

PATTERN OF SPATIAL INTERACTION AMONG POCHURY TRIBE OF NAGALAND

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A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT
FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

To



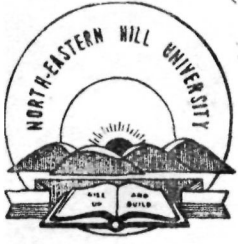
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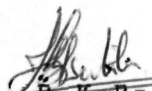
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C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the Dissertation entitled " PATTERN OF SPATIAL INTERACTION AMONG POCHURY TTRIBE OF NAGALAND " submitted by S.Riepetho for the partial fulfilment of degree of Master of Philosophy (M.Phil) in Geography is a bonafide study to the best of my knowledge and belief.

The study may, therefore, be present before Examiners for evaluation.


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Place : Shillong



(S. RIEPETHO)

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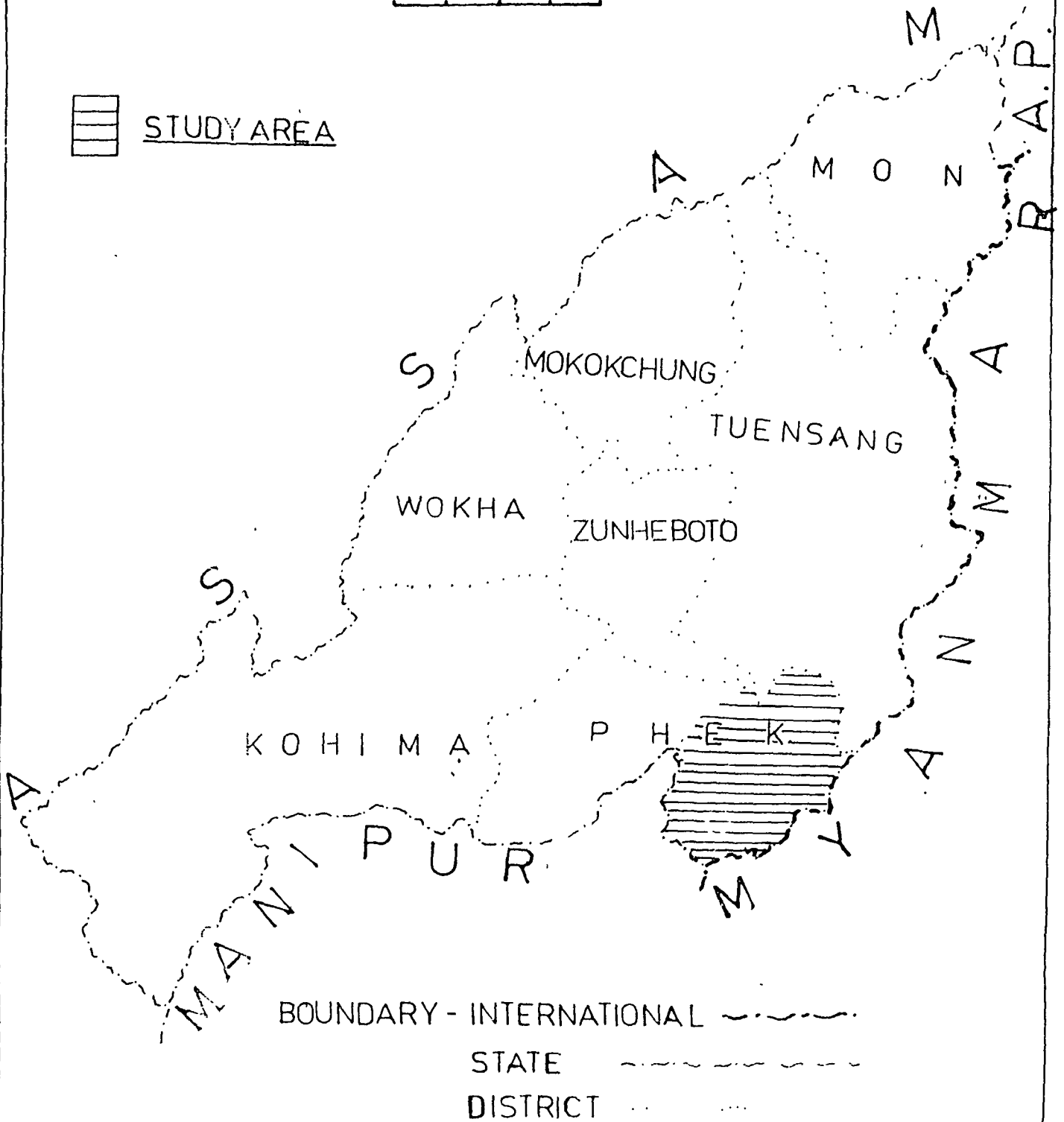
Fig - 1.1

LOCATION OF STUDY AREA IN NAGALAND

10 0 10 20 30KM



STUDY AREA



CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. GENERALITIES

The study of Geography as Spatial Interaction is a traditional area of interest. 'Spatial' is a general term to describe things relating to size, area or position. But in Geographical term 'Spatial' means both space-occupying systems and those theoretical and/or philosophical system which are in part responsible for the organisation of space¹. Spatial indicates that an occurrence occupies a portion of the earth's surface². Thus, Spatial concepts explain the Geographical phenomena in which human were involved.

In Geography, interaction is a pervasive theme. It is generally associated with the concept of distance and its implied restrictions. Social interaction occurs through electronic media, conversation etc. Language, especially conversation, is the vessel of meaning for the man and it is

-
1. Coffey, W.J., (1981), Geography towards a general Spatial systems approach, Methuen and Co Ltd., New York p.4.
 2. Fielding, G.J., (1974). Geography as Social Science, Harper and Row Publishers, New York, p.25.

vital to the reciprocal give-and-take of individuals who are adjusting to each other. Migrating and travelling or sending of information and ideas across Geographical space or in other word, diffusion, are other forms of interaction¹.

Spatial interaction is any movement over space that result from a human process². Human relations are as on the earth's surface, such as the reciprocal relation and flows of all kinds among industries, raw materials, market, transportation, etc. 'Spatial' means both Spatial form and movement in space³, the movement, contact and linkages between Geographic areas. It can be applied to Geographical phenomena such as the movement of commodities, migration and journey to work; traffic and telecommunication between cities and transfer of capital between areas as in development programmes⁴.

According to Ullman three bases of Spatial interaction are vital factors. They are complementarity, intervening opportunity and distance.

1. Ibid, p.180.

2. Hayne, K.E. & Forthergham, (1984), Gravity and Spatial interaction Models, Vol. 2, Sage Publications. Inc. California, p.9.

2. Coffey, W.J. (1981), Geography towards a general Spatial systems approach, Methuen & Co. Ltd., New York, p.9.

3. Ullman, E.L., (1980), Dictionary of Geography, Arnold-Heinemann, New Delhi, p.232.

Complementarity describes the relationships of two places when one place has a surplus of a commodity while the other place has deficit of the same commodity¹. Intervening opportunity helps interaction between distant complementary areas by providing a nearby complementary source which make construction of transport routes profitable and thus pay for part of the cost of constructing a route to the most distant source². The linkage of road to a distant area developed trade and commerce and thus long distance interaction is encouraged.

Distance is another factor essential in Spatial interaction, it measures in real terms of time and cost of transportation and effect of improvement in facilities. Thus it is considered that the factor of intervening opportunity results in a substitution of areas and the factor of distance results in a substitution product³.

Conceptually Spatial interaction involves interdependence between Geographic areas. This interdependence is seen by Ullman as complementary to the

-
1. Cox, K.R., (1972), An Introduction to Human Geography, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, p.42.
 2. Ullman, E.L., (1980). Geography As Spatial interaction, University of Washington Press, p.16.
 3. Johnston, R.J., et. al. (1985), The Dictionary of Human Geography, Blackwell, Oxford, pp.319-20.

man-environment interdependence within a single area. It includes the movements of goods, passengers, migrants, money, information ideas etc. between Geographic areas. The concept is similar to the "Geography of circulation" which was popular among French Geographers at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The concept of spatial interaction has been widely applied in the fields of transport of geography as well as in cultural geography in studying diffusion trends.

In recent years, however, the term has been increasingly used in a more restricted sense for two types of study. First, some have restricted it to describing studies of spatial flow phenomena (specially gravity modelling): second, a few authors have related it to the sociological concept of social interaction and have, therefore, defined spatial interaction as the spatial manifestation of social contacts.

This study primarily belongs to the second category of studies.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

Studies of tribal segment of India's population has attracted the attention of Geographers only in recent years. However, the tribes are treated as homogenous category under the broad items such as the scheduled tribe in most Geographical studies. Small tribes, living in inhospitable highland areas have been rather neglected. Moreover, a tribe is generally perceived as socially, ethnically and economically homogeneous, ignoring vital aspects of the difference - both social and spatial-needing urgent attention. This is particularly true in the case of Nagaland which has a legion of tribes of varying numerical strength.

An important dimension of tribal reality in India to-day refers to the problems of ethnicity and ethnic identity. Defying all changes to the contrary, ethnic diversities are being stressed more and more, and tribal identities are asserted with greater vigour. This assertion is acquiring specific nuances of meaning in Geographically difficult areas where physiographic constraints have produced a mosaic of tribal identities in which the language, ethnicity and the territory merge together without any unconfirmity. In Nagaland, for example, a tribe may consist of a couple of thousands people distributed in 20 to 30 contiguous villages. An important question arises as to the nature of interaction among the tribes - both within and across.

An attempt is made in this study to examine the nature and pattern of interaction among a very small tribe—Pochury — in Nagaland. This study intends to understand the patterns of interaction among the tribe both within the territory of its concentration and across, considering the ecological setting and its small numerical strength.

1.3. STUDY AREA:

The study area includes the territory inhabited by a recently recognised (1990) tribe — the Pochuries of Nagaland. The tribe has been listed as the 14th major scheduled tribe in Nagaland.

Due to the peculiarities of the formation of this tribe, unlike many other Naga tribes, the Pochuries consist of diverse linguistic and ethnic varieties which vary from village to village. There are eight identifiable dialectal groups. They are Apolsah dialect, Avanhung dialect, Kuli dialect, Laruthvii dialect, Matichru dialect, Meluri dialect, Phoyisha dialect and Samphori dialect.

The Meluri dialect is used as standard and common language by all the people belonging to this tribe. Besides, Nagamese, Angami and English are commonly spoken by a large section of the tribe.

There are as many as 58 clans found among the tribe. People are almost entirely Christian.

The tribe is almost entirely confined to Meluri Sub-Division of Phek district in Nagaland lies, between $25^{\circ} 28'$ - $25^{\circ} 49'$ N Latitudes and $94^{\circ} 35'$ - $94^{\circ} 43'$ E Longitudes. Bordered by Phek Sadar in the north-west, Zunheboto district in the north, Tuensang district in the north-east, Manipur in the south-west and Myanmar in the south-east. The highest elevation is recorded at Zhipuhu range of about 8408 ft. and the lowest altitude is recorded in the Tizu valley in Laruri village of about 1481 ft. above the mean sea level. The tribe is distributed in a contiguous area consisting of 26 villages. one town and one small industrial centre. According to the 1991 census estimates, the population of the tribe is 12,863. There is only one urban centre located at Meluri, supporting as many as 4306 people and small industrial centre at Wezihu with a population of 1302.

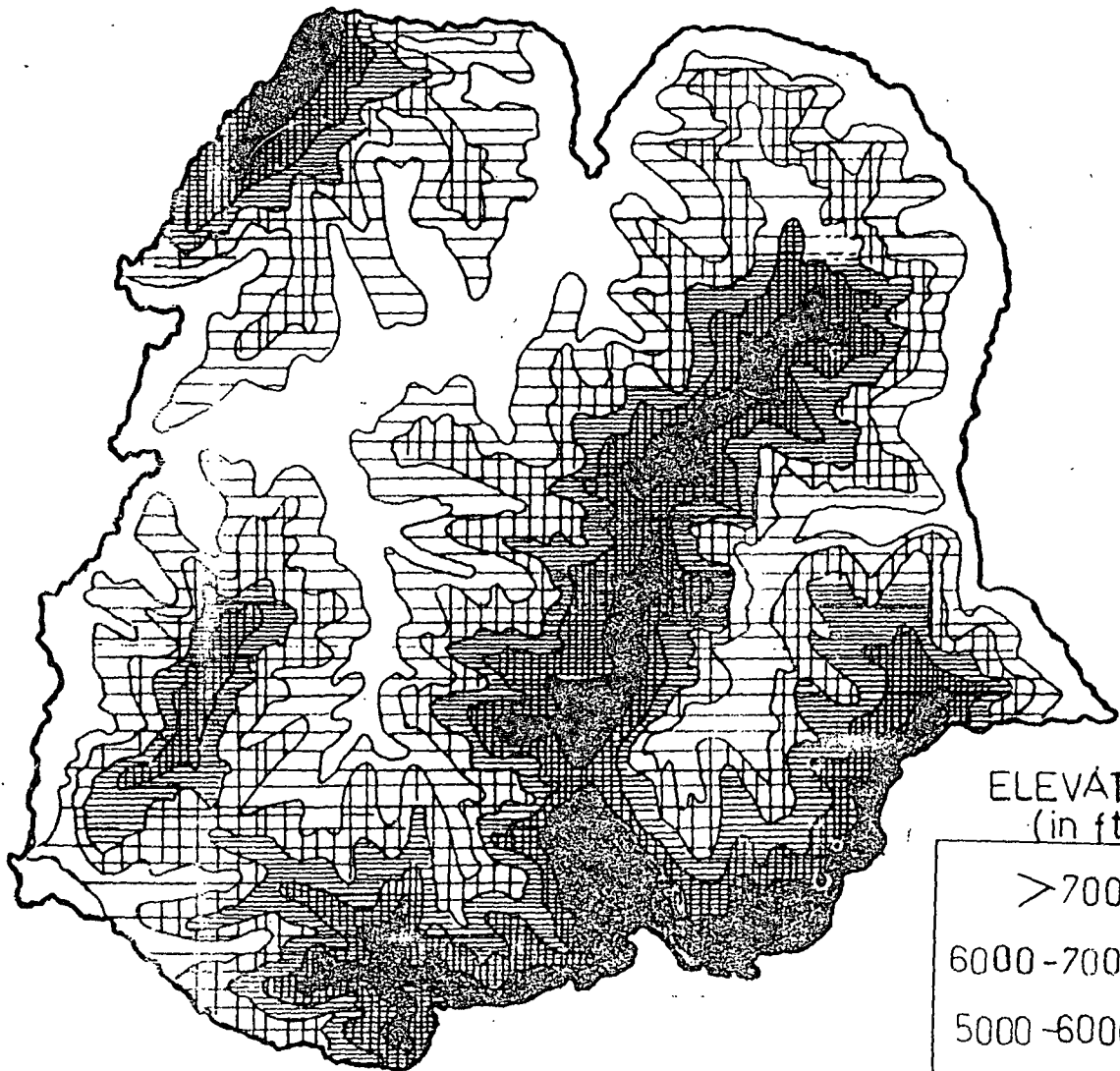
The topographical conditions are characterised by highland mountainous terrain. The economy of the people is generally backward and largely dependent upon highland agriculture of subsistence nature which include jhum, terrace and wet paddy cultivation in available but limited river valleys. The main crops grown are rice, millet, maize and yam.

Fig - 1.2

POCHURY
PHYSIOGRAPHY



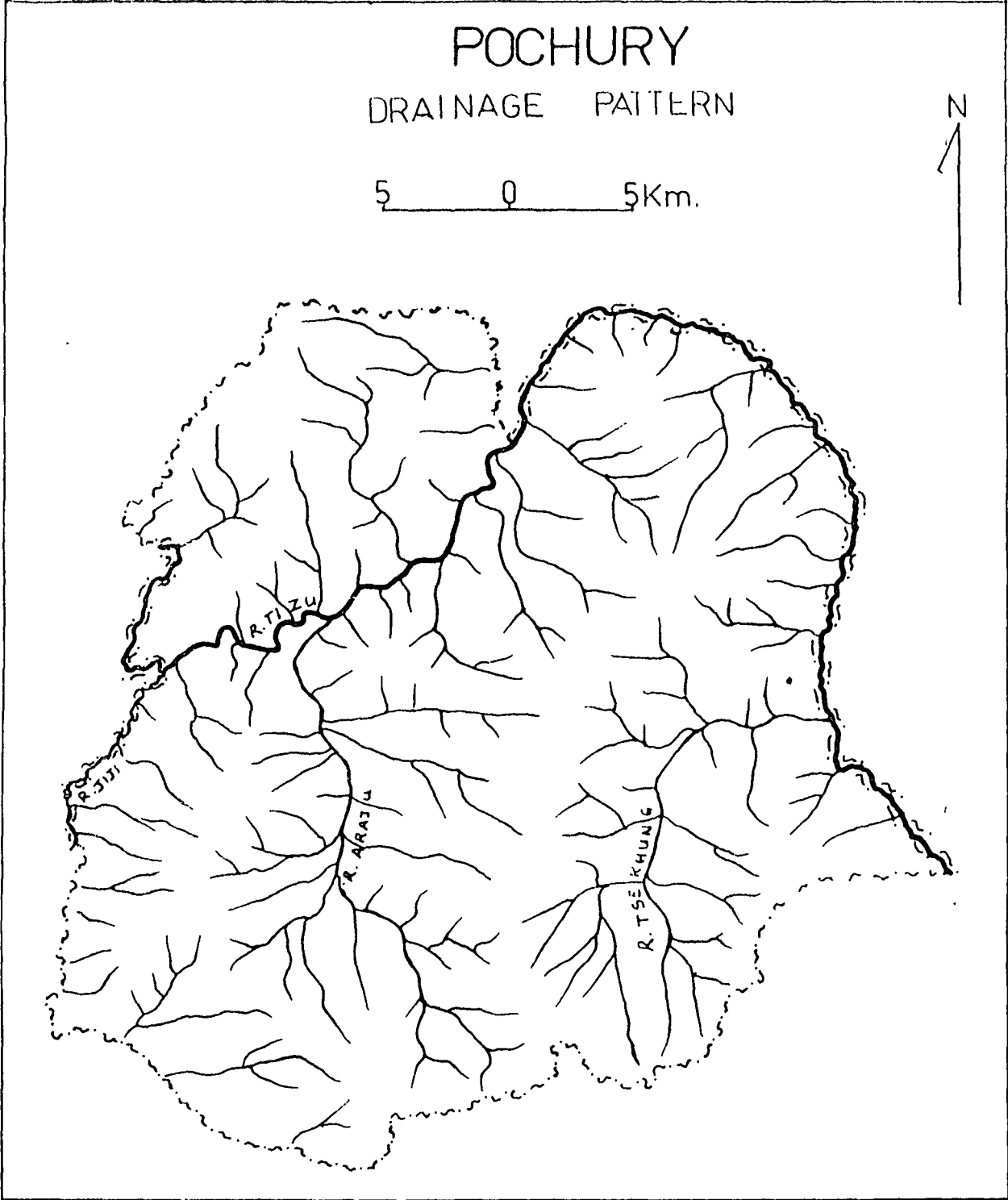
5 0 5 Km



ELEVATION
(in ft.)

>7000	
6000-7000	
5000-6000	
4000-5000	
3000-4000	
<3000	

Fig. 1.3



The topography of Pochury is characterised by rugged and hilly terrain. The altitudes varies between less than 2000 ft. to above 8000 ft. above the sea level (fig 1.2).

There are series of mountains running parallel south to north which show the general appearance of irregular serrated ridges and at places rises to conical peaks, flat cliffs and have precipitous rock. These relic mountains are intersected many deep drainage lines and form unnumberable small valleys, longitudinal as well as transverse character. The highest elevated areas are located in the north and south-eastern part and gradually decrease toward the central part (fig.1.2).

There are numerous drainages running south to north, north to south and west to east according to the slope of the area. The main basin Tizu initially flowing west to north-east divert its course toward south to meet river Chindwin. The drainage map (fig.1.3) of the region indicates that the area by and large, forms part of Tizu river basin. Its main tributaries are Araju, Reydi and Jiji.

The dendritic type drainage pattern is the most common in the study area. This pattern is characterised by irregular branching of tributary streams in many directions almost at any angle like that of limbs branching from the body.

Radial pattern is noticed in the south-west and north-east in the region. In this pattern streams diverging from a central elevated area (fig.1.3). The largest lake Shilloi is located at Letsam village which is also the largest in Nagaland.

1.5. OBJECTIVES:

The study sets before itself the following broad objectives,

1. to examine the resource base and settlement structure of the territory inhabited by the Pochuries in order to get insight into the basis of the Spatial interaction among the tribe,
2. to get an insight into the nature of social interaction through marriage networks, school attendance and place of work etc.,
3. to attempt at an explanation of the intra and inter-tribal interaction among the Pochuries.

1.6. RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

The following broad research questions are placed before the study:

1. Given the subsistence nature of the highland economy and the small numerical strength of the tribe, what are the mechanism of its interactions with other tribes of Nagaland.

2. Considering the complex bonds of the different groups which comprise the tribe, what kind of interactions—spatial, social and economic — exist within the tribe ?

3. What are the levels of interactions across the spatial mosaic offered by the ecology and settlement structure on the one hand and those offered by language and clan bonds on the other.

1.7. DATA BASE:

Both secondary and primary sources of data have been utilized for this study.

The secondary sources include the following:

1. Census of India.
2. District Statistical Handbook of Nagaland.
3. Toposheets published by The Survey of India.

The primary data has been collected through structured questionnaire schedules for the village and households separately for selected villages in the study area. It also includes information obtained from village elders.

Other sources of data include ;

- a. published books and gazetteers,
- b. information from administrative Offices located in the study area and
- c. information from the Churches.

- ii) if the number of villages speaking a similar dialect is 5 or more, two villages have been selected for study.
- iii) if the number of villages speaking a similar dialect is less than 5 in number, only one village has been selected.
- iv) Likewise, if the number of households in selected village exceeds 20 in number, 50 percent of the households has been considered for survey. .pa

1.7. ORGANIZATION OF THE MANUSCRIPT

The manuscript is organised into five broad chapters. The first chapter presents the research design including sections on the statement of the problem, broad objectives, choice of the study area, major research questions, methodology adopted and the organization of materials.

The second chapter is devoted to a fuller understanding of the Spatial setting of the territory inhabited by the Pochury tribe. It includes understanding on the ecological milieu, economic and demographic characteristics of the tribe and its settlement structure as well as a note on the social attributes of the population. This forms the background to the understanding of Spatial interaction in the territory. It is assumed that all these factors have direct bearing on the nature of socio-Spatial interaction among the tribes.

1.8. METHODOLOGY AND SAMPLE DESIGN:

1. Linguistic regions are identified on the basis of dialect spoken in each village.

2. Clan-combination regions are identified by recognising the clan-composition of each village.

A. Socio-Spatial interaction within linguistic/clan composition of Pochury tribe have been examined with reference to the distance of marriages.

B. Spatial interaction of Pochury vis-a-vis other tribes has been analysed with reference to,

a) Knowledge of language other than Meluri,

b) place of work,

c) distance of work.

d) trades in available resources such as salt, pottery, timber etc.

Since it was not possible to conduct field survey all the villages in the study area, a few villages have been selected from the among 26 villages covered in the study area. The following are the basis of selection,

1) at least one village has been selected for field work from each of the dialect regions. However, the following principle has been adopted while selecting the villages and households.



The third chapter makes an attempt to identify regional mosaic in the area of Pochury cocentration based on historical migrations, and present linguistic and clan composition of all the villages constituting Pochury territory.

In the fourth chapter, an attempt is made to identify the nature of socio-Spatial interaction with the help of field data collected from households belonging to sample villages.

The final chapter provides a summary of findings and conclusions.

CHAPTER II

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE POCHURY

2.1 INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.

Pochury is numerically one of the smallest tribes inhabiting, economically and socially backward highland region in Nagaland. Their present distribution in this small pocket is expected to provide significant insight into the pattern of spatial interreaction in the region. The objective of this chapter is therefore to understand and analyse the ecological setting of the region in which the Pochuries have settled and their demographic, social and economic characteristics as facets of their social as well as spatial interreactions.

The contents in this chapter are ecological setting which indicates the resource base and economic responses of the people, village wise distribution of population, and patterns of growth, sex ratio, literacy and availability of infra-structural facilities.

Both primary and secondary sources of data are used for the present study.

2.2 ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The homeland of the Pochury is characterised by series of mountain ranges and intervening valleys. Evergreen vegetation covers most of the area in the region. The most prevailing flora are pines, oak, chestnuts, gooseberry, bamboo, orchids, mango, ferns, cane and palm. Trees were used only for fuel and construction of house purpose by the people before roads were constructed. But after the arrival of new roads, pines and other hardwoods were commercialised and supplied to other parts of the region. As a result large portion of the virgin forest were cleared. Cane is abundantly found in the forests of this region. However, Reguri is the only village utilizing canes in making cane-table, which is one of the most important indigeneous household industry in this region. Canecrafts are made by expert and skillful villagers. The product is very popular and demands from other parts of the regions are rarely fulfilled. Besides this, Athegho, Lephory and Meluri villages are using canes for making basket and also for constructing bridges.

Simple and aboriginal methods of pasturing is practised by the villagers on the gifted vegetations. They simply set free livestock's like buffalo, mithun, and cows in the jungle which are left fallow after jhum cultivation.

This type of livestock is hardly enough for local consumptions.

The earliest and only mineral to be used by this tribe are brine/salt water and clay. Brine/salt water is available in Hutsu, Reguri, and Afhegho villages. Once upon a time the whole region was supplied salt by the above mentioned villages. Tribes like Anyami, Chafhesang, Sema and Sangtam used to come for trading in salt. At present because of cheap and easy availability of salt in the market, Afhegho, Kukegho and Reguri villages have given up producing salt. However, Hutsu village continues with this practice of salt extraction and is popular for this household industry. Though the price of this indigenously made salt is comparatively high the demand for this commodity too is quite high and never adequately meets the demand of people. The only reason could be the good quality of the salt.

Sutsu and Laruri is well known for their skills in making earthen pots by using clay soil. They are well skilled to design pots of any shape and sizes. But after the introduction of modern pots indigenously made earthen pots are seldom used. However, these two villages continue to specialize in this industry in order to meet whatever local demand exists for earthen pots.

This region is very rich in mineral resources. The important mineral deposits according to Geology and Mining department are, limestone, decorative serpentine, brine/salt water, chromite, magnesite, talc, slate, asbestos, marble, base metal and copper-molybdenum. These minerals discovered has drawn the interest of Government in this region. Henceforth roads are constructed even to the remotest parts of the region in order to exploit minerals. So far, North-east Council has set up one Mini Cement factory at Wezihu. It may be stated that this region is rather fortunate to have the maximum mineral deposit in whole of Nagaland. The scope for future economic development is bright.

Tāzu river flowing from west to south-east with wide valleys has fertile soil in them. This river touches atleast 12 villages of the region and meeting river Chindwin in Myanmar. However, Meluri, Khumiasu, Akhegho and Kulegho villages have the maximum flat land along the river valley in which wet paddy cultivation is well developed. The main tributaries are Jiji, Reydi, Luyaukdi and Yowzudi. Yet, this water potentials remained unutilized. Only to some extent these perennial streams feed water by means of irrigation to wet-paddy fields in the valleys.

The above mentioned rivers along with two lakes, and Khituralie have abundant fishes for the consumption of the

villagers. Fish is a significant part of the diet for villages situated along these rivers and lakes. Particularly in Meluri and Khumiasu villages, availability of fish plays a significant role in economic activities. About 10% of the household income rests on fishing. Apart from fishing, hunting is very popular. The region is richly endowed in fauna like deer, bear, wild-mithun, boar, tiger, monkey, peacock, hornbill etc. Only malefolks are involved in hunting with crossbow, spear and dag. But after the introduction of modern weapons such as guns, the indogeneously made tools are seldomly used. During the festivals and important occasions all the male population of the village goes on combined group hunting and all the kills are feasted together in the village ground. But these days, killing of bears, tigers and wild-mithun fetch a good amount of money by selling levers and skins. It is in large demand from outside.

The ecological setting of the region hardly favours settled intensive cultivation. But it offers scope for many economic activities based on forestry, fishing and household industry and the people have responded to all these activities in the non-agricultural sectors of the economy. The location of the region in the highland areas and across international borders provides ample opportunities in

trading in local resources. However, modern industrial goods are gradually making their way into this remote area thereby making the people to respond to this new influences.

2.3 ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS.

The main occupation of the people of this region is cultivation. Only a few are employed in the Government Administrative Offices in Meluri and in Mini Cement Factory at Wezihu. Despite weak agrarian base, agriculture is the main economic base of the people of this tribe. Agricultural system, however, is primitive and subsistence in nature. Shifting cultivation is widely spread all over the region. Villages namely Meluri, Matithru, Kanjang, Lephory, Akhegho, Reguri and Hutsu villages have developed some permanent wet-paddy cultivation through artificial irrigation methods. As the flat land is limited, products are enough only for local consumption. The major crops are rice, millet, maize yam and chilly. Thus the staple food is rice, millet and maize.

Akhegho is the only village with surplus of maize production, which is supplied to Dimapur and neighbouring villages. Interestingly in Meluri village, millet is stocked in the granaries enough for three to four years for the whole family and suprisingly 50 to 60 years old stock is found in the granaries. They reserve this in order to face natural calamity/famine, which are not uncommon.

Horticulture is another important agricultural practice coming up in Meluri village. Fruits like banana, orange, mango, gauva, pineapple and papaya are suited to this soil and climate of these villages.

The important household industries are salt, pottery, cane-craft and weaving. Salt is produced in Hutsu village. Pottery is practised in Sutsu and Laruri villages. Cane-crafts are found practised in Reguri village. Traditional expertise in weaving Shawls, Meghala, Bag, etc., by the womenfolk is an important economic function in every family.

Rearing of Pigs, Cows and Chicken are almost in every households. But this is enough only for household consumptions.

In Hutsu, PhoHungri, Phor, Shatuza and Zhupu villages rearing mithun is very common. They even supply this animal to neighbouring villages. A single Mithun sold can fetch even up to the range of Rs. 8,000/- (Eight thousand). Buffalo rearing by Matihru, Kanjang, Lephory and Reguri villagers is the most significant and beneficial one, because they employ this animal to plough wet-paddy fields. So far no modern techniques have been practised for rearing livestock.

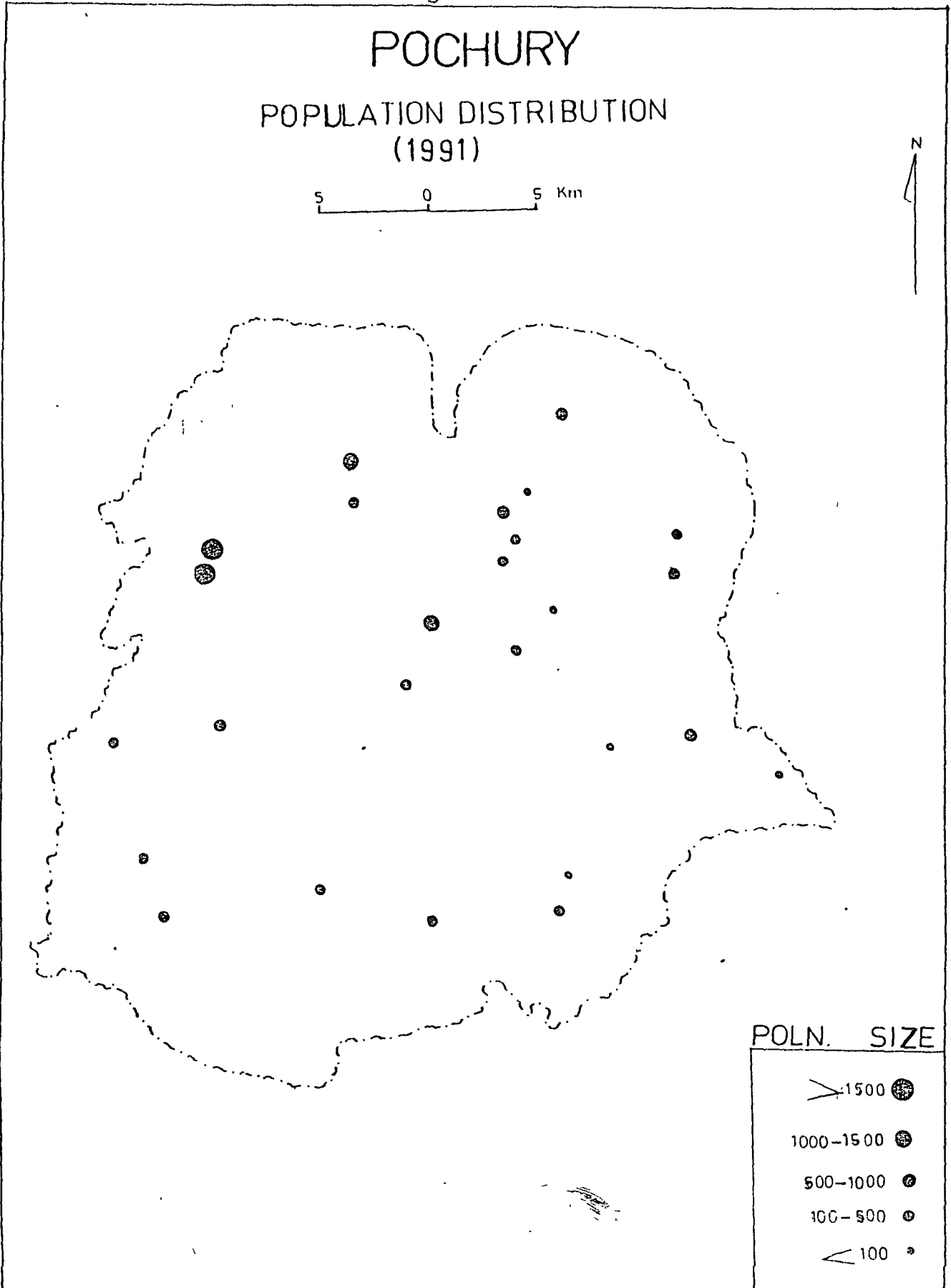
Further, trading is common in this region. Particularly villages situated in the Myanmar borders. These

are Phothungri, Old Thewati, New Thewati and Reguri. The trade is carried on salt, sugar, cloths and other light commodities to Myanmar and commodities like medicines, aghor, electronics goods are brought from Myanmar.

Until late 80s lumbering is not known in the remote villages where pines and bonson trees exist in the virgin forest. But, after the construction of roads people in this region by and large ^{People} gave up cultivation in favour of felling trees and supplying it to the outside industries. At present, excepting Meluri village, trees are randomly cut down for lumbering in order to meet their daily requirements.

Apart from the above mentioned economic activities fishing and hunting continue as important traditional economic activity.

Fig-2.1



2.4 (a) DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

Table 2.1 (a)

DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGES IN DIFFERENT POPULATION SIZE CLASSES

Population Size	No. of villages .	Percent of villages
1	2	3
below 100	5	18.5
100 - 500	14	51.9
501 - 1000	4	14.8
1001 - 1500	2	7.4
above 1500	2	7.4
TOTAL	27	100

SOURCE : CENSUS OF INDIA, 1991

The 1991 census records 12,863 persons as belonging to the Pochury tribe. Table 2.1 (a) shows that this population is unevenly distributed in 27 villages/towns. The size of the population varies from less than 100 to 1500 . This reveals that a majority of the villages are very small in their size supporting less than 500 persons each. Only two out of 27 villages and towns can be considered as very large, supporting over 1500 people each. These are Meluri town and Meluri village.

Because of concentration of many amenities, this town and the village - adjacent to each other - are supporting larger population, 32 per cent of the total population resides here.

Apart from these two there are another set of one small industrial centre & village, Wezihu and Akheghu which contain a population size of 1000 to 1500 each.

The medium size of 500 to 1000 population villages are Lephory, Hutsu, Phokhungri and Phor. There are 18 villages with a population less than 500 people. Old Thewati village has the lowest population size of 47 persons only followed by Letsam village which supports only 53 persons.

Table 2.1 (b)

CONCENTRATION OF POPULATION

Per cent to total population	No. of villages	Percent	villages
1	2		3
below 1.0	6	22.2	
1.0 - 3.0	12	44.4	
3.1 - 5.0	3	11.1	
5.1 - 7.0	2	7.4	
7.1 - 9.0	1	3.7	
above 9.0	3	11.1	
TOTAL	27		100

SOURCE : CENSUS OF INDIA, 1991

It is clear from table 2.1 (b) that only 3 settlements each contain over 9 per cent of the total tribal population. Majority of the villages however, account for a smaller proportion (i.e. less than 3 per cent) of the total Pochury population. This is a indication of a very high degree of concentration of the population in a few villages.

Fig 2.1 reveals that the small size of population are scattered all over the region, whereas large size population villages or town are clustered in the north western part of the region.

2.4 (b) GROWTH OF POPULATION

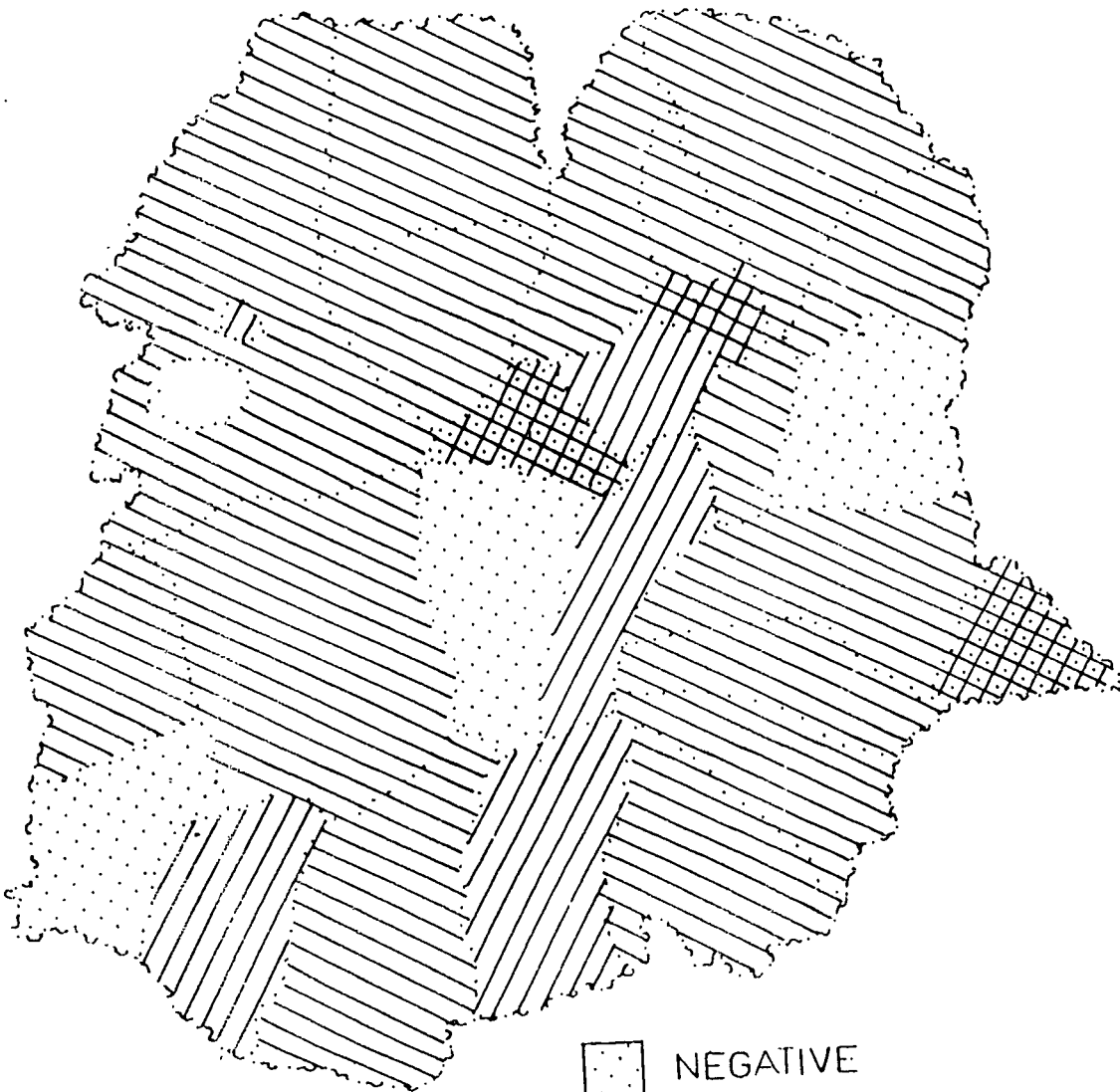
According to the 1971 census, 5272 people belonging to the Pochury tribe lived in 25 villages. During 1971-81 merging of two more villages with the Pochuries, the total population increased from 5272 (1971) to 8996 (1981) resulting in a sharp increase in the growth rate of Pochury population recording as high as 70.64 per cent during the 1971-81 period. The Pochury population grew by 42.99 per cent during the decade 1981-91 as against 70.64 per cent during the previous decade. However, table 2.2 reveals that there are large variations in the growth rates at village level during 1971-81. The range of variation in 1981-91 is not significant as compared to 1971-81 period. In the decade 1971-81 it varied between -66.67 and 816.67 per cent while it varied from 33.20 to 321.36 per cent during the decade 1981-91.

Fig - 22.

POCHURY

GROWTH OF POPULATION 1981-91

5 0 5 KM








	NEGATIVE
	00 - 50
	51 - 100
	101 - 200
	201 - 400

Table 2.2

POCHURY POPULATION GROWTH

Ranges (in %)	1971 - 91 No. of villages	1981 - 91 No. of villages/towns
1	2	3
Negative (-)	4	3
00 - 50	5	15
51 - 100	9	4
101 - 150	1	3
151 - 200	0	0
201 - 250	3	0
251 - 300	1	0
301 - 350	0	1
above 350	2	0
TOTAL	25	26

SOURCE : CENSUS OF INDIA, 1991

The highest growth rate of 816.67 per cent is recorded in Shatuza village while the negative growth is -66.67 (negative) in Mole village. During 1971 - 81 majority of the

villages recorded an increase ranging between 51 and 600% while in 1981 - 91 18 out of 26 villages /towns experienced increase of 51 per cent and less.

It is evident from figure 2.2 that the growth rate in Meluri, Zhipu, Phokhungri and Yesi villages are relatively constant. Akhen, Avakhung, Letsam, Moke, Old Thewati, Shatuza and Wezihu villages experienced some decrease in their population and while Akhegho, Hutsu, Kulegho, Kuzatu, Lephory, Matikhru, Meluri town, Phor, Reguri, Sutsu and Weshelo have gone down in their percentage of growth rate. It is also noticed that Kanjang, Laruri and Mollen villages have experienced negative growth rate.

Regular migration within the tribe is responsible for negative growth, high growth rate and population fluctuation in some villages. Figure 3.1 shows spatial pattern of migration in this region.

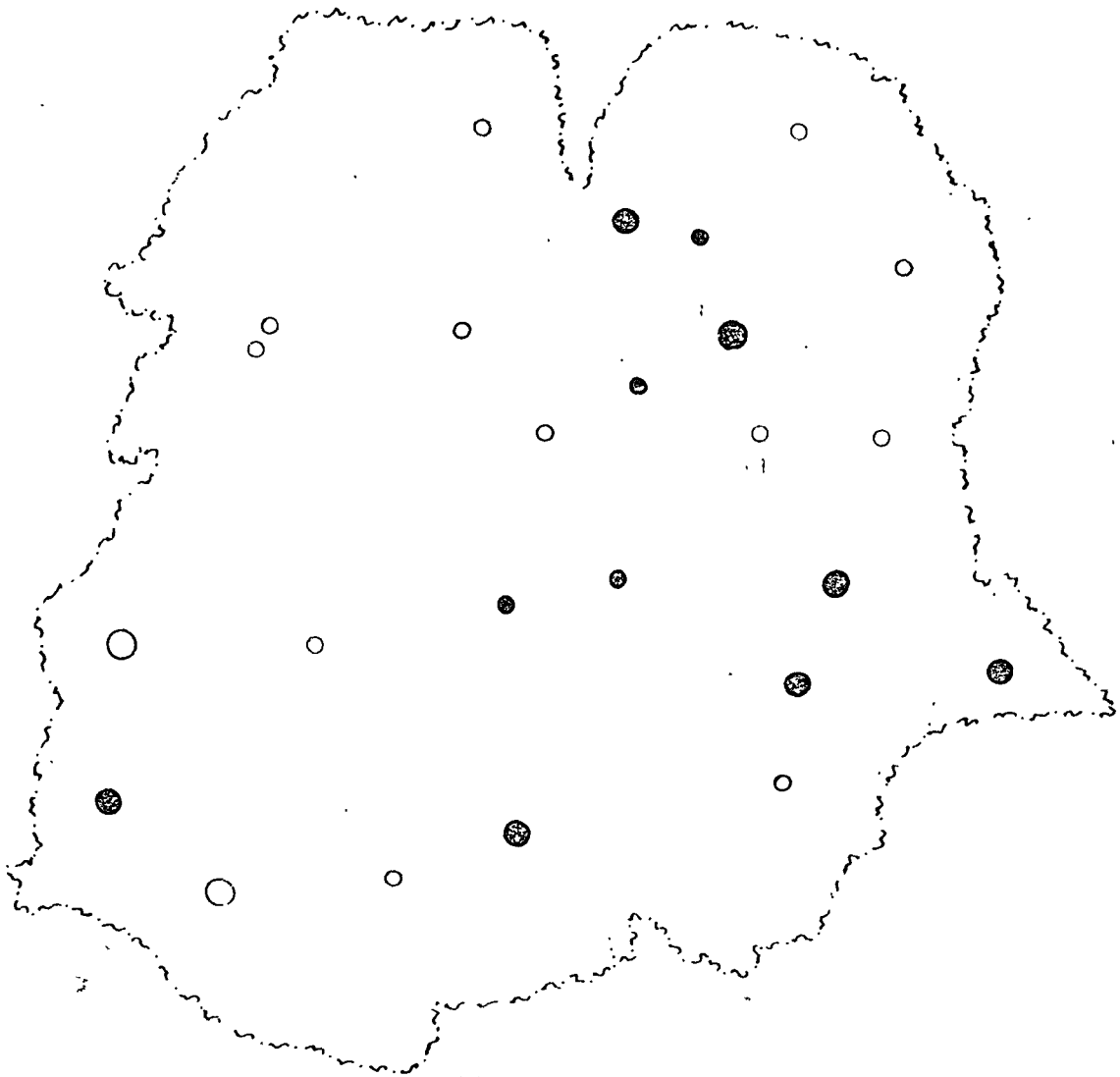
Since 1971 the population is growing but not as high as in 1971 - 81. This shows that immigration of large number of population took place in the tribe during 1971 - 81 period.

The spatial pattern of population growth in the area of Pochury concentration indicates high level of population redistribution within the region.

POCHURY

SEX RATIO

5 0 5 KM



No. OF FEMALES PER 1000 MALES

- < 600
- 600 - 800
- 800 - 1000
- 1000 - 1200
- > 1200

2.4 (c) SEX RATIO

Fig 2.3 shows the sex ratio of the 1971, 1981 and 1991. The sex ratio for 1971, 1981 and 1991 is calculated for each village. The sex ratios are grouped into three suitable ranges as shown in the legend of the map. The sex ratio of Pochury favours women in 1971 with a ratio as high as 1135 but significantly decreases to 817 in 1981 and to 793 in 1991 respectively. Only New Thawati and PhoKhungri villages show an increase in female population. The rest of the vilages experience decrease in female population.

It is interesting to note that the sex-ratio is increasingly not in favour of women. The reasons are hard to account for.

2.5 (a) LITERACY

The percentage of the literate to the total population in Pochury is 49.76 per cent according to 1991 census returns. However it varies from village to village. It is as high as 67 per cent in Matikhru and Kuzatu and as low as only 15.26 per cent in Zhipu. The percentage of the literates in Meluri town, Lephori, Akhen, Kanjang, Reguri, Mollen, Wezihu, Letsam, Kulegho, Hutsu and Phor are more or less same. In these villages the percentage of the literate

Table 2.5(a)

LITERACY

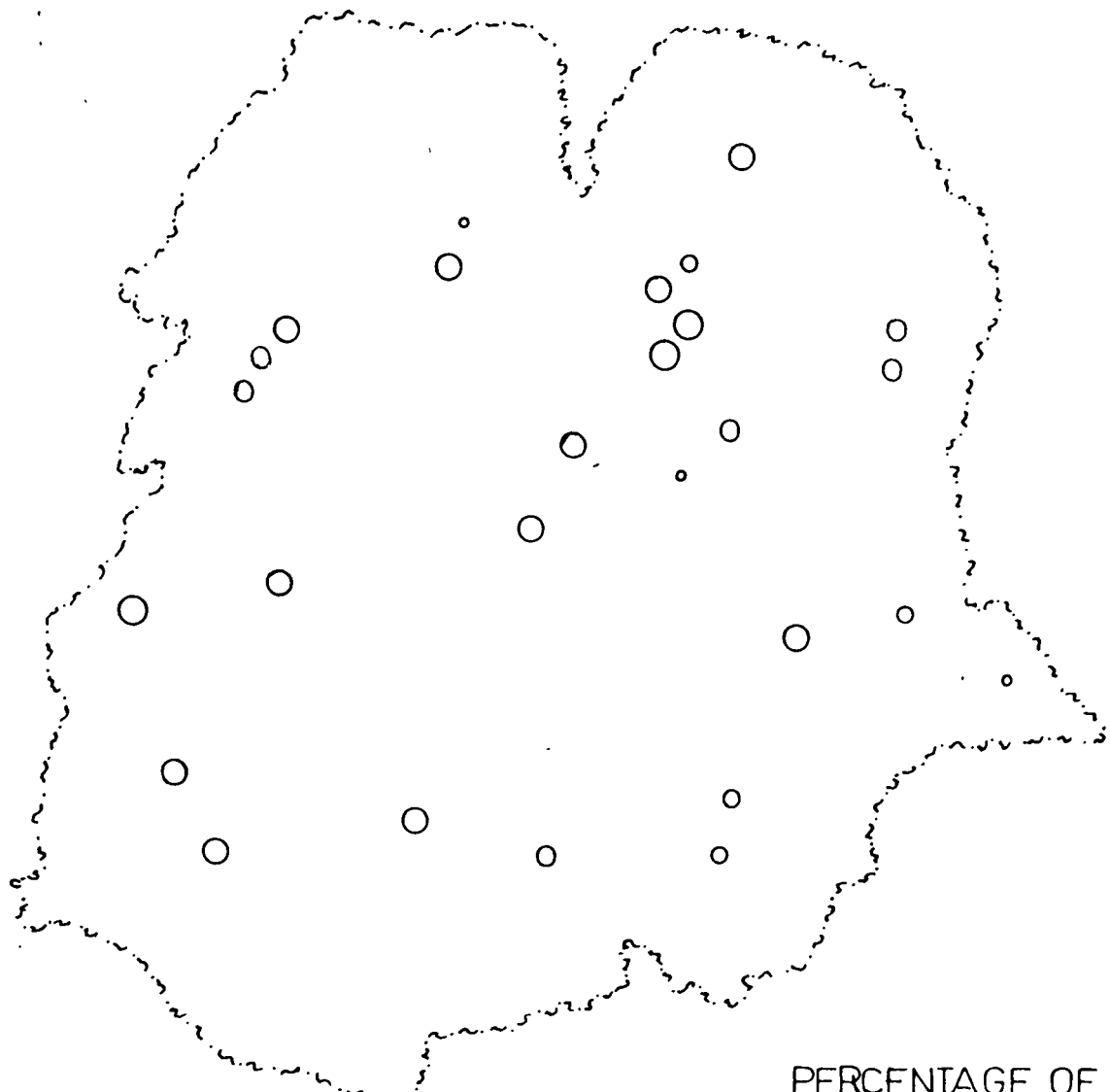
% Literate	No. of Villages	%
60	3	11.1
51-60	11	40.7
41-50	6	22.2
31-40	4	14.8
20-30	1	3.7
20	2	7.4
TOTAL	27	

Fig.-2.4

POCHURY

LITERACY

(1991)



PERCENTAGE OF LITERATE

- - > 60
- - 50 - 60
- - 40 - 50
- - 30 - 40
- - < 30

is between 51- 60. Table 2.3 revealed that 40.7 per cent are under this category and the percentage is above the tribe average (49.76 %).

It is shown from the fig 2.4 that Meluri town is the only one where the number of the literates exceeds 1000. Again in Meluri and Wezihu villages, the number of the literates exceeds 600 are less than 800. In Lephory and New Phor Villages it is between 401 -600 and in Akhegho, Kanjang, Hutsu, Shatuza and Matikhru it is between 201 -400. In Kulegho, Sutsu, Phohungri, Akhen and Reguri it is 100 - 200. And the remaining 12 villages are below 100 which account 44.4 percent.

2.5 (b) AMENITIES

TRANSPORTATION. Out of 25 villages and 2 towns in the region, only 12 villages are connected by metalled road. Another 122 villages are served by un-metalled road and the remaining 3 villages are approachable only on foot.

Meluri Town is well linked to state capital Kohima. Daily Nagaland State Transport buses are plying between Meluri to Kohima. The other routes where N.S.T. bus services are Meluri to Phek (District Hq.), Meluri to Kiphire (Tuensang district), Meluri to Akhegho and Wezihu. The other villages availing N.S.T. bus services are Akhegho, Kulegho, Wezihu and Meluri. Jeeps and trucks plyed where there is no N.S.T. bus service.

EDUCATION INSTITUTION . There are 3 High Schools and 2 up-graded Primary Schools in Meluri. The other villages having High School are Hutsu, Lephory and Phor. The remaining villages have only up-graded Middle Schools and Primary Schools. Old Thawati is the only village without a School.

MEDICAL . There is only one Primary Health Centre at Meluri town. Dispenseries are located in Phor, Hutsu, Lephory, PhoHungri, Alhegho, Sutsu and Wezihu.

POST AND TELEGRAPH. Regarding Post and telegraph facilities, it is found that this amenity is very poor. Only one sub-post Office is located at Meluri town and 2 branch office at PhoHungri and Wezihu. Telegraphic Communication is not linked at all. The nearest Office is Phet.

WATER SUPPLY. In all the villages drinking water is supplied by tap.

ELECTRICITY. It is so interesting that all the villages have been electrified but unfortunately power supply is very poor and irregular.

MARKETING. The main marketing place is Meluri town. Here all the required consumer goods are available and another marketing place is developed in Wezihu. All the goods are directly ^mported from Dimapur.

2.6. CONCLUDING REMARKS.

In the present chapter an attempt was made to understand various aspects of village economy and society. Sources of information are based on the census of India. Basic facts of Nagaland 1991, and primary source. Census of India provide valuable information and upto date population data since 1971.

Forest plays an important role in the economy of this region. But in the process of Jhum cultivation and lumbering, large portion of forest have been destroyed.

Study of population reveals that population is unevenly distributed, population is increasing steadily and female population is decreasing.

The occupational structure reveals that majority of the population is engaged in agricultural activities. Excepting some road links this region is very poor in most other amenities.

Chapter III

REGIONAL MOSAIC OF THE POCHURIES

3.1. INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT.

History, linguistic and clan diversity are significant features of social composition in Nagaland and it is found to be more complex in the area of Pochury concentration in spite of the fact that it happens to be one of the smallest area inhabited by any tribe. It is this diversification which has led to unification of new tribes among the Nagas. Meanwhile, it could be one of the reasons which encourage an analysis of the social mosaic of this region.

Social mosaic of this tribe may be examined by taking into account the historical, linguistic and clan composition of the tribe and its spatial patterning.

While collecting materials on the subject, author has carried out extensive field survey primarily due to non-availability of source materials and also due to the absence of any reliable contemporary work on this tribe. Field survey was conducted in the form of interview and canvassing of questionnaires.

3.2. HISTORICAL OUTLINE

An understanding of the historical processes of migration, redistribution and response of the Pochuries throws significant light on the nature of spatial interaction within the region. It is generally believed that "Originally Nagas were not known by the names of the tribes as they are known now, but by the name of a group of villages. Gradually, they have settled down to the tribe names as are found now, but still then the process of amalgamation or separation is going on".¹ This statement is supported, in the case of the origin of the names of Naga tribes. In the case of the Pochury as well, a group of people of Naga ethnic type occupied this region since time immemorial, whereas, the name 'Pochury' is of recent formation.

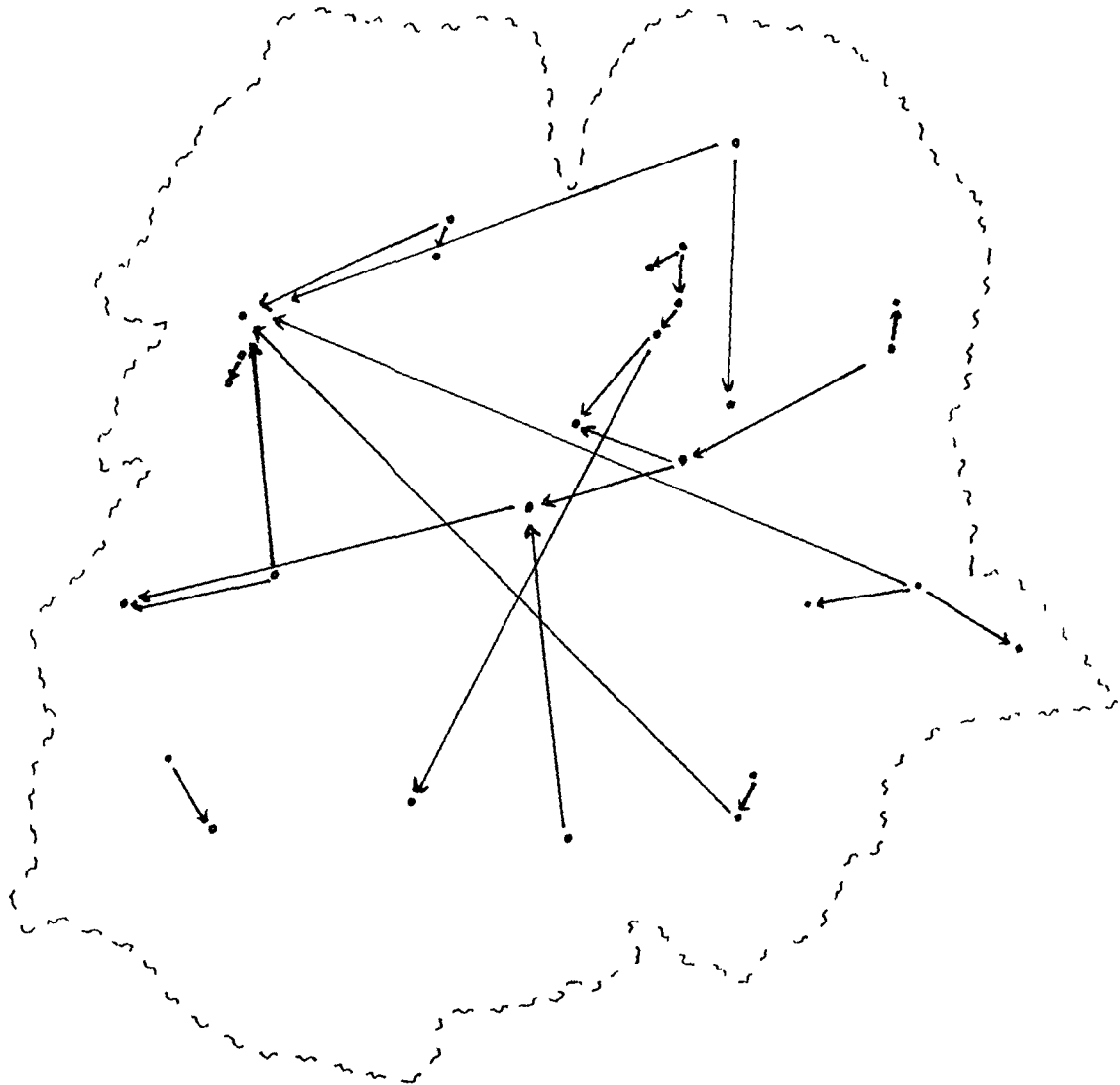
There are eight distinct immigrant groups consisting of the Pochury. They are, Phoyisha, Laruri, Apukahi, Matikhu, Kufi, Avahung and Meluri. All these immigrants have common cultural traits with other Naga tribes. As these groups entered into this region from different directions and at different intervals of time. Each immigrant group has

1. Ghosh, B.B., (1982) History of Nagaland, S.Chand & Company Ltd, New Delhi, p.20.

Fig 3.1

POCHURY

INTRA-REGIONAL REDISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN RECENT TIMES



its own legends and folklores to provide some clues of the route from where they migrated. However, it is not easy to identify the first settlers of this region, because the successive immigrants have assimilated their cultures with early settlers. Recent route of migration are shown in fig. 3.1.²

As far as origin is concerned, excepting Apolsah group, other groups are all believed to have migrated from neighbouring tribes. According to Apolsah legends, people are said to have merged from the earth.

Beside the above immigrant group, there were two villages in this region known as Khury and Kuchu and one immigrant group known as Sapo. Kuchu village was located at the centre part of the region and Khury village located at the eastern part. Sapo immigrants are believed to have migrated from north-western part of Manipur and settled down in the south-eastern part of the region. It is said that due to tribal feud Khury and Kuchu people were dispersed and migrated to nearby villages (to presently settled villages) assimilating their languages and cultural habits with them. This people have lost their languages and cultures, yet their melodious folksong still continue to be

2. Nyusuo, L., (article) History of Pochury, Aluo (magazine). P.P.F., vol. I, August, 1991. Kohima.

very popular throughout the tribe. Thus, linguistically and culturally found to be diverse, still then, they have one common trait on folksong. "The song Pochu Waza is very common among Pochury tribe"¹, which was composed by Kuchu and Khury people. Considering this, the name Pochury was form by taking Po from Sapo, Chu from Kuchu and Ry from Khury². The words meaning Sapo, Kuchu and Khury are not known by the people, as mentioned earlier, speaker of this dialect have already gone out existence.

The historical peculiarities of the formation of the tribe and its redistribution in the area of its present concentration have led to complex interaction among different groups and have resulted in the formation of linguistic regions and clan regions of different types. And attempt is now made to examine the linguistic and clan regions of the Pochuries which form the basis of socio-spatial interaction within the tribe.

3.3 LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION

Out of one town and 26 villages occupied by the Pochury tribe, it is found that 8 distinct dialects are spoken by the people. They are Apolsah dialect, Matihru dialect, Meluri dialect, Phoyisha dialect, Samphom dialect and Avahung dialect.

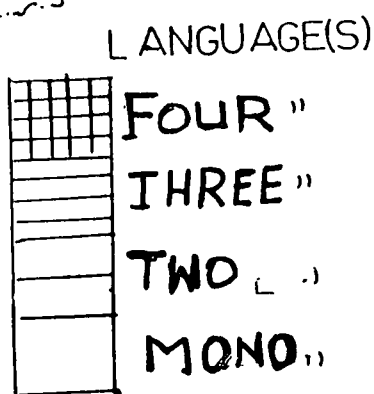
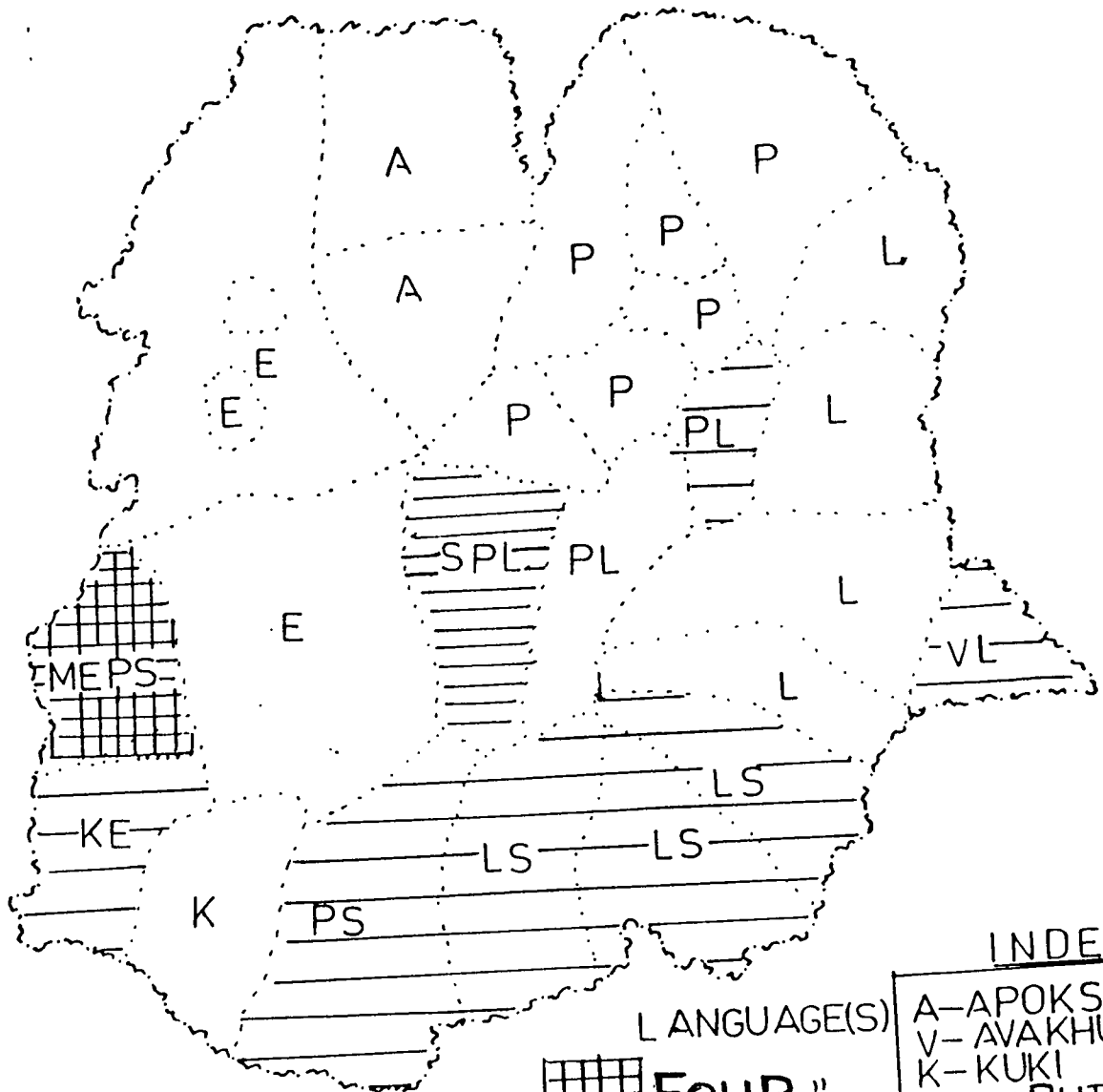
1. Penthuo, P. (Article), The people of Pochury, Pochury Students' Union Annual Magazine, 1983-84, Meluri, p.22.

2. Memorandum Submitted to the Chief Minister of Nagaland By the people of Pochury, 1974, Kohima, p.1.

FIG-3.2

POCHURY

LANGUAGE COMBINATION REGIONS



INDEX

A	-APOKSAH
V	-AVAKHUNG
K	-KUKI
L	-LARUTHVU
M	-MATIKHRU
E	-MELURI
P	-PHOYISHA
S	-SAMPHOR

The fig. 3.2 it is revealed that single dialect is spoken in 16 out of 26 villages whereas two dialects are spoken in 7 other villages. 3 and 4 dialects are in used in Mollen and Matihru villages respectively.

Table 3.1

LANGUAGE COMPOSITION

Language/dialect	No. of villages
1. Apokshah dialect	2
2. Kuli language	2
3. Laruri dialect	11
4. Matihru dialect	1
5. Meluri dialect	5
6. Phoyisha dialect	11
7. Samphori dialect	5
8. Avathung dialect	1

Source : Field survey, 1992

This single largest dialect spoken in 9 villages is Phoyisha dialect, followed by Laruthvu dialect in four other villages, Meluri dialect in 3 villages, Apokshah dialect in 2 villages and Kuli dialect in 2 villages. It is remarkable that Samphori, Matihru and Avathung speakers are seen mixed

up with other linguistic groups. Avathung dialect is originally spoken by the Avathung villagers only. Recently a group of people from this village migrated to Meluri town, and settled down concentrating in a particular colony consisting of 10 to 15 households and continue to speak Avathung dialect.

Kuli speaking population is confined only in Ahen and Kanjang villages. However, in Kanjang they have a mixed-speaker with Meluri group.

Four villages of Laruthvu speakers are found to be speaking Laruthvu dialect; Letsam, Phoyisha, Sutsu and Laruri. However, it is also notice that speakers are spreading to the neighbouring villages of Old Thewati, New Thewati, Moke, Washelo and Zhipu.

Matifhru speakers are not found in any other village in the tribe. They are concentrated only in Matifhru village. The other three dialects, also spoken by this people and it is observed that speaking Matifhru dialect is negligible in the tribe.

Fig. 3.3

POCHURY

CLAN COMBINATION REGION

5 0 5 10 Km.

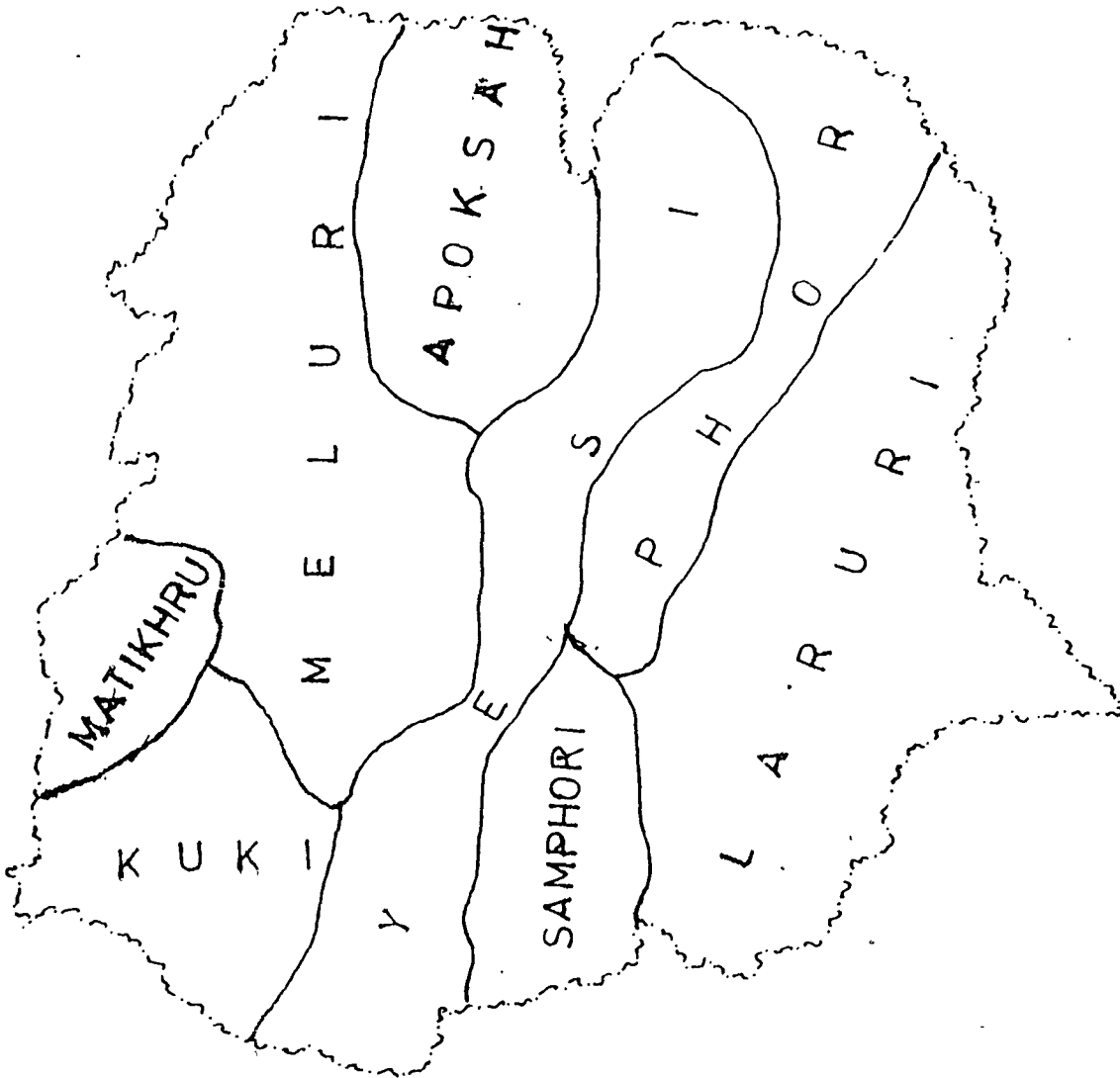


Table 3.2
Pochury
Dialect/Language Combination
(Village-wise)

Villages	Language combination	Languages
Akhegho	one language	Apokseh
Alhen	1 language	Kufi
Avallung	2 language	1.Thachuri 2.Laruri
Hutsu	1 language	Phoyisha
Kanjang	2 language	1.Kufi 2.Meluri
Khumiasu	1 language	Meluri
Kufegho	1 language	Apokseh
Kuzatu	1 language	Phoyisha
Laruri	1 language	Laruri
Lephory	1 language	Meluri
Letsam	1 language	Laruri
Matifiru	4 language	1.Matifiru, 2.Meluri, 3.Samphori, 4.Phoysish
Meluri	1 language	Meluri
Meluri town	-	-
Mole	2 language	1.Phoysisha, 2.Laruri
Mollen	3 language	1.Laruri, 2.Phoysisha, 3.Samphori
New Thewati	2 language	Laruri, Samphori
Old Thewati	1 language	Laruri, Samphori
Phokhungri	1 language	Laruri

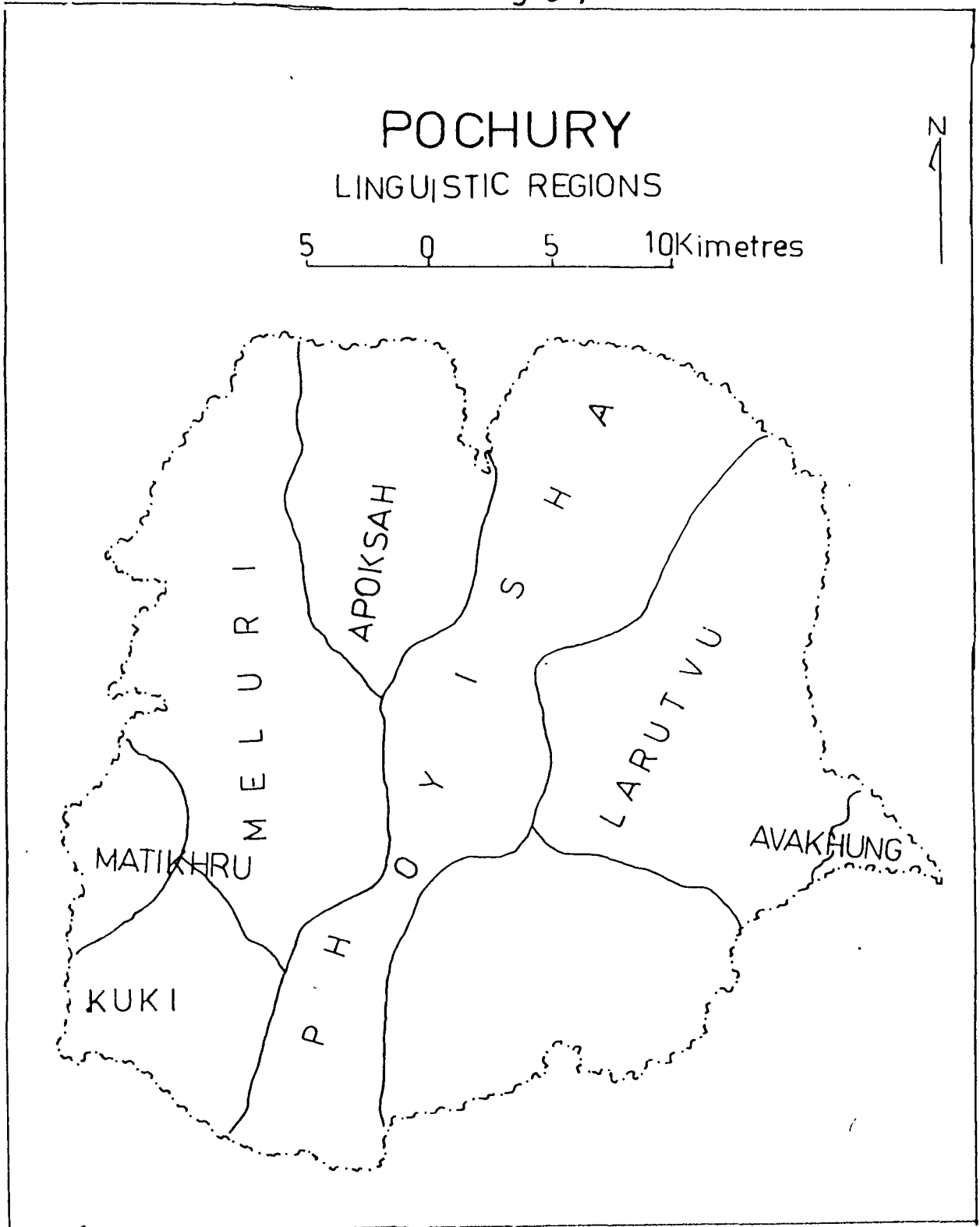
Villages	Language combination	Languages
Phor	1 language	Phoyisha
Reguri	2 language	1.Samphor, 2.Phooyisha
Shatuza	1 language	Phoyisha
Sutsu	1 language	Laruri
Washelo	2 language	1.Laruri, 2.Samphor
Wezihu	1 language	Phoyisha
Yesi	1 language	Phoyisha
Zhipu	2 language	1.Laruri, 2.Phooyisha

Source : Field Survey 1992.

Meluri dialect which is used as the common standard language among the people of this tribe. The two major villages under this group are Lephory and Meluri villages. Khumiasu is the off shoot of Meluri village. The speaker of this language are also noticed in Kanjang and Matihru villages.

The home of Phoyisha speakers are Phor, Yesi, Shatuza, Hutsu, Kuratu and Wezihu. A mixture of this dialect with Laruthvu dialect is seen in Mofe, Mollen and Zhipu, while in Reguri and Matihru it is with another dialect group.

Fig.-3.4



Samdhori dialect is found to be spoken by 6 villages, they are; Reguri, Matikhru, Old Thewati, New Thewati, Washelo and Molen. Though 6 villages this dialect significantly, not even a single village is speaking this dialect in its pure form. In Old Thewati and New Thewati they are assimilated with Laruthvu group, while in Reguri and Molen with Phoyisha speakers.

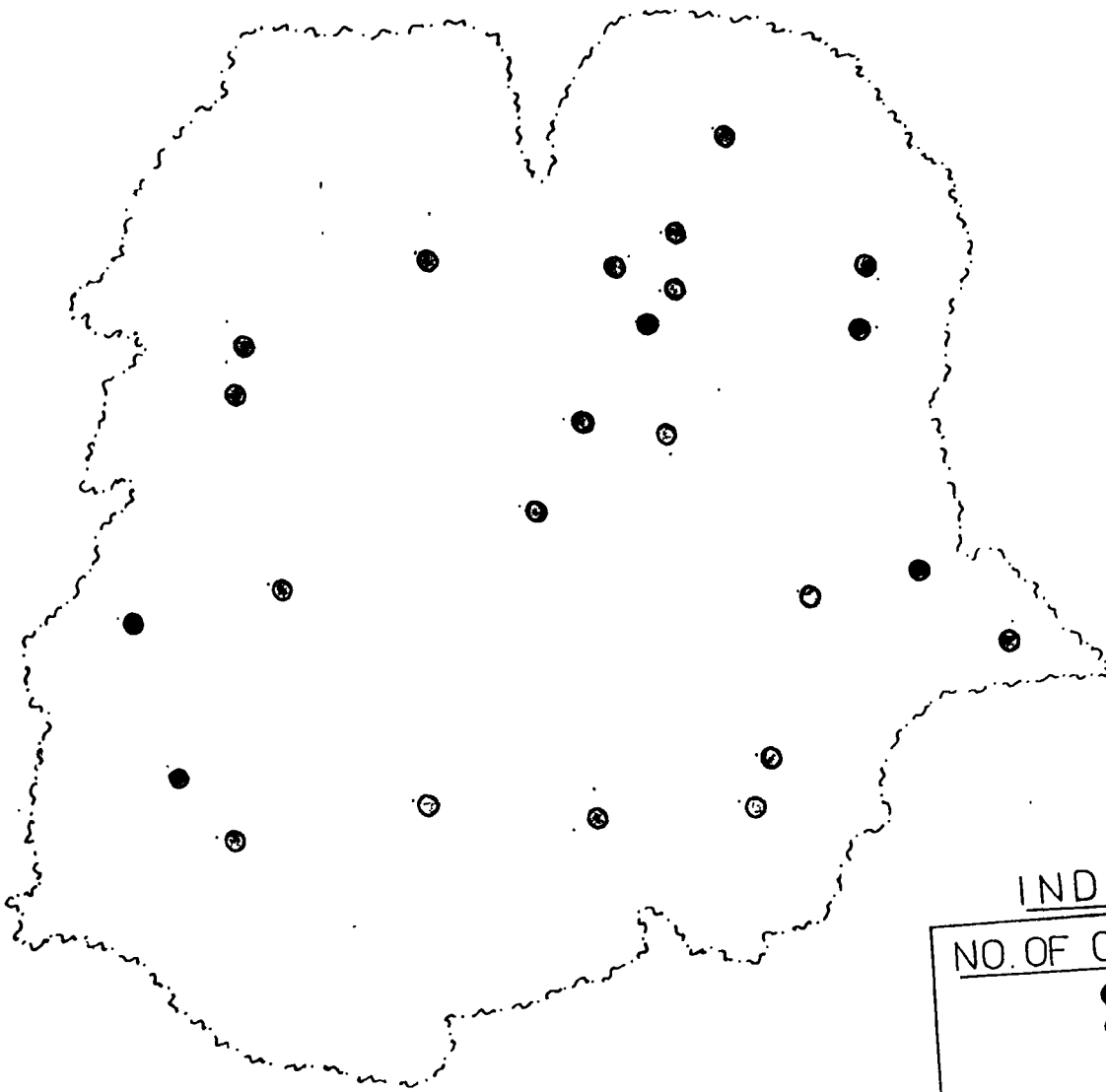
3.4. LINGUISTIC REGIONS

It is clear from the fig. 3.2. that the entire Pochury dominated area can be divided into four broad linguistic zones depending upon the number of languages spoken. In most of the areas in the north, only one language is spoken though at least 4 languages are spoken in different parts. Towards the south, multiplicity of languages spoken in a single villages increases. This is particularly more in the south-eastern part where 4 languages are in a single village. In the central village too, at least three languages are spoken. Elsewhere in the south, at least two languages are prevalent in each of the village indicating a complex social as well as special interaction among the people.

A large number of diverse people are found in this region and there is a high level of variation of dialects and languages. In the north Apotsah speakers are confined to

Fig. 3.5

POCHURY
CLAN COMPOSITION
(VILLAGE-WISE)



INDEX

NO. OF CLANS

- — 2
- ⊙ — 3
- — 4
- — 5
- — 6
- — 7
- — 15

two villages. In the north-west Meluri groups occupied the region and it is extending to the south-west and intermingling with Kuli and Matikhrui speakers.

With contiguous territory, Phoyisha speaking group occupies from north to south. This has acted as a barrier of Apotsali, Meluri, Matikhrui and Kuli from Laruri, Samphori and Avatlung speaking group.

Laruthvu group is dominating the north-eastern region and Samphori group is concentrated in the south-east part of the region (see fig. 3.3).

3.5. CLAN COMPOSITION

There are 57 clans among the Pochuries in Nagaland (detail refer table 3.3). Matikhrui and Akhegho villages with 15 clans each displaying the highest clan composition among the tribe. Kanjang is the only village with 7 clans. Majority of the villages have 2 to 6 clans (table 3.4), representing the population.

Table: 3.3

Clan composition of Pochury tribe.

Sl.No.	Clans	Sl.No.	Clans
1.	Chutlongho	31.	Chidochimai
2.	Tanghonhgo	32.	Yepthumi
3.	Kupongho	33.	Keore
4.	Chuzagho	34.	Wezani
5.	Yanwayugho	35.	Rusumbu
6.	Chuba	36.	Khate
7.	Plusungho	37.	Mizu
8.	Jaghayho	38.	Tsant hure
9.	Zentsegho	39.	Yamputhur
10.	Apot sah	40.	Zethuor
11.	Mingho	41.	Haoloi
12.	Mechujugho	42.	Singson
13.	Tsantsuchigho	43.	Chonloi
14.	Pungho	44.	Haoloi
15.	Ajugho (Jurri)	45.	Fithu/Thurr
16.	Penchungri (Perrri)	46.	Traha
17.	Lezuri	47.	Chaghathu
18.	Lepvuri (Leyri)	48.	Lithsuthu
19.	Jangfuri (Jangri)	49.	Nuzuthu
20.	Satsuri	50.	Yitsuthu
21.	Thevuri/Theghiri	51.	Thuzu
22.	Nenyuri	52.	Thupithurr

Sl.No.	Clans	Sl.No.	Clans
23.	Chuner	53.	Kuputhurr
24.	Nyusou	54.	Jorr
25.	Nyuwi/Nguori	55.	Thuzurr
26.	Tsuori (Kajiri)/Joshu	56.	Actsha
27.	Nyutheri (Katiry)/Nyuthe	57.	Tetar
28.	Pojar/Phoji		
29.	Kami		
30.	Mithsonutsa		

Source : Field Survey, 1992.

Clans are divided into 8 groups based on linguistic affinities they are Apotsah, Laruthvu, Matihirhu, Meluri, Kufi, Phor, Samphori and Yesi (fig. 3.3).

Under Apotsah groups clans are Chukhongho, Tsanghogho, Kupongho, Chuzagho, Zhangwanzhugho, Chuba, Phusongho, Chaghagho, Apotsah, Mingho, Hichujugho, Tsenchijugho, Pungho and Ajugho.

Laruri group consisting of 6 clans, Lepvuri, Penchungri, Jankruri, Thevuri, Shetsuri and Lezuri. It is observed that Avankhug speaking group has merged with Laruthvu speaking group as they do not have any distinct clan names.

The following clans fall under Matikhru group. They are Komi, Mithomutsa, Chidochimi, Keore, Wezomi, Rusumbu, Khate and Mizu. These clans are not found in any other part of the tribe.

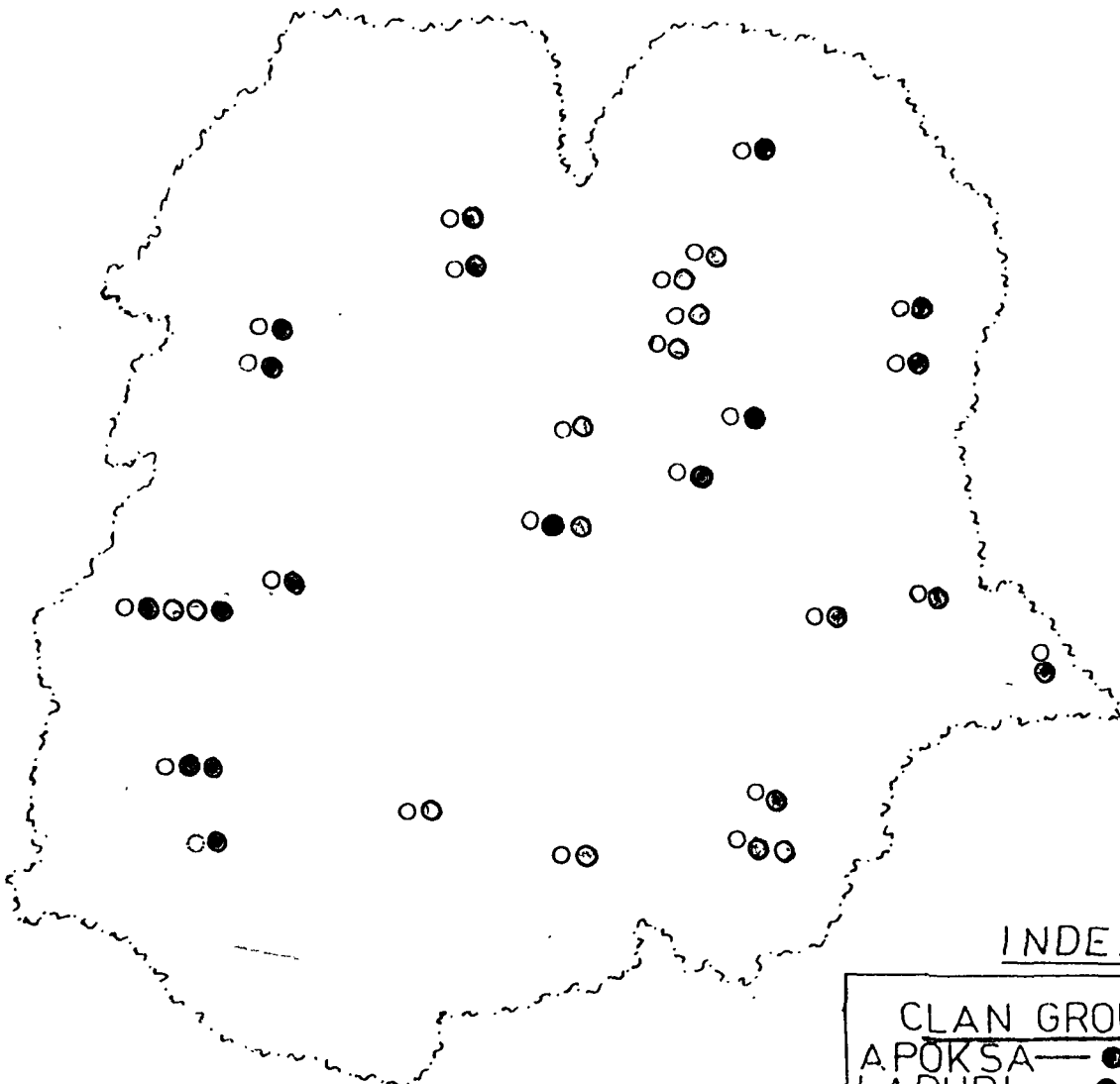
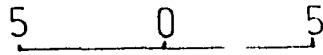
The share of Meluri group is 5 clans, Nyuthe, Nyusou, Nyuwu/Nguori, Phoji/ Pojar and Joshu/ Tsuori. Under Kuki group, Singson, Haokip, Chonloi, and Haoloi.

Significantly, under Phoyishah linguistic group, it is found that names of clans are entirely different. Thus, it is grouped into Yesi and Phor. Clans under Phor are Thurr, Thupithurr, Kuputhurr, Jorr and Thuzurr. While under Yesi are Fithu, Thiraha, Chaghathu, Muzuthu, Lusuthu, Yitsuthu and Thuzu.

Samphori group have only three clans, Actsha, Tsankhure, and Yamputhur. Figure 3.5 reveals that Matikhru village is having highest combination with clan groups. They are Meluri group, Samphori group, Yesi and Matikhru groups. It is also seen in other 3 villages within two clan combination. In Kanjang village Kuki and Meluri groups, Mollen, Phor and Yesi groups, while in New Ithewati it is Laruri and Samphori. The rest of the villages have no clan combination.

POCHURY

CLAN GROUP COMBINATION
(VILLAGE-WISE)



INDEX

CLAN GROUPS.	
APOKSA	●
LARURI	●
MATIKHRU	●
MELURI	●
KUKI	●
PHOR	●
SAMPHORI	○
YESI	○

Table: 3.4

VILLAGE WISE CLAN COMPOSITION

1. <u>Alhegho</u>	9. <u>Laruri Village</u>	18. <u>Phothungri village</u>
1. Chuba	1. Lepvuri (Leyri)	1. Lezuri
2. Apolsali	2. Penchungri (Perrri)	2. Penchungri
3. Chukhogho	3. Janghruri (Jangri)	3. Theghiri
4. Tsanghogho	4. Thevuri	4. Janghruri (Jangri)
5. Chukhogho	5. Shetsuri	5. Nenyuri
6. Kupungho	6. Lezuri	6. Satsali
7. Yanwayuhgho	10. <u>Lephori Village</u>	19. <u>Phoi Village</u>
8. Fusungho	1. Nyuthery (Katiry)	1. Thurr
9. Jaghagho	2. Joshu	2. Thupithurr
10. Zemtsegho	3. Porer	3. Kuputhurr
11. Mingho	11. <u>Letsam Village</u>	4. Jori
12. Mechichugho	1. Thevuri	5. Thucurr
13. Tsontsuchugho	2. Penchungri	20. <u>Reguri Village</u>
14. Pungho	12. <u>Matihhu Village</u>	1. Fithu
15. Ajugho	1. Nyuthery	2. Traha
2. <u>Ahen Village</u>	2. Pojar/Phoji	3. Chaghathu
1. Choloi	3. Nyusou	21. <u>Satura Village</u>
2. Hauloi	4. Kami	1. Traha
3. Haokip	5. Mithomutsa	2. Fithu
3. <u>Avathung Village</u>	6. <u>Joshu</u>	3. <u>Lusuthu</u>
1. Thavuri	7. Chidochimi	4. Chaghathu
2. Penchungri	8. Keore	5. Yithsuthu
4. <u>Hutsu Village</u>	9. Wezami	6. Thuzu
1. Fithu	10. Rusumbu	22. <u>Sutsu Village</u>
2. Traha	11. Khate	1. Lepvuri (Leyri)
3. Chaghathu	12. Mizu	2. Penchungri (Perrri)
4. Lutsuplu	13. Thsanthure	3. Shatsali
5. Muzuthu	14. Yampathur	4. Thevuri
6. Aghe	15. Traha	5. Lezuri

VILLAGE WISE CLAN COMPOSITION

- | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 5. <u>Kanjang Village</u> | 13. <u>Mejuri Village</u> | 23. <u>Wasahelo Village</u> |
| 1. Singson | 1. Nyuthe | 1. Zethure |
| 2. Chunloi | 2. Nyusou | 2. Yamputhure |
| 3. Haoloi | 3. Tsuori (Kajiri) | 24. <u>Warihu Village</u> |
| 4. Haolip | 4. Nguori/Nyuwi | 1. Fithu |
| 5. Katiry | 5. Phoji | 2. Traha |
| 6. Pojar | | 3. Chaghathu |
| 7. Joshu | 14. <u>Mole Village</u> | 4. Thuzu |
| 6. <u>Khumiasu Village</u> | 1. Thurr | 5. Litsuthu |
| 1. Nyusou | 2. Thupithurr | 6. Yitsuthu |
| 2. Nyuthe | 15. <u>Mollen Village</u> | 25. <u>Yesi Village</u> |
| 3. Nyuwi/Nguori | 1. Thurr | 1. Fithu |
| 4. Tsuori (Katiri) | 2. Thupithurr | 2. Traha |
| 5. Phoji | 3. Fithu | 26. <u>Zipu Village</u> |
| | 16. <u>New Thewati</u> | 1. Alshia |
| 7. <u>Kuleghu village</u> | 1. Thevuri | 2. Fithu |
| 1. Chunthongho | 2. Penchungri | |
| 2. Tsanthongho | 3. Tsanthuri | |
| 3. Yanwahyugho | 4. Chuneru | |
| 4. Chuba | 17. <u>Old Thewati Village</u> | |
| 5. Apot sah | 1. Chuneru | |
| 8. <u>Kuzatu Village</u> | 2. Thevuri | |
| 1. Fithu | | |
| 2. Traha | | |

SOURCE: FIELD SURVEY, 1992

3.6. CLAN REGION

Based on the clan composition of the villages at least 8 regions may be identified as clan composition region in this tribe. these are Apofsha clan region, Laruri clan region, Matikhru clan region, Meluri clan region, Kufi clan region, Phor clan region, Samphori clan region and Yesi clan region.

Apofsha region consisting of two villages is noticed to be concentrated in the north-west part of the tribe bordering Meluri in the west and Yesi in the east.

Laruri region occupies the whole of eastern part and have 7 villages within it. Matikhru region is confined only in the small pocket of western most part in the tribe.

Meluri region occupies western part with a total number of 4 villages. While Kufi group concentrated at the extreme south-west part. Yesi clan region with a contiguous villages of Yesi, Hutsu, Shatuza, Wezihu, Kuzatu and Reguru stretches from extreme north to extreme south. Phor region extend from north to centre part of the region. And lastly, Samphori region is seen towards the south of the region (see fig. 3.6.).

3.7. CONCLUDING REMARKS

From historical account it is revealed that the concept of tribalism and cultural traits acted as the mechanism of forming regional mosaic of the Pochury dominated areas.

The highest language level interaction among Pochuries is indicated within Laruri, Samphori and Phoyisha speakers. The whole of north-east, south-east and central part are dominated by this speakers. However, the two most dominant languages are Laruthvu and Phoyisha, consisting of 11 villages each. While Samphori speaker is minor and is always a combination with Phoyisha and Laruthvu groups.

The degree of interaction through language level is nil in the case of Apokseh group. Meluri speaker dominating over 5 villages in the westernⁿ part is obvious. These speakers interacting with Matikhru and Kanjang group is seen.

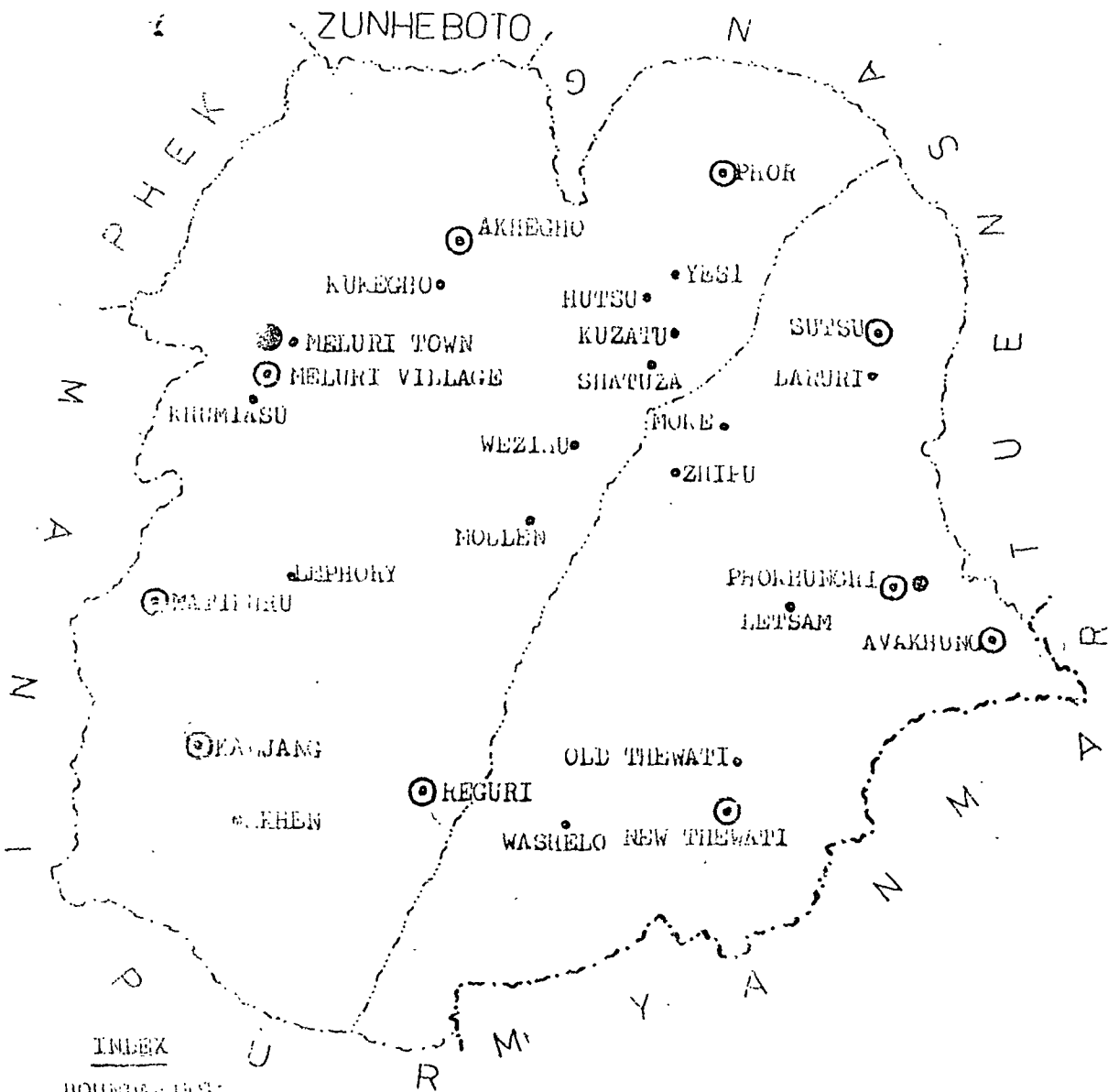
Matikhru and Avakhung speaking population is found to be negligible.

In this region clan multiplicity is noticed to be very high with 57 clans consisting the tribe. Alhegho and Matikhru villages indicate the highest villagewise clan composition.

Fig.

LOCATION: SAMPLE VILLAGES

5 0 5 Kilometres



INDEX

BOUNDARIES:

- INTERNATIONAL.....
- STATE.....
- DISTRICT.....
- CIRCLE.....

- SUB-DIVISIONAL HQ. ... ●
- CIRCLE HQ. ○
- SAMPLE VILLAGES..... ⊙
- SETTLEMENTS..... •

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL MOSAIC AND SPATIAL INTERACTION

4.1 INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT

In this chapter, an attempt is made to examine the nature of spatial interaction among the Pochuries in relation to the ecological setting, economic activity and social interaction. The analysis is based on field data collected at household level in sample villages. The main objective of this chapter is to get an insight into the very basis Spatial interaction of small tribes living in inhospitable highland areas. The analysis is made with reference to the ecological setting of the sample villages, the work structure of the population, their demographic characteristics, marriage network, educational structure and language structure.

4.2 ECOLOGICAL SETTING

The influence of physiography on the people of this region has led to difference in distribution of population, agricultural practice, social life, settlement pattern etc. The physiography of ten selected villages varies from village to village. The highest elevation is found at

Kanjang at 1,957 mts above the sea level and the lowest elevation is at Sutsu village located at 889mt.¹ from the sea level. Generally speaking, the climate is humid tropical and marked by two seasons, namely winter and rainy season². There are five ranges running parallel to each other where most of the settlements are situated. They are Ngazipfu, Kamalay, Riejisuo, Zhupuhu and Apoksah. Akhegho and Meluri villages are situated at the altitude of 1,118 mt. and 1,314 mt. above the means sea level. These two villages are located on the gentle slope hill tops of Apoksah and Riejisuo range, bounded by rugged terrain mountain in the north, the elevation of the mountains tops are 4210 mt. which lie higher than the village elevation provide sufficient drinking water. Toward the south-east the nature of relief is gentle slope and it extends to the Tizu river. Soil with a high clay and silt content promote agriculture activities. On hill tops and slops jhuming is practiced and in the valleys and the low lands, permanent wet-cultivation is the rule. Though the practice of jhuming and lumbering cause a heavy felling of trees there are certain factors which help the continuous flourish of forest due to the

1. SURVEY OF INDIA TOPOSHEET NO.83 K.MANIKUMAR & NAGALAND, KOHIMA.

2. Govt. of Nagaland Directorate of Geology and Mining-Progress Report for the field Season, 1969-70, p-3.

presence of silt in the soil, tropical rainfall and the temperate climate. Pines, Oaks, Goosebery, Mango, Orchid, Bamboo are the most prevailing species of flora. Matikhru Kanjang and Reguri villages are situated in Kamalay range. The prevalence of hard-wood like pines and bonsum encourage the people for lumbering. As these villages lie in between Tizu and Arajū rivers, Wet-paddy cultivation is practiced in the river valleys, which provide sufficient product of rice for the population of these villages.

New Thewati, Phokhungri and Avankhung villages are situated at an elevation of 1400 mt. above the mean sea level. Majority of the areas is covered by forest. Pine and firn are the common species of flora.

Phor is situated on the slope of Zhupuhu range. Like other villages in the low lands and valleys wet-paddy field is common and jhuming in the mountain slopes are generally practiced. Phor and Sutsu villages are situated on the slope of Zhupuhu range. Department of Geology and Mining of the state Government during the last decade have discovered promising deposits of limestone having considerable economic potentials in these two villages.

The early arrival of road in Meluri and Akhegho villages in particular has been responsible for a large parts of forests being lost due to lumbering. Timbers were

partly used for local consumption for construction of houses, furnitures etc. and partly supplied to the other parts of the world. At present, there is hardly any mature wood found in the forest, excepting some parts where it is not accessible at all, as the nature of hills are too rugged and steep to permit deforestation.

Of the current time, Phokhungri, Kanjang, Matikhru, Phor, Sutsu, Reguri and New Thewati in all the accessible and nearby roads, trees are randomly felled as logs and timber and supplying to the industrial centres. If the destruction continues at this rate, it is obvious that within a short period of time forested areas of the region may be turned into bare lands. Table 4.1 reveals forest cover of about 60 percent in Avakhung and 75 percent in Rguri, the area of village is large and practice of jhuming by thinly populated does not cause much destruction of forest and thus forested area remain by and large intact. Moreover, due to the lack of road communication and remoteness, the forest remain unexploited.

Out of the 10 selected villages, 8 villages have permanent wet-paddy cultivation, while Avankhung and Akhegho villages continue with the age old jhum cultivation (see

Table 4.1.
ECOLOGICAL ATTRIBUTES

VILLAGES	NO.OF HOUSE- HOLDS	POPUL- ATION	ALTITUDE (METRES)	TOTAL AREA* (HECTARS)	FOREST (%)	WET CULT(%)	JHUM (%)
AKHEGHO	217	1033	1118	6500	46.28	51.34	48.66
AVAKHUNG	16	71	1410	2000	86.15	56.76	43.24
KANJANG	53	377	1957	1600	69.63	22.79	77.21
MATIKHRU	63	333	1340	2000	67.9	23.08	76.92
MELURI	356	1679	1158	10000	27.52	37.5	62.5
NEW THEWATI	37	189	1450	2000	73.3	33.33	66.67
PHOKHUGRI	90	511	1450	3800	66.32	33.33	66.67
PHOR	138	812	1450	3800	48.37	33.33	66.67
REGURI	68	333	1350	2800	75.0	24.86	75.19
SUTSU	45	271	889	3500	76.57	44.44	55.56

* All areas are approximate.

4.3 DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE

From the table no. 4.2 it revealed that in Matikhru, New Thewati and Reguri villages, the infant and adolescent age group (0 - 15) are more than the working age group (16 - 60). While in Akhegho, Avakhung, Phokungri, Phor and Sutsu villages, the working age group is more than the infant and the adolescents. The population in the age group 60+ constitute the lowest proportion of the population in all the 10 villages.

Table 4.2

AGE, SEX RATIO, DEPENDENCY AND CHILD- WOMEN RATIO

Villages	Infant Adolecent 0 - 15 %	Working age group 16 - 60 %	Old 60+(%)	Sex ratio Female per 1000 Males	Dependency ratio	Child-Woman ratio
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Akhegho	42.67	55.63	1.71	1049	80	19
Avankhung	39.71	54.41	5.88	838	84	15
Kanjang	48.04	45.25	6.70	1034	83	15
Matikhru	50.00	17.34	2.66	1022	111	14
Meluri	48.61	48.61	2.79	913	107	11
New Thewati	50.93	44.44	4.63	862	104	11
Phokhungri	47.44	50.96	1.60	962	96	21
Phor	45.24	52.38	2.38	862	91	10
Reguri	55.50	42.20	2.29	863	125	20
Sutsu	45.38	50.42	4.20	831	98	20

SOURCE : FIELD SURVEY, 1992

The sex ratio of female in Akhegho, Kanjang and Matikhru, female population exceeds that of the men population and in the remaining seven villages male population out numbers female population.

Table 4.2 shows that the highest ratio of dependence is found in Reguri, at 111.24 per cent and the lowest in Akhegho, 879.75 per cent. The ratio of dependence in

Table 4.3

Work Structure

Villages	<u>Working Population (%)</u>		Cultivations F	Govt. Service (%)	Business (%)	Total Working Popn.	
	Total	M					
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Akhegho	51.54	25.59	25.93	89.08	7.95	2.31	151
Avankhung	54.41	26.47	27.94	94.59	5.41	0	37
Kanjang	37.98	18.43	19.55	91.18	7.35	2.63	68
Matikhru	34.57	17.02	17.55	90.23	7.69	2.08	65
Meluri	43.81	21.29	22.52	77.35	21.37	1.27	393
New Thewati	40.74	20.37	20.37	86.36	9.09	4.55	44
Phokhungri	44.23	20.51	23.72	86.23	12.32	1.45	138
Phor	49.52	25.24	24.29	84.61	13.46	1.92	104
Reguri	41.28	18.81	22.48	92.22	3.33	4.44	90
Sutsu	49.58	26.50	23.98	85.75	11.17	3.08	59

SOURCE : FIELD SURVEY, 1992

Employees as the Office of Area Superintendent is located here and Phokhungri (12.32%) village have Extra Assistant Commissioner Post. Further, table 4.3 reveals that people carry on little trade and business either among themselves or outside. New Thewati and Reguri show the highest number of persons involved in business. These two villages bordering Myanmar a most favourable location for business. Reguri village is well known for buffalo trading.

Matikhru, Meluri and New Thewati is between 103 and 112 and in Avankhung, Kanjang, Phokungri, Phor and Sutsu between 80 and 100. The table further reveals that in Akhegho, Avankhung, Kanjang, Phokhungri, Reguri and Sutsu villages, child-women ratio is between 20 and 22, and in Matikhru, Meluri, New Thewati and Phor villages the ratio is between 10 and 15.

4.4 WORK STRUCTURE

Table 4.3 shows that majority of the working population are Cultivators. The highest proportion of cultivators is noticed in Avakhung village (94.52%) followed by Reguri village (92.22%). Akhegho, Kanjang, Matikhru, New Thewati, Phokhungri, Phor and Sutsu villages have above 80 per cent of its working population as cultivators. Meluri village (77.35%) situated close to the urban area has the lowest percentage of cultivators. The comparative table reveals that Meluri has the highest (21.37%) percentage of persons engaged in Government service compared to other villages. It is obvious as the Meluri village is situated very close to the urban centre providing maximum educational facilities and better chance of getting into government services. Localisation of government administration centres on the other hand provides opportunity to local people to avail Govt. service, as for instance, Phor (13.46%) has the second highest proportion of govt.

From Pansa, Shira and Laiyun (villages in Myanmar) buffaloes are brought and distributed to all the villages in the region. The other commodities brought are including stones, drugs and Aghor.

It is interesting to note that even in the remotest villages shops are run by Marwaris as the people of this region do not realise the benefit of trade and business yet.

Table 4.4

Place of Work

Villages	Within the Village	Within the Region	Within Nagaland	Outside Nagaland	Total Worker Working outside the village
1	2	3	4	5	6
Akhegho	96.69	1.99	1.32	0	3.31
Avakhung	97.29	2.70	0	0	2.70
Kanjang	98.76	3.88	1.88	0.47	6.23
Matikhru	98.53	1.54	0	0	1.54
Meluri	94.15	3.05	2.54	.25	5.84
New Thewati	97.73	2.27	0	0	2.27
Phokhungri	94.20	2.90	2.17	.75	5.82
Phor	93.27	1.93	3.85	.96	6.74
Reguri	97.78	2.22	0	0	2.22
Sutsu	94.92	5.08	3.39	1.69	10.16

SOURCE : FIELD SURVEY, 1992

The largest proportion of the workers are confined within the village. It is notice from table 3.4 that in all the selected villages above 90% of the workers are working within the village. In Kanjang, Meluri, Phokhungri, Phor and Sutsu villages, workers moving outside the region and outside Nagaland is observed.

Sutsu village show the highest proportion of workers working outside the vilage (10.16%), followed by Phor (6.74%), Kanjang (6.23%), Meluri (5.84%), Phokhungri (5.82%) and the remaining villages with negligible of below 3 per cent.

4.5 MARRIAGE STRUCTURE

Marriage perhaps is the most important parameter of social interaction that takes place over space. Marriage fields, in more senses than one, define the spatial manifestation of social interaction in any social group. Traditionally, marriage within the same clan is practiced in Phor, Reguri, and Kanjang villages. While it is strictly restricted in Akhegho, Avankhung, Matikhru, Meluri, Phokhungri, New Thewati and Sutsu villages.

Table 4.5

Place of Marriage

Villages	No. of Married Persons			Percentage	place within the Village	of within the region	Marriage (%) outside
	T	M	F				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Akhegho	128	63	65	43.69	96.89	1.56	1.56
Avankhung	31	16	15	45.59	87.10	9.68	0
Kanjang	61	31	30	34.10	85.26	16.13	12.90
Matikhru	58	30	28	30.85	82.76	10.34	6.90
Meluri	242	171	171	26.98	92.56	4.13	3.31
New Thewati	41	19	22	37.96	87.80	6.17	0
Phokhungri	106	54	52	33.97	94.34	5.66	0
Phor	71	35	36	33.81	92.96	4.23	2.82
Reguri	74	37	37	33.94	95.95	4.05	0
Sutsu	50	25	25	42.02	96.00	6.00	2.00

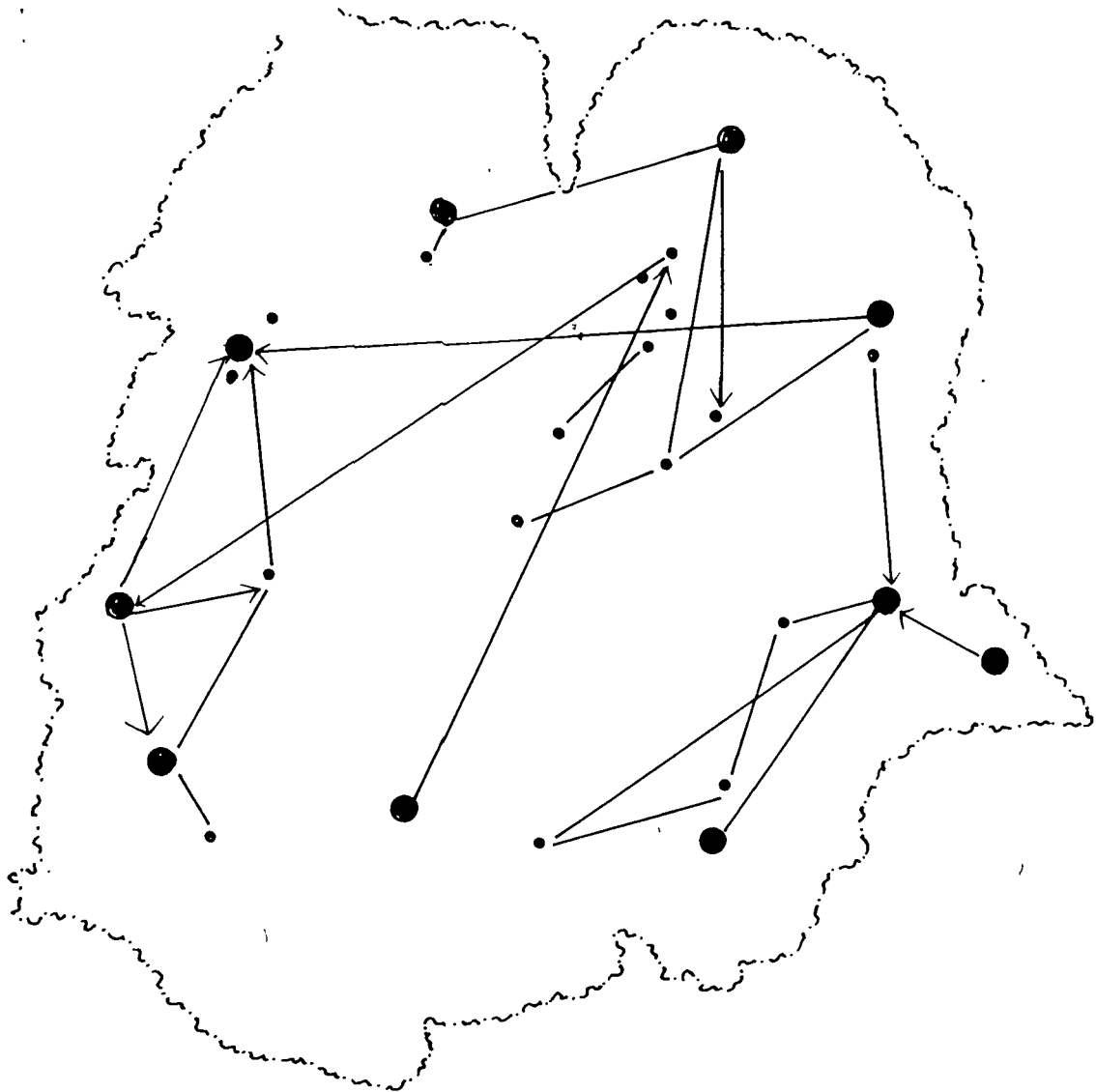
SOURCE : FIELD SURVEY, 1992

Table No 4.5 reveals that marriage takes place mostly within the villages. Kanjang village and Matikhru village record the highest number of person marrying out side which constitute 29.02% and 17.24% of all marriages respectively. Akhegho and Meluri villages are found to have the lowest inter-village marriages. It is also observed that marriages

Fig-4-1

POCHURY

INTER-MARRIAGE LINKAGE



● SAMPLE VILLAGES

within the village is taking place in the village with very large size of population and marrying outside is relatively more common in villages having small population size.

Further figure No.4.1. shows that Matikhru village has the maximum inter-village linkage through marriage. This village both receives and sends boys and girls to and from other villages. On the other hand, Sutsu village only sends girls to Meluri and Phokhungri. Akhegho village is noticed to have marriages taking place with neighbouring villages of Meluri and Kukegho. Phokhungri village received only boys from neighbouring villages as well as from far off villages.

4.6 EDUCATION STRUCTURES

Increasing spread of literacy and eagerness to avail higher education eventually leads to greater spatial interaction through mobility as facilities of education tend to get localized. Patterns of literacy reveals to be significantly high in most villages, four villages having above 70 percent of literate person. Matikhru village, with 88.10 per cent literate population records the highest level of literacy followed by Sutsu with 79.59 percent, Kanjang with 73.68 percent, Phor with 70.49 percent and Phokhungri with 69.84 percent literate population. The lowest literacy rate of 40.68 percent is recorded at Avakhung village.

The higher literacy rate, however, does not indicate similar levels of education. Majority of the literates fall under the Primary and High School level of education (Table No.4.6). Meluri village, with 7.8 per cent literate above Matric has the highest proportion of educated persons. Avakhung, New Thewari and Reguri villages do not have even a single person to have passed matric.

Table 4.6

Educational Level

Villages	Population Above 5 Years			Literate (%)	Below Primary (%)	Primary to H.S	Matric & Above	Literate		
	T	M	F					T	M	F
Akhegho	259	133	126	51.74	40.30	58.21	1.49	134	84	50
Avankhung	59	33	26	40.68	75.00	25.00	0	24	15	9
Kanjang	52	73	79	73.68	22.32	74.11	3.57	112	57	55
Matikhru	68	85	83	88.10	19.59	77.70	2.70	148	77	71
Meluri	789	206	383	65.27	19.03	71.84	7.18	515	296	219
New Thewati	92	47	45	48.91	40.00	60.00	0	45	24	21
Phokhungri	262	136	126	69.84	28.42	70.49	1.09	183	107	76
Phor	183	96	87	70.49	18.60	74.42	5.43	129	75	54
Reguri	180	96	84	59.44	33.64	66.36	0	107	60	47
Sutsu	98	53	45	79.59	28.21	66.67	5.13	78	48	30

SOURCE : FIELD SURVEY, 1992

Table 4.7

PLACE OF STUDY

Villages	Within the Village(%)	Within the region(%)	Within Nagaland(%)	Outside Nagaland(%)
1	2	3	4	5
Akhegho	92.54	10.72	1.40	0
Avakhung	58.72	41.28	0	0
Kanjang	89.29	8.09	1.79	0
Matikhru	83.78	12.16	4.04	0
Meluri	92.23	0	5.63	2.14
New thewati	66.67	33.33	0	0
Phokhungri	89.62	8.74	1.64	0
Phor	79.07	13.19	6.97	0.78
Reguri	64.49	35.51	0	0
Sutsu	85.90	11.54	1.56	1.0

SOURCE : FIELD SURVEY, 1992

Majority of the literate obtains their education within the village itself. It is noticed (Table No.4.7) that Avakhung, New Thawati and Reguri villages have the highest proportion of students studying outside the village, but within the region, the reason is, in their villages only primary level education is available hence, they are forced to move to nearest village where higher level of education is available.

Geographical, economic, communication and standard of school factors play an important role in the attainment of education in the villages. Majority of the villages are situated in the remote area with meagre population. It is difficult to establish school in all the villages. Generally, people are economically backward and parents cannot afford their children to study in the urban centres where proper education facilities are available. Consequently, children are compelled to read mostly in their own village schools and some in schools of the neighbouring villages. Besides, lack of efficient communication and low standard school are the other drawbacks for the villages. These are the reasons of high literacy rate and low proportion of high level education.

Moreover, proportion of the literate segment outside the region but within Nagaland is comparatively low. The highest proportion is seen in Phor which is only 6.97 per cent followed by Meluri with 5.63 per cent of the literate population. The entire literate population in Avakhung, New Thewati, and Reguri villages has educated itself within the region. The share of literate population which educated outside Nagaland is negligible. Meluri village shows the highest population (2.14%) followed by Sutsu (1.00%) & Phor (0.78%). The reasons are, thus, people are economically backward and thus they are probably constrained by financial problems. A few students get privilege to pursue further studies outside the region only after crossing matric standard. It can be noted that mostly students reading outside are above matric level only. Another significant reason may be lack of awareness for higher education which restricts the population within the region.

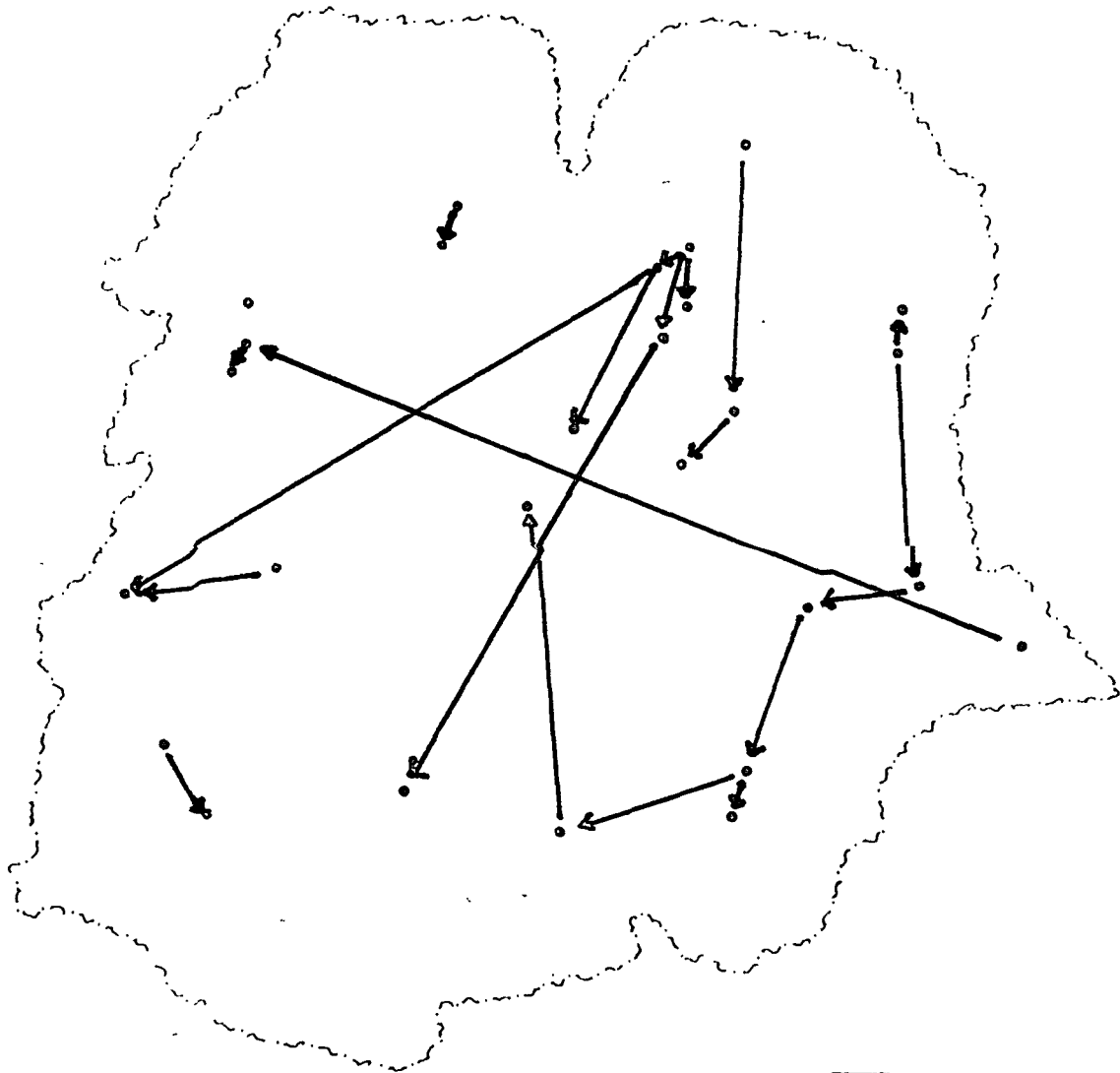
4.8. LANGUAGE STRUCTURE

Linguistic composition of any area reflects the degree of inter-mixing of diverse people of diverse origin and may be considered as an important parameter for spatial

79 80

FIG. 4.2

POCHURY MIGRATORY ROUTE



IMMIGRANTS

- | | | |
|----------|-------|---|
| APOKSAH | — | → |
| AVAKHUNG | - - - | → |
| KUKI | — | → |
| LARURI | — | → |
| MATIKHRU | — | → |
| MELURI | — | → |
| PHOYISHA | — | → |
| SAMPHORI | — | → |

interaction. Out of 10 selected villages for the present study, 5 villages are found speaking a single dialect, in four other villages two dialects are in use and four dialects are spoken in one more village. The single dialect villages are Akhegho (Apoksah dialect), Meluri (Meluri dialect), Phor (Phoyisha dialect), Phokhungri and Satsu (Laruthvu dialect). Two dialects spoken villages are Avakhung (Avakhung dialect and Laruthvu dialect), Kanjang (Kuki and Muleri dialects), New Thawati (Laruthvu and Samphori dialects) and Reguri (Phoyisha dialect). Only village with four dialects is Matikhru (Meluri, Matikhru, Phoyisha and Samphori dialects).

It is observed that villages speaking single dialect are first settled and are old villages. Number of household and population also larger than that of the mix-dialect villages. This is one of the factors that the village maintain to speak single dialect. It is now evident that more than one dialect speaking villages are recently established villages. For instance, Reguri village they are migrated from two directions consisting of two immigrant groups. One from Phoyisha group and the other from samphori group. The original home of these immigrants are Yesi village of Phoyisha and Phokhungri village of Samphori group (see figure 4.2). With small number of population and different

dialects groups are the main factors of presenting more than one dialect. As discussed in earlier chapter equally smaller population always tends to encourage maintaining own mother tongue. Since it does not help to assimilate one dialect to another dialect group.

Besides the above reasons, Matikhru village has a unique reason of having four dialects, that is, in 1946, all the male population has been masacred by the Indian Army¹, during Naga National Council (NNC) movement. Hence, from every direction male population migrated to this village and thus different dialect groups gathered gradually and consequently four dialects spoken group piled up in this village.

In the Churches local dialects and tribe's common language is used in all the villages. In the schools it is taught in English.

In Matikhru village 58.23 percent of the population knows four or more languages. It is only 20 per cent in Akhegho, New Thewati, Phokhungri, Phor, Reguri and Sutsu villages. While in Avakhung, Kanjang and Meluri villages only between 10 and 20 percent of the population is multi-lingual. Majority of the villages are found to be bi and tri-linguist.

Geographical location and diverse linguistic present in the region itself has influenced the people to learn more dialects.

Table 4.8
LANGUAGE STRUCTURE

VILLAGES	DIALECT INSIDE THE FAMILY	DIALECT IN THE CHURCH	DIALECT IN THE SCHOOL	MONO LINGU- ISTIC	LANGUAGES KNOWN (%)		
					BI- LINGU- ISTIC	TRI- LINGU- ISTIC	MULTI- LINGU -ISTIC
AKHEGHO	A	A.M.	AE	21.71	23.53	25.94	28.83
AVAKHUNG	T.L	L.M	LE	31.61	43.87	9.68	14.84
KANJANG	K.M	KM	KE	27.46	30.12	17.62	10.81
MATIKHRU	Mh.M.S.P	M	ME	6.57	18.57	16.57	58.29
MELURI	M	M	ME	19.76	34.13	26.23	19.88
NEW THEWATI	L.S.	L.S.N	LSE	6.67	23.33	31.67	21.66
PHOKHUGRI	L	LM	LE	25.81	34.37	16.88	22.94
PHOR	P	PM	PE	20.95	22.95	28.13	26.99
REGURI	P.S	P.M	PE	28.35	27.84	20.10	23.71
SUTSU	L	LM	LE	30.61	23.47	20.20	25.71

SOURCE : FIELD SURVEY, 1992

4.9. CONCLUDING STATEMENT

The preceding analysis revealed that the pattern of spatial interaction continues to be limited within the region itself having very little interaction with the outside. The primary reasons for this restricted interaction appears to be rooted in a subsistence nature of the highland economy, generally low level of dependency, lack of awareness for higher education, low level of unemployment and agrarian or pre-agrarian modes of economy as well as historical factors.

However, intra-regional interaction seems to be of a very high order as the resource base of the villages in this region differs substantially, increasing inter-regional inter-dependencies. The basis of interaction continues to be, however, more pronounced in the sphere of primordial social behaviour represented by marital arrangements. Pecularity of clan-composition, however, restricts this interaction to selected villages as most of the villages have multiple clans.

Emergence of an urban centre of importance is slowly modifying the pattern of interaction as it is assuming nodal importance for inter-regional interaction in most aspects.

Chapter V

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

5.1. An attempt was made in this research to examine and analyse the pattern of spatial interaction among Pochuries of Nagaland, numerically one of the smallest tribes living in highland areas in close proximity to the international border. The main objectives of the study were to examine the resources and settlement structure of the area inhabited by the Pochuries and to examine and explain the nature of socio-spatial interactions within and across the region. The study was mainly based on data collected from the villages through field enquiry supported by information collected from secondary sources.

Important findings based on the study are summarised below;

5.2. Eight immigrant groups have been identified as the occupants of the region : Apoksah, Laruri, Phoyisha, Matikhru, Meluri, Kuki, Avankhung and Somphori. It is pointed out that the concept of tribalism, cultural traits and tribal feud acted as the mechanism of forming regional mosaic of the tribe Pochury. Further it is identified that the name Pochury is recent formation and is derived from

Sapo, Kuchu and Khury, a group of people of Naga ethnic type occupied this region since time immemorial, whereas, the name Pochury is of recent formation.

5.3. The demographic profile of the region shows that :

a) The settlements contain small size of population in general. Only 4 villages have population above one thousand.

b) The population growth rate has marginally declined in the recent times. Majority of the villages recorded less than 50 percent growth during 1981 - 91.

c) Nearly half of the villages show an excess of males while females are in excess in as many as 14 villages.

d) The region shows a fairly good response to literacy with more than half of the population is literate in 14 villages. Only three villages have a literate segment below 30 per cent.

5.4. The economic base of the region indicates that :

a) Subsistence jhum cultivation dominates the economic life of the Pochuries in nearly all the villages. Apart from rice, small quantities of maize, millet and yam constitute the production.

b) Agricultural production is rather insufficient and not much surplus is available for market. Animal husbandary is practised with raising of buffaloes, mithun, chicken and pigs. Akhegho is the only village a surplus of maize production.

c) The rich forest cover of the region is increasingly being cut-down for selling and earning money income to most of the villagers. After the construction of roads early 80's many villages nearer the roads giving up agriculture in favour of lumbering.

d) Trade across the border constituted an important economic base for the villagers nearer to Myanmar (Burma). Buffalo trading is an important economic function of the people of Reguri village. Trade in salt has diminished in importance with the increasing availability of this commodity from outside the region.

e) Development of a small urban industrial centre at Wezihu is employing a few people in the cement factory taking advantage of the limestone deposits in the region. The administrative centre at Meluri too is increasingly attracting more population in this township where non-agricultural work is available.

f) The location of the region close to Myanmar has prompted international trade in certain items which keeps a few engaged in trade links across the border and across the region.

5.5. The complex nature of migration of different groups and their latter inter-mingling within the region has, however produced distinct linguistic pattern in this small tribe. As many as 8 linguistic groups are identified within the region. The highest language region level interactions is indicated among the Laruthvu, Samphori and Phoyisha speakers. However, the most dominant language in terms of speakers are : Laruri, Phoyisha and Meluri. Matikhru, Kuki and Avankhung speakers are highly negligible. Somphori speaker is always a mixture with other groups. The degree of interaction is negligible in the case of Apoksah group also.

As many as 16 villages have one language consisting of either Meluri, Laruri, Apoksah and Phoyisha. 8 villages recorded mixture of two languages, 3 and 4 language combinations are found in one village each indicating migration of other linguistic groups into these two villages namely Matikhru and Mollen.

Likewise the tribe consists of a large number of clans, numbering around 57. Akhegho and Matikhru villages show the

largest clan composition with 15 clans each. Immigration of diverse clan groups into these villages from neighbouring areas has resulted in a complex clan composition.

5.6. The region shows a high level of multi-lingualism among the people because of the diversity of linguistic groups settling in the area. However, their knowledge of Hindi is negligible. The only exception is Meluri village near the urban centre where a substantial segment knows Nagamese, Hindi and English. It is interesting to note that the knowledge of non-regional language is more through social interactions with non-regional population than through spatial contacts. Presence of army post in Kanjang, Phokungri, Sutsu villages has enabled the local people to converse in Hindi and Nepali. Knowledge of Hindi and other Indian languages by a substantial population of Reguri village is due to their external contacts through trades in buffaloes.

5.7. Spatial interaction among the Pochuries seem to be largely confined within the 26 villages, constituting the region. The extent of their intra-regional movements is indicated by the dialect regions. That these migrations are of recent origin is clear from multi-dialectal population of many villages.

5.8. Interaction based on place of work reveals that majority of people in all the selected villages work within the village. As many as three villages namely Avankhung, Kanjang and Reguri do not have a single worker moving outside the village, and in another set of 3 villages the proportion of workers working outside the village is highly negligible. These villages are Matikhru, Meluri and New Thawati. A significant proportion of the workers in Akhegho and Sutsu work outside the village but within the region or within Nagaland. Though the proportion of workers working outside are found both outside the region as well as outside the state revealing greater interaction with outside world.

5.9 The tribe shows very little inter-village links through marriage. Most marriages take place within the village itself. The presence of a large number of clans within a single village does not necessitate marriage links with other villages.

Cases of inter-village marriage links are found in those villages which have relatively fewer clans in them.

5.10. Compulsions of receiving formal education in the recent times is increasing spatial mobility of the people. However, since higher education is received by a miniscule of the population much of the mobility is confined to the

region itself. Only Phor, Meluri and Sutsu shows a greater mobility for receiving formal education. As much as 13 per cent of the literate population has left the village for studying outside which includes crossing the state boundary. Population of literate segment which has received education outside the village is relatively high (7 - 10 %), in Phor, Reguri and Avankhung. But the extent of mobility is limited to the region itself particularly moving to the urban centre at Meluri.

5.11. The proportion of workers working outside is indicated very few. Out of 10 villages few population from Kanjang, Meluri, Phor, Phokhungri, and Sutsu villages shows working outside the Nagaland.

In conclusion, it may be said that the region is beginning to develop spatial linkages with other regions within Nagaland. However, its linkages within the region are based more on social parameters primarily because the economy continues to be largely of self-subsistent nature. Regional development processes are slowly penetrating into this high land area and the tribal population is gradually responding to the external forces by shedding its introvert character.

This study is only indicative of the nature of interaction among the Pochury. Lack of data and researchers on the tribe constitute a major handicap for an indepth study. More field-based studies are required for a fuller understanding of the dynamics of interaction in tribal areas of Nagaland.



A VIEW OF THE HILL SLOPES.



JHUM IS PRACTISED IN MOST POCHURY VILLAGES.



A VIEW OF THE TIZU RIVER.



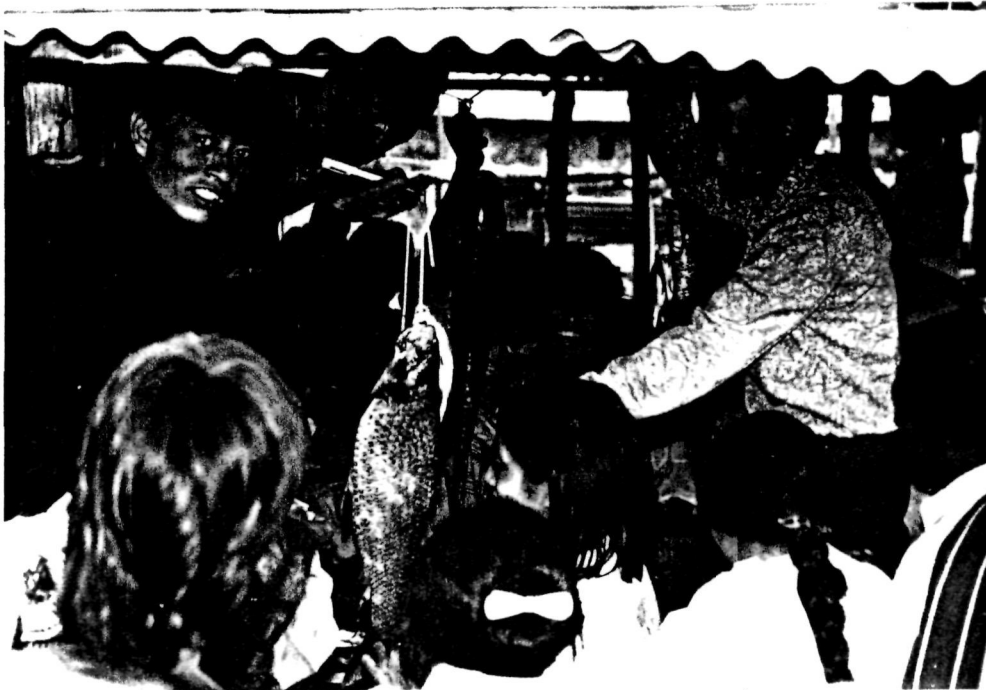
A VIEW OF THE SHILOI LAKE AT LETSAM.



A VIEW OF THE HILL-TOP SETTLEMENT,
TYPICAL OF MOST NAGA VILLAGES.



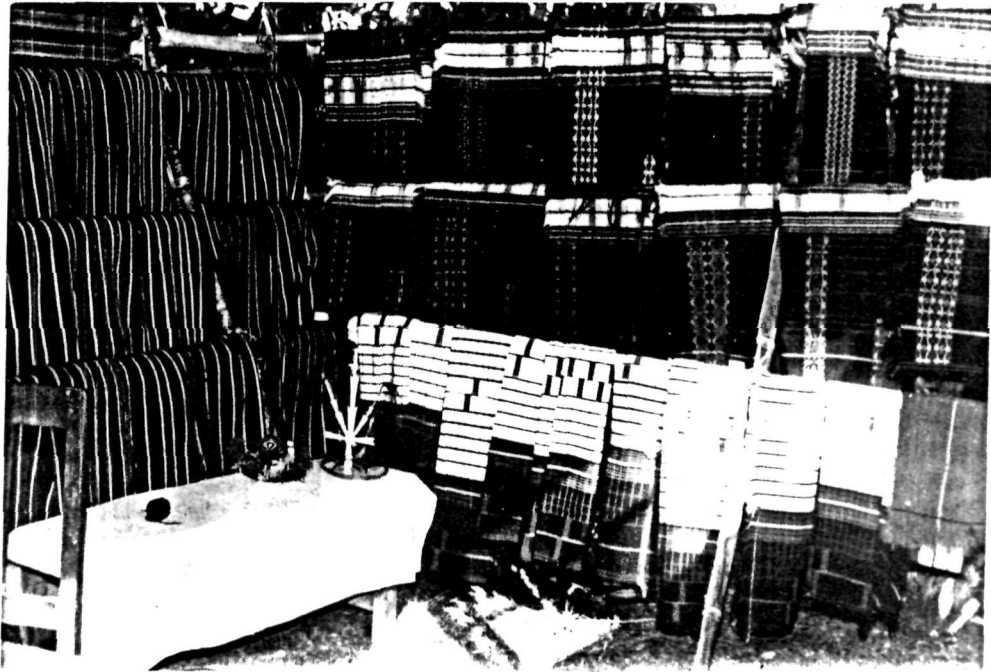
SPREAD OF LITERACY HAS NECESSITATED ESTABLISHMENT
OF FORMAL SCHOOLS IN THE REGION.



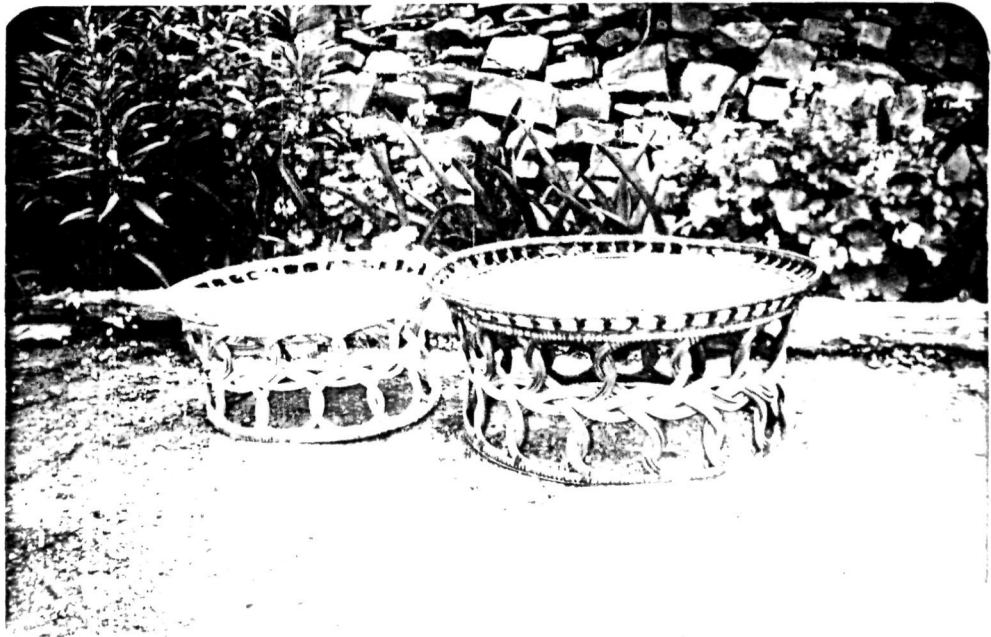
SALE OF FISH IN THE MARKET IS A COMMON SIGHT.



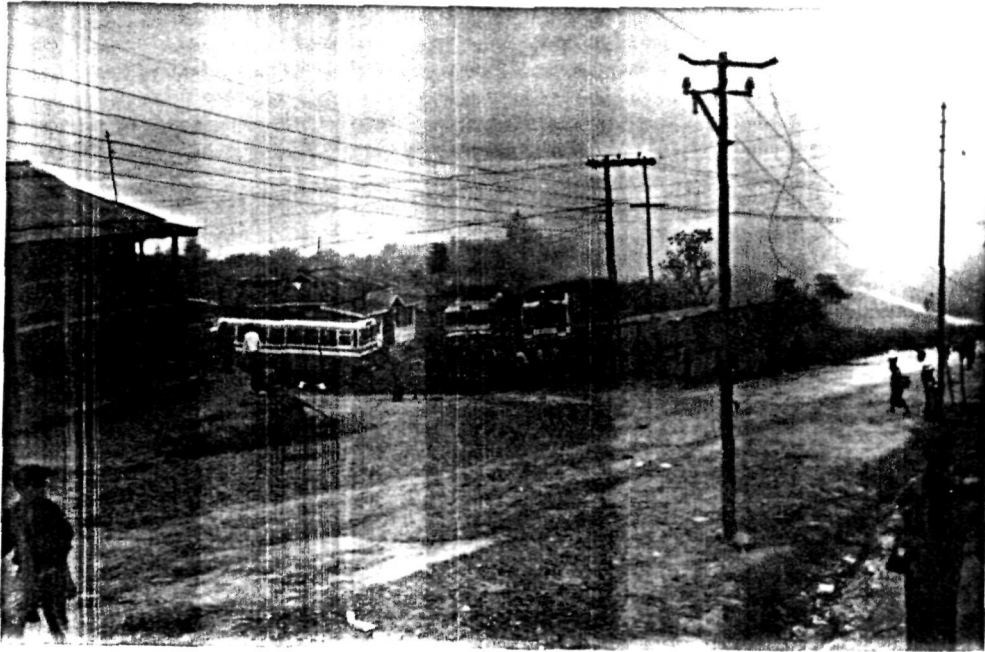
A VIEW OF THE INCREASING ACCEPTANCE OF WET-PADDY CULTIVATION.



WOMENS WONDER ! WOMEN IN THIS AREA SPECIALISED WEAVERS.



COTTAGE INDUSTRIES CONTINUES TO BE AN
IMPORTANT ECONOMIC ACTIVITY AT REGURI



INCREASING TRANSPORT FACILITIES HAVE ENCOURAGED GREATER SPATIAL INTERACTION. IT HAS HOWEVER, LED TO MASSIVE DEFORESTATION OF MANY VILLAGES CLOSE TO TRANSPORT LINES.



TRUCKS CARRY THOUSAND TONS OF LOGS EVERY DAY.

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