different waves of immigrants and sent out emigrants from it, since long past. It is found that there were three main possible routes of migration. One, through the north or the mountain passes from Tibet, Bhutan and Nepal. The other, through the valley of the Ganges from other parts of India, through which came a small trickle of the Dravidians and a fairly large number of Indo-Aryan language speaking people in the pre-historic times. The third mountainous route along the north-east was also equally significant for the migration of people from central China and south-east Asia. It is through this route perhaps, that the Mon-Khmer speaking Austro-Asiatics first came to settle in the region, who are today known as the Khasis. They were followed by different branches of the Sino-Tibetan people from the Yang-tse-Kiang and the Hoang-Ho valley, who were pushed south probably from 2000 B.C. onwards. Influx of Tibeto-Burmans, a branch of the Sino-Tibetan, in large number was an event of special interest in the north-eastern migration route.

The Tibeto-Burmans have six sub-branches in north east India. They are, the Eastern Himalayan, North Assam, Bodo, Naga, Kuki-Chin and Kachin. The great Bodo sub-branch includes Bodos, Sonowal-Kacharis, Koches (in West Assam), Rabhais, Meches, Tiwas, Garos and Karbis. These Tibeto-Burmans, who are racially Mongoloids, came in through the north east, perhaps in the same period when the Indo-Aryans entered into north east India. The impact of the Mongoloid thrust had to be borne by the Austro-Asiatics, who had occupied the plains earlier. The Austro-Asiatic were pushed to the south to the Meghalaya Plateau later on by

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the Tibeto-Burman and the Aryans, while these two groups themselves spread over the entire northern tracts and the hills and foothills of the Bhutan and Arunachal Himalayas.

In north east India, the Mongoloid elements are predominant in the population. The Mongoloids or the Indo-Mongoloids or the Kiratas, as they were mythologically identified, are physically characterised by protruded cheek bones, slit eyes, flat nose and straight hair on the scalp, but a thin growth of it on the rest of the body. The so called Indo-Aryan people of Assam, speaking Indo-European languages, also share now many physical features of the Mongoloids. There is no doubt that there has been an intermingling of the Aryans, Mongoloids, Austro-Asiatics and even of the Dravidians in this part of India in different ages of the country’s history.

Anthropologically, a tribe commonly comes into existence through increase in the population of a single original band and the consequent formation of new bands. But in India, socio-economic backwardness is an important criterion and the Constitution of the country, in its Article 342, has enlisted many such socio-economically marginal communities as Scheduled Tribes. The Constitution thus enlists 212 groups of people, spread over different states as the Scheduled Tribes. Some of them were previously described as ‘aboriginals’, ‘aborigins’, ‘primitives’, ‘adibashis’, Kiratas, Nishads, etc.

Special provisions have been made in the Article 46, 275, 330, 332, 335, 338, 340, etc. of our Constitution to safeguard the interests of these Scheduled Tribes and to protect them from social injustice and exploitation. Government of India has been implementing special plans and programmes for the socio-economic development of these tribal groups in pursuance of the directives of the Constitution of the country.

The tribal communities, for a long time, managed to live in isolation, away from the modern civilization and maintained their cultural identity and uniqueness. But in course of time, along with the development of modern amenities, like the development of transport and

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communication, rapid industrialisation, etc., it has become difficult on the part of them to keep themselves aloof and avoid cultural contact⁵.

Of the 212 Scheduled Tribes in the country, Assam enlists 23 as the indigenous ones to the state. According to the census of 1991, they together number 2,874,441, accounting for about 12.82 per cent of the total population. Of these, the most numerous group is the Bodo-Kachari, followed by the Mishings, Kachari including Sonowal and the Karbi. In Darrang district, 17.3 per cent of the population is constituted by the tribal people.

Apart from the tribal people, the other social groups in the district include the indigenous non-tribals, i.e., the indigenous Hindus and Muslims, the tea garden labourers, Nepalis, the Muslim immigrants and the Hindu refugees from the erstwhile East Bengal (now Bangladesh).

The distribution of these social groups is also spatially significant. It has been influenced both by the physical and historical factors. The northern forest lands and the unhealthy terrains were very sparsely populated in the past. These areas were frequently invaded by the Bhutanese hillmen. Moreover, the eastern part of the district was ravaged by floods and changing courses of the Jia-Dhansiri river. As such, the density of population in the northern and northeastern tract was only 33/km² in 1872.

The southern margin of the district is the low-lying active flood plain of the Brahmaputra and is inundated by the floods during every monsoon season. In recent years, these areas have been settled by Muslim immigrants from East Bengal. Density of population is low in this region also. A high concentration of population is found mainly in the central built-up plain. Indigenous Assamese Hindus and Muslims in the western part of the built-up zone are conspicuously discernable, while its central part is dominated by some tribal people and the eastern part by the ex-tea garden labourers.

The present work is an attempt to study the socio-economic condition of the tribal and non-tribal population of Darrang district of Assam, from the geographical point of view. The tribal people include the Bodo-Kacharis and Rabhas, who are indigenous and the Garos, who have long been settled here. The non-tribals include the Assamese Hindus and the Muslims and the immigrant tea garden labourers, Nepalis, and the Muslim immigrants and Hindu refugees, mainly from East Bengal, that is present Bangladesh.

With this end in view, the researcher has undertaken to study the socio-economic patterns and processes of the tribal and non-tribal population within the administrative boundary of the present Darrang district.

1.2 OBJECTIVE:

It is possible to see a difference in the social landscape of Darrang district according to the group inhabiting it, namely the indigenous tribals, indigenous non-tribals and the immigrants. This basic spatial difference as reflected in different ecological zones is an important aspect of study for a geographer and it is intended to study such aspects thoroughly. The mapping of distribution of population of the area is one of the primary tasks of the geographic study. The analysis from the viewpoint of population geography, which includes the study of movement of people and other population characteristics, like age-structure, sex-ratio, ethnic-composition, religious segments and linguistic groupings is an important task. Through such works geographers find way to portray more effectively the patterns of spatial distribution on maps and can analyse more meaningfully the relation of population and geographical feature of an area.

The main emphasis of this work is on the socio-economic condition of the tribal and non-tribal people of Darrang district and the outcome of the developmental schemes undertaken in the sub-plan areas and the nature of social constraints in the development process. Therefore, the specific objectives are:
a) To study the present economic condition of the tribals vis-a-vis the non-tribals.

b) To identify the social constraints faced by the tribals of the district and to suggest suitable remedial measures.

c) To formulate coordinated developmental programmes for the tribal areas of the district in order to narrow the gap between the levels of development of the tribal areas and those of the non-tribal areas and to improve the quality of life of the tribal communities.

d) To assess the impact of modernisation that has spread along with the introduction of religious education among some tribal people through some Christian missions and Churches and to analyse the social conflict between the traditional customs vis-a-vis the modern way of life of some of the tribal people.

e) To examine the educational attainments of the Scheduled Tribes vis-a-vis the non-tribal population.

f) To examine the spatial pattern of the socio-economic conditions.

In order to assess the real situation as per the objectives stated above, certain hypotheses have been formulated in the form of research statements. The tentative statements shall be verified with facts and figures collected in the field, some of which have also been gathered from the secondary sources. The tentative statements then shall be finalised, at the end of the dissertation on the basis of facts and figures found.

Statement One:

The present settlements of the tribal people in socio-economically backward areas is perhaps the result of their traditional choice of living away from the non-tribal people.
Statement Two:
Socio-cultural isolation from the non-tribal population has accentuated the feeling of a separate identity among the tribal people.

Statement Three:
Social isolation of the tribal people, who prefer to live away from the din and bustles of the towns and commercial centres, has largely deprived them from the modern amenities, normally available to some of the non-tribal people of the district, contributing to their backwardness.

Statement Four:
The educational backwardness of the tribal people, who constitute a considerable section of the population of the district, has contributed partly towards the general backwardness of Darrang district.

1.3 REVIEW OF SIMILAR STUDIES:
It has already been mentioned that the north east India is an anthropological museum, where the Sino-Tibetan people belonging to various ethnic groups have intermingled with the Austro-Asiatics and the Indo-Aryans. Preservation of their traditional culture and religious faiths in some pockets and the cultural contact or social acculturation in some other premises, have developed a cultural eclecticism to be recorded by the anthropologists, social scientists and social researchers.
The study of social landscape, a work of Human Geography, deals with the spatial patterns and processes of human activities in the social setting. The elements of social landscape are pivotal for forging unity in the multicultural and multilingual state like Assam, which has been the storehouse of social diversity.

Fitzerald, J.W. Watson and R.E. Pahl studied social landscape from the perspective of human ecology and spatial setting. In 'Geographical Review', A. Buttimer (1968) and in 'An Introduction to Social Geography', Prof. Emrys Jones and Prof. John Eyles (1977), show a relation between the patterns of the attributes and the activities of men.

Systematic research works carried out in India on social landscape are very limited and are restricted to caste, religious groups, social and ecological constraints, etc. In this case, Dr. Moonis Raja’s three-fold contents of Social Geography into social components, social processes and social methods are noteworthy. T. Hagerstrands suggestion for inclusion of temporal dimension in social geography is a significant manifestation in elaborating social landscape.

The recent works on tribals and non-tribals in India in the form of research papers in social sciences include Kumkum Majumdar’s 'Distribution of Tribal Population in Eastern Gujarat'; Dipika Bagchi’s 'A Study in Urban Tribal Relationship'; M.H. Azad’s 'Where Do Our Tribals Live'; Maya Banerjee’s 'Tribal Population in Singbhum'; Sabita Mitra’s 'Lepchas of Darjeeling District'; Dr. Moonis Raja’s 'The Tribal Population of India'; M. Prashad’s 'Internal Structure of a Tribal Village' and S.D. Mitra’s 'Social Geography of Mathura'.

Since the beginning of the British administration in India, some anthropologists and social scientists have contributed some valuable works, relating to north east India in the form of social studies. Of these, E.A. Gait’s 'History of Assam', K.L. Baruah’s 'Studies in the Early

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7 Fitzgerald, H. was a German Social Geographer (1946).
History of Kamarupa', Dr. W.V.Grierson's 'Challenge of Backwardness'; 'The Background of Assamese Culture' by Raj Mohan Nath; 'A Philosophy for NEFA' by Dr. Verrier Elwin; 'The Naked Nagas' by C.V. Heimenderf, 'Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal' by Edward Tuit Delton, 'Assamese - Its Formation and Development' by Dr. B.K.Kakoti; 'A Cultural History of Assam' by Dr. B.K.Baruah; 'Kirata Jana Kruti' by S.K.Chatterjee; 'Studies in the Early History and Administration of Assam' by Dr. B.N.Puri; 'A Descriptive Analysis of Bodo Language' by Dr. P.C.Bhattacharyya and 'Bodo-Kacharir Samaj Aru Sanskriti' (in Assamese) by Bhaben Narzi are the most noteworthy.

Edward T. Dalton and J.D. Anderson discussed elaborately about the folk culture and folk tales of the Kacharis of north east India. Dr. B.M.Das in his book, 'Ethnic Affinities of the Rabhas', dealt specifically with the Rabha people of north east India. Dr. H.Goswami described in detail, the mode of life of the Rabhas of Assam, in his doctoral thesis entitled, 'Rabhas - A Social Study'.

Other important works in this field include A.B.Mukejee's 'Cultural Landscape of a Telengana Village'. The book edited by David E. Sopher, namely 'The Geographical Patterning of Culture in India' is a great contribution to Social Geography in India. 'Social Geography - Concepts and Theories' by Prof. M.Taher is also related with this branch of Human Geography.

Only a few articles within the purview of Social Landscape have of late been published through 'The North-Eastern Geographer'. Among them, Dr. M.Taher's article on 'The Tribes of North-East India'; Dr. H.N.Sharma's article on 'Socio-economic Profile of a Rural Community near Guwahati' and Dr. N.N.Bhattacharyya's article on 'Urban Morphology of Mangaldai' are worth mentioning.

Specific works done in the area under study include 'The Geo-economic Basis of Population of Mangaldai Sub-division' by Dr. M.Taher, where the writer gives a general description of the area. Reverend Sidney Endle's 'The Kacharis' deals mostly with the social studies of the Bodo-Kachari people of Darrang district. The recent works by Dr. H.Deka on 'Primary Education of Darrang District', Dr. B.Deka on 'Secondary Education of Darrang

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1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY :

The significance of the study lies in the fact that a sizeable portion of the population of Darrang district belongs to the scheduled tribes and immigrant population. As stated above, the percentage of scheduled tribes population of Assam and Darrang district are 12.82 and 17.3 respectively. The scheduled tribes population of the district comprise 7.8 per cent of the total scheduled tribes population of Assam, although the percentage share of the total population of the district is less than 6.00.

Education is essential for economic modernisation of a society. But Darrang district as a whole, is backward in education. As per 1991 census, the percentage of literacy of the district is 42.00, as against 52.89 in Assam. Among the tribal people, it is low (35.62%) due to some social constraints, economic backwardness and infrastructural weaknesses. Numerous programmes of socio-economic development undertaken by the Government of India in these tribal areas have not made much headway mainly because of the ignorance and illiteracy of the tribal people. A clear analysis of different variables relating to the education reveals that the disparities in educational attainments stem from three sets of structural constraints, such as the ecological, the socio-economic and the infrastructural.

After the creation of Bodoland Autonomous Council (BAC) in 1994, the tribal villages of Darrang district have been brought under the administrative jurisdiction of the said Council. The outcome of this politico-social organisation is yet to be seen. Moreover, the increasing population with the immigration of the people from East Bengal and from Nepal, has created social conflicts and incidence of unwanted situation has already been reported from Udalguri, Rowta and Kalaigaon areas of the district. Although the immigrant Muslims from erstwhile East Bengal have adopted Assamese as the medium of instruction in their schools, they
maintain a separate social identity even from the indigenous Assamese Muslims. For example, their free mixing and matrimonial alliance with the latter is yet to come about.

Social conflict is discernible even in some pockets inhabited by the tribal people. For instance, although originated from the same Mongoloid stock, a section of the tribal people, adherent to the animism, belong to one group, while those who are influenced by the Vedic culture and formally or informally have adopted Hinduism form another social group. Some of the Hinduised tribals have found out a niche in the Hindu caste hierarchy, while the other have remained tribals.

After the British annexation of Assam and along with the spread of western education through the Baptist Churches, many of the tribals adopted Christianity. Taking of beef is socially admissible in Christian religion. But some of the tribal converts find it impossible to agree with beef taking. Thus a socio-religious dichotomy arises among them, while those who are not converted, do not accept them easily. This type of social conflict or religious dichotomy is a subject matter of Social Geography and it is also one of the significant problems to be solved by the Social Geographers.

In the background stated above, it is realised that if a society is to march forward socio-economically, all its constituent communities must live in amity and involve themselves effectively in the process of development. The state of Assam in particular and the country in general, cannot improve upon its present lamentable condition leaving aside the tribals, tea-tribes and the immigrant population. If however, they are to be involved in the process of development, their problems and prospects must be assessed carefully. Such an assessment may perhaps be made more meaningfully at micro level. It is with this view, that the topic of this study is considered to be significant. Moreover, the choice of the study area is influenced by this researcher’s intimate personal knowledge of the region and its population. Having worked in Darrang district as a college teacher for about three decades, this author has developed some knowledge of the area and an understanding of its socio-economic processes and problems. It is, therefore, thought that this district would be an ideal area for undertaking the study. It is hoped that studies made in the lines stated above shall significantly help one to suggest measures for a sound socio-economic planning of the area.
1.5 SCOPE OF THE WORK:

Darrang district is inhabited both by the tribal and non-tribal population. Among the tribals, the Bodo-Kacharis, Rabhas and Garos are the significant social groups. Of the three tribes found in the district, the Garos have not been shown as a separate scheduled tribe in the Statistical Hand Books and Census Reports of Darrang district. But as the researcher during his field study, observed the presence of Garo people inhabiting in some parts of Kalaigaon and Dalgaon Blocks of the district, with their traditional way of life, numbering over 3,000, they have been treated so in this study. While among the non-tribals, both indigenous and the immigrant people are included. Socio-economic and socio-religious aspects of these people are within the purview of the scope of this discussion.

Among the tribals again, both Hindus and Christians, with different social behaviour are living in the district. But they cannot be considered separately due to the non-availability of data. So, there is no scope to consider them separately in this work. To obtain a clear picture of social landscape, the detailed population data of different social groups of the tribals, the immigrants and other non-tribal population are definitely necessary. But the detailed population data of the immigrant Muslims is not readily available. Moreover, as the old population data of the indigenous Assamese are also not available, it is intended to base the study on whatever data are available during the twentieth century.

1.6 METHODOLOGY:

The work has been carried out with the following methodology:

(a) Pre-field Stage:

In order to prepare the thesis, the author has consulted different library books relating to the tribals and non-tribals - their origin, historical background, social grouping, cultural and political behaviours, linguistic affinities, way and degree of adoption of modern techniques.
etc. He has also contacted some of the tribal and non-tribal social leaders, literary authorities and village headmen to collect firsthand information of the people of the area concerned. Study of works of similar nature published and unpublished, was also carried out. Moreover, contact has been established with the important officials and non-officials having adequate knowledge of the people of the locality concerned.

(b) Field Stage:

In this stage, the author undertook field work. There are 1274 villages in Darrang district. Out of them, thirty one villages from different thana areas of the district have been selected for stratified random sample survey for collection of primary data. The stratification has been made on the following considerations:

(i) Largeness of the village.

(ii) Location - roadside and isolated - of the village.

(iii) Predominance of tribal or indigenous non-tribal or immigrant Muslim population.

(iv) Village having more than one social group.

The first hand data were collected through sample survey by canvassing a schedule (copy enclosed in Appendix). In the survey, all the heads of the households were interviewed. In order to get a first hand knowledge and to develop personal contact, the schedules were canvassed by the researcher himself. Besides, open-end interviews were also carried out.

Personal visits to the cultural institutions and organisations of the district, like the Bodo Sahitya Sabha, Tribal Development Council, Integrated Tribal Development Project, Darrangi Kala Kristi Sangha, etc. helped the author greatly in collecting information on various aspects of the tribals and non-tribals of the district.

Secondary data relating to population, their distribution, land-holding, occupational pattern, etc. have been collected from the Darrang district Census Hand Books for:
1961, 1971 and 1993. Data relating to education, transport and communication, etc. have been collected from the concerned government departments of Mangaldai, Udalguri and Guwahati.

Personal contact of knowledgeable persons, both tribal and non-tribal, in and outside the district has helped the researcher a lot in collecting various information about the spatial distribution of the various groups of people, their tradition and culture, the status of land-utilisation, etc.

Study of books, journals, census reports and the visit to libraries and museums for collection of data therefrom, have also helped the researcher.

The authentic records of immigrant Muslim population in the district is very difficult to get, as the presence of illegal immigrants, if any, cannot be brought to the picture easily. Moreover, the northward encroachment of the river Brahmaputra, compel many immigrant villages to shift elsewhere annually, which hinders a correct population census.

Population census could not be conducted in Assam in 1981. So, in the absence of census figure of 1981, the villagewise Electoral Rolls of 1985 Assembly Elections had to be consulted. Estimates of immigrant Muslim population have been made on the basis of 1985 Assembly Electoral Rolls.

(c) Post Field Stage:

In this stage of the work, the researcher concentrated on the analysis of the data collected during the fieldwork as well as from official data. Some statistical techniques have been adopted to process the data. Some of the data so analysed, have been used to draw maps and diagrams. Data have been cross-checked and analysed as thoroughly as possible.

The last stage of the work consists of interpretation of data, arriving at findings and writing out the thesis, incorporating suggestions and prognosis.
1.7 FORMAT OF THE THESIS:

The work consists of three parts. Part one contains two chapters: Chapter One is introductory and it contains the statement of the problem, its objective, review of similar literature, significance and scope of the work, methodology adopted in completing the work and the special terms and terminology used to explain the different physico-cultural features of the study area.

Chapter Two contains the geographical background of the study area, with its physiographic setting, drainage pattern, climate of the area, its beels, tanks and marshes, along with a brief description of the flora and fauna of the area concerned.

Part two of the thesis contains three chapters, viz. Chapter three, four and five. In the third chapter, a detailed description of the historical background of the study-area, i.e., Darrang district has been given. Chapter four elaborately deals the ethnolinguistic background of the people of different social groups, like the tribal, non-tribal and immigrant peoples. Social pattern and demographic features, with the growth and distribution of the people have been depicted here. Social organisation, social basis, spatial distribution, clustering and concentration of the people of different social groups have also been recorded elaborately in this chapter. Treatment of cultural aspects like education and literacy are the other notable parts of this chapter. Study of socio-cultural cohesion of both the tribal and non-tribal groups is also an important aspect of this chapter.

The fifth chapter explains the economic basis of the people with the help of their occupational composition, analysis of transport and communication system, availability of modern amenities and a comparison of the tribal and non-tribal families.

The third part consists of two chapters, i.e., chapter six and seven. Chapter six contains the summary of the study in brief, while the chapter seven contains the conclusion and suggestion for the development of the study area and measures to be adopted for the solution of the problems. A brief epilogue has also been incorporated in this chapter.

The thesis, at its end, contains the bibliography and appendices.
1.8 SPECIAL TERMS AND TERMINOLOGY:

(1) Village: Village means, subject to any general or special orders of the State Government, the area surveyed and recorded in any survey made by or under the authority of the Government as a distinct and separate unit of settlement.

(2) Mauza: A revenue area comprising some revenue villages constituted for the convenience of collecting land revenue. The collector of the revenue is called 'Mauzadar'.

(3) Thana: The smallest areal unit constituted for maintaining law and order under one police circle. The man in charge of the thana, is called Officer-in-charge.

(4) Beel: An unpounded natural water is called a beel. Beels mostly originate from abandoned river courses. These are used to be the breeding grounds of fish and many other aquatic plants and animals.

(5) Bhabar: A strip of land area located along the Bhutan foothills. It is made up of both alluvial and diluvial materials of various shapes and size. The zone has developed due to coalescence of alluvial fans and has a high gradient.

(6) Tarai: A narrow strip, south of the Bhabar zone, formed of fine clay, saturated by the water percolating from the northern hills. Tarai is characterized mainly by the presence of straw, reeds, canes, and such other tall grasses.

(7) Char: The grounds formed due to fluvial action of the river on its bank. The riverine islands and the heavily silted areas on the bank of a river, are the examples of chars. There are many chars amidst the Brahmaputra and on its both banks.

(8) Bathow: The presiding deity of the Bodo Kacharis is 'Bathow', or 'Sibrai'. It is represented by a Siju (cactus) plant.

(9) Kherai: The most important religious festival of the Bodo-Kacharis. It is a fertility festival where the god 'Bathow' is worshipped for peace and prosperity of the community.

(10) Bride-Price: The amount demanded by the father or the guardian of the bride at the time of her marriage. The amount varies from Rs. one hundred to one thousand.
(11) Hom-Yajna: Vedic ritual in which the Priest performs the religious rites through the libation of ghee formally poured in sacrifice on the sacred fire in the presence of the bride and the bride-groom.

(12) Sanguri: A community ploughing or harvesting for the co-villagers to help one who is lagging behind.

(13) Dai: A fine imposed by the village headman (Gaonburha or Laskar) on a guilty person after being convicted by the village court. It is customary among the Garo people.

(14) Dong: Temporary or permanent canals made by the agricultural people for irrigation works.