



# The Adis of the Times in a Constant Struggle for Survival: A Study of Adi Life and Worldview through Changing Select Novels of Mamang Dai

Poulomi Saha\*

\*Research Scholar, Department of English Studies, Central University of Jharkhand, Ranchi, Jharkhand, India

PIN: 835 222

\*Assistant Professor, Department of English, Fakir Chand College, Diamond Harbour, West Bengal, India, PIN: 743331

Email: utpaulomi@gmail.com

**Citation:** Poulomi Saha, (2024). The Adis of the Times in a Constant Struggle for Survival: A Study of Adi Life and Worldview through Changing Select Novels of Mamang Dai, *Educational Administration: Theory and Practice*, 30 (1), 6915-6921

Doi: 10.53555/kuey.v30i1.10155

## ARTICLE INFO

## ABSTRACT

World-view of a particular community depends on their beliefs and knowledge. Indigenous people across the globe consider nature as their nurturer and themselves to be part of Mother Nature. For them, in nature lies their existence and their faith. The Adis of the rugged terrain of Arunachal Pradesh are no exception to it. The Adi lands were not visited by foreigners until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century and hence, the Adis lived a secluded life for long with their age-old traditions, practices and stories unhindered by any external influence. Upon the advent of the British imperialists and Christian missionaries in the hills, the Adis were gradually exposed to the outside world. With the arrival of an external influence situations began to change. Ancient stories (oral narratives) and story-tellers perished. The indigenous faiths, belief systems, customs and even language faced challenges as the natives of the land began abandoning their ancestral wisdoms for various reasons. The new institutionalised religion had brought in institutionalised education along with it in the Adi lands. These new entrants had promised the 'progress' of the inhabitants from their so-called 'primitivism' and 'backwardness'. With time, the followers of native Adi worldview comprehended the need of preserving their unique identity in order to keep up their survival - a phenomenon that Darwin had stated as 'survival of the fittest'. The Adis who clung onto their nativity in the face of change still survives with a hope of bridging the differences that exist with their 'progressed' brethren in someday to come.

**Keywords:** Adi tribe, worldview, nature, stories and language, beliefs.

"The forest is like an animal. It breathes all around us and we never know when it will suddenly rise up like a green snake out of the decaying vegetation or descend on us like a mantle of bats reeking of blood and venom. The trees are enormous and sinister." (Dai, 2006, p. 52)

A British officer penned down the above lines when he was on an expedition to Komsing. Mostly inhabited by the Adis, Komsing is a village in the present state of Arunachal Pradesh. A British troop was on its way to Komsing to avenge the death of a fellow political officer named Noel Williamson in 1911. The forest and the environment of the place seemed frightening and evil to the Britishers, but it was home to the Adis. In present times, the Adis are the most populous tribe of Arunachal Pradesh who occupy

"... a more or less contiguous section in the centre of the wide cis-Himalayan belt of hills descending from the great Himalayas down the middle and outrange to the northern border of the Brahmaputra basin. The Adis (sic) habitat includes almost the whole of the three districts of East, West and (sic) Upper Siang and spreads across into Mori (sic) circle of the Subansiri District on the west and the South Western half of the Roing in the Dibang Valley district to the East." (Pandey, 1995, p. 1) [1]

26 major tribes and numerous sub-tribes have made Arunachal Pradesh their home in spite of the 'sinister' (as noted by one white officer) appearance of the environment. The trees, forests, wild vegetations which seemed evil and threatening to one, provided shelter, livelihood and food to the other. It is true that Arunachal Pradesh is surrounded by impenetrable mountains and forests which had and still have made

travel and communication difficult in these areas. Yet humans inhabited this region prior to the advent of colonisers. These early settlers were the natives of the region since UNO defines indigenous people as -

- i) those who have been residing in a place prior to the arrival of the colonisers
- ii) those who have upheld a close bond to their lands and nature which becomes prominent through their communal living.
- iii) those who have been undergoing financial and political ostracism as a result of invasion or colonisation by strangers. [2]

Inhabitants here generally resided in groups known as tribes which were further classified into sub-tribes and clans. The indigenous people of Northeast India prefer to be addressed as 'tribe'. Mamang Dai, an Adi tribal woman, is a reputed journalist, novelist and poet based in Itanagar, the capital of Arunachal Pradesh. She had won the Verrier Elwin Award in 2003 and was awarded Padma Shri in 2011. She has written,

The history of our race

begins with the place of stories.

We do not know if the language we speak

belongs to a written past.

Nothing is certain. (Dai, 2014) [3]

The lines are from the poem, *An Obscure Place* where Dai fears the uncertainty of her tribe. According to the poet, the underlying cause of this instability is, the absence of a written script. Without a written script no alphabet exists. And in absence of alphabets, nothing has been written to form a body of literature in the Adi dialect. The English word 'literature' itself is derived from the Latin word '*litteratura*' from *littera* meaning "letter of alphabet" [4] Thus, in absence of a body of literature, the Adis have taken recourse to oral narration. The societies which follow oral tradition believe strongly that human memory is an authentic storehouse of past human experiences and incidents. Oral narrations involve remembering, recalling and recounting. And based on these narrations the outlook of the younger generation takes shape. As a consequence of which, the world-view of a community is handed down the generations. These narrations are performed in form of stories or songs by a rhapsodist who is also known as the *shaman* or *miri*. The *shaman* is entrusted with the responsibility of upholding the tribe's history and knowledge and pass it from generation to generation. So, everything that is known about the Adis today is based on the perception that is developed through listening to the rhapsodist who sings and narrates their songs and age-old stories that have come down the ages. Human memory hence plays an extremely vital role in teaching the ignorant minds the various aspects of life. And thus, understanding a tribe becomes much easier when we delve deep and follow the path shown by the *miri*.

Each tribe has a different story to tell. The Adis tell stories because they do not have a script. Only based on uttered words, did the Adis gain all-encompassing knowledge including that of their customs, beliefs and traditions generation after generation. Knowledge, both of this world and the spiritual world was imparted in form of songs, chants and stories. These stories involved their origin, migration and settlement on these lands centuries ago. The significances of various festivities and celebrations, the importance of their traditions and customs, their concept of religion, their history – everything is disclosed to the young in the form of stories. And thus, appropriately did Chimamanda Adichie, the Nigerian writer say, "Stories matter. Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and humanize. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity." (Adichie, 2009)

And this was exactly the underlying reason behind the narration of a murder that had occurred years ago in Komsing village by a *miri* to his guests in Dai's "songs of the rhapsodist" of *The Legends of Pensam* (p.45). The villagers knew well that two versions of the same occurrence would come into existence. One story would be penned down with ink on paper, and the other version would remain as oral stories and songs. The story written on paper would widely spread while the story narrated through songs would reach a few, only who would dare to come up to Komsing ignoring the rugged terrain. And these hill men had comprehended that the actual cause behind the murder would remain buried under the ice forever. It is true that one of their fellow tribesmen had killed the British Political Officer and his doctor friend who had come up to their land on a survey mission. This is the part of story that remains on the surface. The reactions are generally seen through human eyes, but the actions that instigated the reaction remain in oblivion. The third law of Newton states, every action has an equal and opposite reaction. The part of the story that remains underneath or the action that resulted in the reaction is, one of Williamson's men had spitted on and made fun of the innocent villager. "They had laughed in the face of the poor villager and said that he was a wild beast eaten up with disease who would never receive the attention or sympathy of the white officer." (Dai, 2006, p. 51). This action can never be termed humane. No human, however powerful he might be, has the right to insult anyone or spit on anyone's face to show his disgust. These humiliations by an outsider were not acceptable by "a man of the land" (Dai, 2006, p.51) and thus had revolted, which had led to the dual murder. The white men have never written these underlying acts and so the world has known the village of Komsing as " '... a village of horror,..." (Dai, 2006, p.55), which it is undoubtedly not. The helplessness of these villagers and headman is felt when they are conscious that they have been very wrongly portrayed before the world, but still find no way to tell their 'stories' loud enough for the world to hear, in absence of a script. The situation has improved in the recent times and people are travelling to the land of the Adis to listen to their stories. The headman of

the remote village hoped that their stories would prove that they “...are not a village of shame.” (Dai, 2006, p.56) And would also help to regain the broken dignity of the village, as Adichie said.

Today, people living thousands of kilometres away are able to know the age-old stories of the Adis. It has been possible only through writings of Adi writers like Mamang Dai. “It was important to record our stories. The old rhapsodists were a dying breed, and when they were gone, who would remember?” (Dai, 2006, p.176) was a thought that was tormenting the narrator of *The Legends of Pensam*. In an interview Dai had said, she writes in English as her mother tongue Adi, is a non-script language. [5] In fact, formal education was introduced in this area by the ‘migluns’. Any white man was called ‘miglun’ by the natives of the region. For the autochthonous people, all the outsiders appeared same due to their complexion, irrespective of their nationality and purpose. Hence, for the Adis there was not much difference between Noel Williamson and Father Nicolas Krick. In 2017, Mamang Dai’s novel *The Black Hill* (2014) brought her the Sahitya Akademi Award in which history and imagination were woven together into an enchanting tale of their land. Missions Etrangeres de Paris, a Roman Catholic missionary organisation had sent Father Nicolas Krick to spread the word of Jesus Christ in Tibet. Previously many attempts had been made but none could succeed in fulfilling this mission. So, this time the advocate of Christ had been instructed to enter Tibet through India. And thus, the padari, Father Krick had entered the territory of the Adis. On seeing the sick and injured, he began treating them through simple ointments and medicines. And when the medications gave the desired results, the natives began to consider Krick as a white *shaman* who could cure illness and remove hardships. Later Augustine Bourrey had joined Krick for the mission. But unfortunately, due to clan rivalry Nicolas Krick and Augustine Bourrey were murdered and Kajinsha (male protagonist of the novel) was wrongly accused for it. Before being executed, Kajinsha’s last words were, “ ‘Tell them we were good. Tell them we also had some things to say. But we cannot read and write. So we tell stories.’ ” (Dai, 2014, p. 288) Kajinsha had realised that the main difference between the migluns and natives was in the way of reporting. The whites were well ahead of the natives due to their capacity to read and write. Some migluns (here missionaries) succeeded in staying back on these lands in spite of the initial resistance from the inhabitants. Gradually, the foreigners introduced education and religion, namely Christianity, in the lives of the hill tribes. In *The Black Hill*, Gimur, the Adi teenager who had fallen in love with a Mishmee chief, Kajinsha had been handed a book and a pencil by Moi, a tribal widow. Moi was given the same by a white lady who was the wife of an American priest. Books and pencils were unknown to the natives. And so, Moi had cringed when, the later had held her hand in an attempt to teach her writing. The husband of this lady, the American priest had a significant contribution in setting up a school in Suddya. In absence of an Adi script, the medium of teaching had to be either in English or the Roman script had to be used to express Adi language. For spreading their religion “the missionaries published some religious hymns by adopting the Roman script in Adi or Tani dialect.” [6] As a result of this, firstly, the natives grew up to study English as their first language and became fluent in expressing themselves in it. Secondly, the development of a Tāni Āgom (language of the Adis) script became the need of the hour. As the mother tongue of the Adis was not taught at schools, generation after generation grew up to be more comfortable with the foreign language. Now, if the number of speakers of a certain indigenous language becomes less than 10,000, then, UNESCO declares it as potentially endangered. And in India, under the same condition, the language would be removed from the official list of languages of the country indicating the language’s death. With the death of a language dies a community’s knowledge system, culture, tradition, identity and history. Rightly did Professor Ganesh Narayan Devy say ‘A Language is a World View’ [7]. Words are expressions that are formed based on a community’s need. A community living in snowy mountains may have words which are expressions of certain things or phenomena associated with mountains and snow. These words would be meaningless for communities living in coastal areas or in deserts. So, words used to express one idea in a place may be meaningless to societies living elsewhere. Therefore, rightly did G.N. Devy opine that, when a language dies, it takes with it a rich oral tradition and a world view, which he expresses as “a unique way of looking at the world disappears”. [8] To prevent the Adi world view from being buried in oblivion, the adaptation of a script was of utmost importance. And for this, Adi Agom Kebang (AAK), a literary body of the Adis was officially formed in 1981 under the leadership of late Golgi Bote Talom Rukbo, to formulate the Adi script and language. [9] Constant effort of AAK is put in to spread the Adi worldview and let the Tāni Āgom language thrive.

Oshong Ering, an Adi, has written,

“For last sixty years of my life under the guidance of DONYI-POLO, my parents, elders and the society have not taught me anything about religion and God. They simply told me to become a child of DONYI-POLO by cultivating the spirit of truthfulness, wisdom, blissfulness, compassion, love, friendliness, etc. Nowhere I came across the teaching of religion and God-hood in DONYI-POLO. Probably, tradition did not think of any religion ‘ism’ and establishment of God. Because of this, there is no equivalent words for religion and God in Adi dialect. .... it can be ascertained that DONYI-POLO has not been founded by anybody. It has no prophets and preachers. It is an evolutionary outcome of human faith. If traditional faith and practice is called a religion, it may be so.” (Ering, 1998, pp. 47–48)

Nature was home to the Adis and they grew up as a single entity. The Adis obtained knowledge from each object of nature. Based on this knowledge, and, ideas formed by observing nature closely, they formulated their own opinions. They believed religion is in nature. Nature with its clear, rushing rivers, high mountains, energetic clouds, lively birds and animals of different hues, untainted celestial objects made the Adis ponder

over its power. Amongst all the natural bodies the mightiest objects are the Sun and the Moon. In Tāni Agom language, the Sun is called *Bomong* and the Moon is named *Boh*. These two objects had always allured the Adis most, by their unselfish, constant rendering of service to life. Interestingly, even science states that no life, however small or big, can survive without the light and warmth of Sun and the comfort of Moon. The Adis have great reverence for the Sun and the Moon and firmly believe that only through these two celestial objects, they would be able to behold truth, that might appear in the form of Light or Beauty. The Adis sense a constant aura of an invisible supreme power and remain highly grateful to nature, especially to, these two heavenly bodies. The Adis believe that to live a meaningful life it is necessary to gain spiritual and ideological awakening. For them, utmost satisfaction in life can only be obtained by seeing the unseen and knowing the unknown through spirituality and not by sheer material and physical achievements. In Tani dialect or Tāni Agom language there is no word for ideological perfection. [10] The Sun and the Moon are considered to be symbols of ideological perfection, where the Sun is named Donyi and the Moon is called Polo. The Adis strive to be ideologically perfect by following the Sun and the Moon, the Donyi-Polo, who is revered as their guide and teacher. They believe in a Supreme power that controls each activity on earth. According to Adi world-view, there was *Ruuna* and *Pina* since the very beginning. *Ruuna* used to plan and direct *Pina*, while it was *Pina's* duty to act according to *Ruuna's* plans. So, it was *Pina* who began the process of creation according to *Ruuna's* proposals. Hence, *Pina* became the creator and *Ruuna*, the planner. [11] Thus, behind every earthly action there is *Ruuna's ruunam* (planning) and *Pina's pinam* (creation). Both *Ruuna* and *Pina* are indispensable, as, to perform a task, both thought and actions are necessary. The creator *Pina* creates according to planner *Ruuna's* plans and directives. The course of creation comprises of several distinct stages. It is believed by the Adis that at the very beginning there was nothing as the *shaman* had once explained,

"... From nothingness we have come to be born under the stars, and almighty Donyi-polo, the sun and the moon, whose light shines on all equally, is the invisible force that guides each one of us. All life is light and shadow; we live and we die, and the path of destiny is the quest for faith." (Dai, 2006, p. 57)

So, from nothingness which is termed *KEYUM*, was created *YUMKANG*, *KAAMANG*, *MANGOR*, *ORBO*, *BOMONG* (Sun), *BOH* (Moon) and all other stars by cosmic tremors and these remained overhead. Another branch of lineage was created from *KEYUM* which involved the following stages:

*KEYUM KERO* (nothingness) – *YUMKANG* (darkness) – *KASI* (light began) – *SIANG* (rays developed) – *AABO* (thin layers of smoke) – *BOMUK* (clouds formed) – *MUKSENG* (solid stage formed) – *SEDI-MELO* (Earth and Sky) [12]

So, from nothingness formed the universe in which we live today, which the narrator of *The Legend of Pensam* describes as "... that darkness beyond the reach of memory." (Dai, 2006, p. 176) The Sun (*Bomong*) and Moon (*Boh*) were created from the first lineage and the Earth (*Sedi*) and Sky (*Melo*) were formed by the second lineage. So, *Sedi-Melo* is the platform on which endless activities of *Ruuna* and *Pina* continue. *Sedi-Melo* was formed after the seventh generation of *Keyum* and after the thirteenth generation was produced *Pedong Nane*, the Mother of Rain. A million children were born to *Pedong Nane*, besides *Abo Tani*, who is considered to be the first man on earth and is also the mythical forefather of the Tani tribes, which includes the tribe, Adi. [13] The Tani tribes is a group of tribes who claim to be the descendants of Abo Tani or Doni. In the universe that is thus formed, the most prominent creation is the *Bomong* (sun). Both *Bomong* and *Boh* are heavenly bodies and both of them emanate light and consequently light up *Sedi* (earth) and hence, are considered partners. In spite of being the most vital objects for life to thrive on earth, the sun and the moon are created entities. And, any created entity can never be the Supreme Creator. So, the Supreme Creator is a powerful energy or force who aids in creation, is invisible and can only be felt. No definite shape, form or structure can be attributed to the mightiest creator. Among the perceivable natural objects, the Sun and the Moon are most dominant. Therefore, the Adis consider *Bomong* and *Boh* to be the representatives of the Supreme Creator who is named Donyi-Polo, where Donyi represents the Sun and Polo the moon. [14] The Adis believe their religion to reside within nature and considers themselves too, to be an inseparable part of nature. And so, one needs to unite with nature to understand their religion. Therefore, an aboriginal, Kajinsha had said to Father Nicholas Krick,

"The Tibetan lamas have books and you read your book for knowledge of God. We read the land. The land is our book. Everything here on this hill, the grass and rocks and stones is saying something. And what falls from the sky – rain, thunder and lightning – are also the voices of spirits telling us something. It is how we have learnt what is good and what is sweet or bitter, by living here...We belong to the land. The land is a good mother. I take only what I need. Animals and trees offer themselves. We help each other survive." (Dai, 2014, p. 140-141)

There was no established and institutionalised religion amongst the natives. With the advent of missionaries like Father Krick and Augustin Bourry, Christianity was born in these hilly stretches in the 19th century. A missionary named Miles Bronson had once assured the inhabitants of a village in these hills that his sole intent to enter their village was to introduce 'book' to them – where 'book' referred to both – education and the Bible. [15] Though the first missionaries had to face extremely tough resistance in these hills, yet, they were successful in spreading the word of Christ. Amongst the Adis, in case of any illness of a community member, a *shaman* was always summoned. The natives believed that the *shamans* had special powers by virtue of which they could converse with the spirits and negotiate a deal by which the sufferer could be released from his pains. But *shamans* were not always able to cure the sick. Such cases were taken up by the

evangelists and were treated with medications. On being recovered by a white man's treatment, a patient's trust towards the healer and his words began to develop. Thus, a section of indigenous people who had been benefitted in any way by the proselytisers could gather enough courage to defy their ancestral religion and walk in the footsteps of the preachers. As a consequence, Christianity slowly made in-roads into the Adi society. Thus, proselytization began and a band of believers of Christ and his teachings grew undeterred. Buildings called 'church' were erected where devotees were supposed to come and offer their prayers to God. The newly converted Christians were educated by the missionaries so that they could sing the hymns in praise of Lord. Sunday was the day when the followers met and prayed together. Gradually, the number of believers in Christ increased and many churches were built. Exposure to such institutionalised religion and its world view moulded the practices of the old faith. Subsequently, the Adis who had not embraced the new religion felt the need to institutionalise their faith. Since 1968 with the use of suffix '-ism', Donyi-Poloism began its journey as a religion. [16] Specific buildings for offering prayers to Donyi-Polo named gangging had been erected towards the end of 20th century. A particular day of the week have also been selected when all the followers are supposed to congregate in the gangging for collective prayer. Thus, efforts have been made in the last few decades to institutionalise the old Adi faith and stop further proselytization.[17] On 31st December 1986, an organized body had been formed by the followers of Donyi Polo named Donyi Polo Yelam Kebang or DPYK where *yelam* means belief, and *kebang* indicates a tribal council. Since then, 31st December is celebrated as Donyi-Polo Day. In 1986, Talom Rukbo, the father of Donyi-Polo movement had said,

"The learned people say that [for] a faith to be called a religion [it] must have a scripture; it must be prepared and practiced. So, we must work on it very fast. Unless we do it now, we may not do it at all" [18]

Therefore, whether for the need of an institutionalised religion or for preserving the extremely rich oral tradition or for enabling themselves to tell their 'stories', an Adi script was of utmost importance. Using the Roman script, the Tāni Agom language has been scripted with the exception of a few phonetical sounds. But, with the addition of four types of indicators on A, E, I and U of the Roman script, the problem has been solved by Adi Agom Kebang (AAK). [19]

Bit by bit, the Adis were learning to acclimatise themselves to the sluggish transformations occurring in their society. Adaptation to the changes was the only way for them to remain in the continuous struggle for existence that Charles Darwin had called 'survival for the fittest' in 1864. [20] Modification of Adi way of life was not only brought with the Adi script or through Donyi-Poloism but also with the construction of roads. "The villages at the far edge of the Duyang cluster, ... were beyond time. Till the road came." (Dai, 2006, p. 147) The remote location of Duyang had kept it secluded from the changing and 'developing' world. With no proper roads, people from the plains rarely took the pains to climb up the mountains. In its ignorance, the village had not kept its pace with the outside world and had not 'developed'. "The village had moved to its own quiet rhythm for centuries, with old certainties and beliefs, but the road was changing all that." (Dai, 2006, p. 148) The road connected Duyang with a place that was situated outside their 'world', thus opening the gates for the outsiders to enter this isolated hamlet forever. As a consequence, came in people from foreign lands with foreign concepts, ideologies, world view, culture and language to Duyang. Thus, the natives got introduced to a different notion of 'development'. The villagers were hopeful to see better days with the advent of the road only to be disappointed later. The proposed site, their own ancestral lands became unusable with sticky red mud. The tranquillity of the area was disturbed by the habitats and activities of the workers from mainland, who had been brought in for construction of the road. Progress is what the villagers had hoped to see, when Duan, son of the village, had won in the state assembly elections. He had made the villagers dream big of progress with new schools, roads and electricity. But, within a year, the villagers had realised, "... we will never see progress!" (Dai, 2006, p.149) Rather thefts, robbery, burglaries, murder, diseases made in-roads to this 'under-developed', indigenous land. The peace and security that had prevailed since ages in the village was lost. Before 'progress' set its foot on this land, never had dissension arise between the elders and the young. The prevailing chaos made the Adis sceptical about the road.

Tellus Mater or Terra Mater refers to the earth, personified as a goddess. For the indigenous people across the globe, land is their soul and not a resource. Till date indigenous people believe and consider soil to be their sacred mother. Maria Mies, a social scientist has opined that whatever treatment is meted out to earth will be eventually felt by all because everything is connected.[21] There is no empathy left in the exploiters of nature but in those it is still left, they suffer and are overwhelmed with a sense of loss. Vandana Shiva, the ecologist quotes Chief Seattle's letter:

"The earth does not belong to man, man belongs to the earth. All things are connected like the blood which unites one family. Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth. Man did not weave the web of life; he is merely a strand of it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself." [22]

In Duyang, to build the road, men had dug-up Mother earth, which had worsened their condition. For construction of road, large stretches of earth had been excavated, causing pain to Terra Mater. The agony meted out to a mother would undoubtedly affect her children. In nature, a past occurrence can never be revisited and restored as time moves unidirectionally. Thus, the Adis of the Duyang village also had no chance to re-do what had already been done. Neither did their dreams of progress fulfil nor did they have their lands on which they had survived so long. A village level organisation named, Kebang, used to operate to maintain the law and order of the village in the earlier days. "But things had changed now, ...they were losing their powers and giving way to the modern legal system, ..." (Dai, 2006, p.160) A section of inhabitants of this

remote place had put in a lot of labour to succeed as dignitaries, and while struggling, had desired to 'develop' their home villages. But, after achieving their long-awaited position, they failed to fulfil their wish of 'developing' their home village.

Since ages, natives have practised community living, which today is forgotten by the 'successful' children of the land. As a result, the bridge connecting the two sides – one in which lived the 'successful' sons and the other in which resided the natives clinging to their age-old traditions, snapped off. Progress was being brought to the indigenous lands by robbing inhabitants' lands, cutting down forests and floating of logs down the river. Gayatri Chakraborty Spivak's famous essay 'Can the Sub-altern Speak?' tells of the coloniser and colonised, where the voice of the colonised remaining at the periphery is unheard by the coloniser. Here, the natives symbolise the silent colonised at the periphery; whereas those 'successful' natives along with the 'outsiders', to the coloniser – who cannot hear the woes of peripheral people. Yet, the youths believed, they would "survive these winds of change" as "everything seemed possible today in this little village as big as the world..." (Dai, 2006, p. 161) and the bridge that once joined the two sides would re-join again. With the road, came in things which were unknown to the Adis earlier, but stories and songs too remained a part of their lives. Change has an all-encompassing and interconnected effect. Corruption and immoral activities have crept in, but at the same time, a new religion and an Adi script have found in-roads into the Adi society, by which the rich oral traditions are being saved from fading away, besides, enabling written expressions in Adi dialect. Change is inevitable. And the Adi society is not an exception as everything is "a matter of time...because nothing is ended / But it is changed". (Dai, 2006, p. 135) and it is the need of the hour to adapt with the changing times. For survival, progress is necessary but the manner in which it had been attempted had its flaws. Perhaps someday in near future Duyang would progress in the right sense of the word with sustainable development that would take care of nature and humans alike.

#### WORK CITED

1. Pandey, B. B. (1996). Folk songs of Arunachal Pradesh (Adi). In *Directorate of Research, Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh eBooks*. <https://ci.nii.ac.jp/ncid/BA73267049>
2. Welker, G. W. (1996, February 8). *Indigenous Peoples?* Indigenous People's Literature. <https://www.indigenouspeople.net>. (Accessed 29th Sept.2016)
3. Dai, M. (2014, February 6). *AN OBSCURE PLACE*. Facebook. <https://www.facebook.com/100063567887795/posts/625580860847277/>
4. Literature. (2006). In C. Soanes & A. Stevenson (Eds.), *Concise Oxford Dictionary* (11th, Revised ed., pp. 832 & 818). Oxford University Press.
5. Sarangi, J. (2017, August). *In conversation with Mamang Dai*. Writers in Conversation Vol. 4, No. 2. <https://journals.flinders.edu.au/index.php/wic/article/view/23> (Accessed 28th October, 2021).
6. Ering, O. (2019, May 4). "Adoption of Roman script for Tāni Āgom." *The Arunachal Times*. <https://arunachaltimes.in/index.php/2019/05/04/adoption-of-roman-script-for-tani-agom/> (Accessed 1st October, 2022)
7. Devy, G. (2010, April 12). *TEDxMumbai - Ganesh Devy - 04/03/10*. [Video]. TEDx Talks. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vc76V7rXDqg> (Accessed 18th April, 2020).
8. Devy, G. (2010, April 12) *TEDxMumbai - Ganesh Devy - 04/03/10*. [Video] TEDx Talks. Youtube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vc76V7rXDqg> (Accessed 18th April, 2020).
9. *HISTORY: AAK & ADI AS 3RD LANGUAGE*. (2014, June 29). The Official Website of Adi Abong Kebang (Adi Sahitya Sabha) Literature Impersonates One's Identity. <https://web.archive.org/web/20140629083255/http://adiagomkebang.org/alang.php> (Accessed July 11, 2023)
10. Ering, O. (1998). The search of DONYI-POLO. In M.C. Behera. & S.K. Chaudhuri (Ed.), *Indigenous Faith and Practices of the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh*. (pp. 47–48). Himalayan Publishers.
11. Borang, K. (2004). Philosophy of Donyi-Polo. In Tamo Mibang & S.K. Chaudhuri (Ed.), *Understanding Tribal Religion* (p. 40). Mittal Publications.
12. Pertin, O. (2015). Folk History on Origin and Early Migration of the Adi-Paadam Tribe of Arunachal Pradesh. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research in Science Society and Culture (IJIRSSC)*, 1(2), 14–27.
13. Pertin, O. (2015). Folk History on Origin and Early Migration of the Adi-Paadam Tribe of Arunachal Pradesh. *International Journal of Interdisciplinary Research in Science Society and Culture (IJIRSSC)*, 1(2), 14–27.
14. Rikbo, T. (1997). Donyi-Polo Faith and Practice of the Adis. In M.C. Behera. S.K. Chaudhuri (Ed.), *Indigenous Faith and Practices of the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh*. (p. 58). Himalayan Publishers.
15. Wijunamai, R. (2020, October 9). *The early story of Christianity in Northeast India.: Colonial officers, venture capitalists and Baptist missionaries in the Naga highlands*. HIMAL SOUTHASIAN. <https://www.himalmag.com/comment/the-early-story-of-christianity-in-northeast-india-2020> (Accessed May 15, 2022).
16. Dodum, R. (2021, March 8). *The Old New Faith in Arunachal Pradesh*. Pulitzer Center. <https://pulitzercenter.org/stories/old-new-faith-arunachal-pradesh> (Accessed October 21, 2021).



17. Borang, K. (September 5, 2022). In *Keynote*. Two-day National Seminar on “Faith and Identity: Traditional Worldviews and Institutionalised Religions in Arunachal Pradesh.” at Jawaharlal Nehru College, Pasighat.
18. Scheid, C. S. (2017). Literacy as Advocacy in the Donyi Polo Movement of Northeast India. In Greg Johnson & Siv Ellen Kraft (Ed.), *Handbook of Indigenous Religion(s)* (Vol. 15, pp. 279–293). Brill Publishers. <https://brill.com/display/book/edcoll/9789004346710/B9789004346710-s018.xml> (Accessed September 8, 2022).
19. Ering, O. (2019, May 4). “Adoption of Roman script for Tāni Āgom.” *The Arunachal Times*. <https://arunachaltimes.in/index.php/2019/05/04/adoption-of-roman-script-for-tani-agom/> (Accessed 1<sup>st</sup> October, 2022)
20. *Survival of the fittest*. (2022, October 23). In Wikipedia. [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Survival\\_of\\_the\\_fittest](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Survival_of_the_fittest) (Accessed Oct 31, 2022)
21. Mies, M., & Shiva, V. (2010). *Ecofeminism*. (p. 93) Rawat Publications. (Original work published 1993)
22. Mies, M., & Shiva, V. (2010). *Ecofeminism*. (p. 105) Rawat Publications. (Original work published 1993)

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Adichie, C. N. (2009, October 7). The danger of a single story. In *Youtube*. TED. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=D9Ihs241zeg&t=459s> (Accessed April 8, 2020).
2. Dai, M. (2014). *The Black Hill*. Aleph Book Company.
3. Dai, M. (2006). *The Legends of Pensam*. Penguin Books India Pvt. Ltd.
4. Dai, M. (2021). Introduction. In M. Dai (Ed.), *The Inheritance of Words: Writings from Arunachal Pradesh*. Zubaan Publishers Pvt. Ltd.
5. Ering, O. (1998). The search of DONYI-POLO. In M.C. Behera. & S.K. Chaudhuri (Ed.), *Indigenous Faith and Practices of the Tribes of Arunachal Pradesh*. (pp. 47–48). Himalayan Publishers.
6. Giddens, A. (2015). Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak Can the subaltern speak? In *Routledge eBooks* (pp. 78–123). <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781315656496-13>
7. Misra, T. (2011). Introduction. In T. Misra (Ed.), *The Oxford Anthology of Writings from North-East India Poetry and Essays*. (Vol. 2). Oxford University Press.