

EVOLUTION AND DISTRIBUTIONAL PATTERN OF KHASI CLANS

By

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sophy (M. Phil) at the Department of Geography, School
of Environmental Sciences, North-Eastern Hill University,
Shillong, Meghalaya, entitled "Evolution and Distributional
Pattern of Khasi Clans", is a bonafide study of the author
to the best of my knowledge and belief. This study may
now be placed before the examiner for ~~examination~~ ^{evaluation}.

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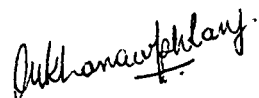
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(OSHOND M. KHARMAWPHLANG)

CONTENTS

		Page
	Acknowledgements	(i)
	List of Maps	(ii)
Chapter I	INTRODUCTION	1 - 10
Chapter II	PHYSICAL SETTING OF THE KHASI HILLS	11 - 12
Chapter III	ORIGIN CULTURE OF KHASIS AND THE CLANS FORMATION	23 - 51
Chapter IV	DISTRIBUTIONAL PATTERN OF THE KHASI CLANS	52 - 98
Chapter V	SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS	99 - 111
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	112 - 114

LIST OF MAPS

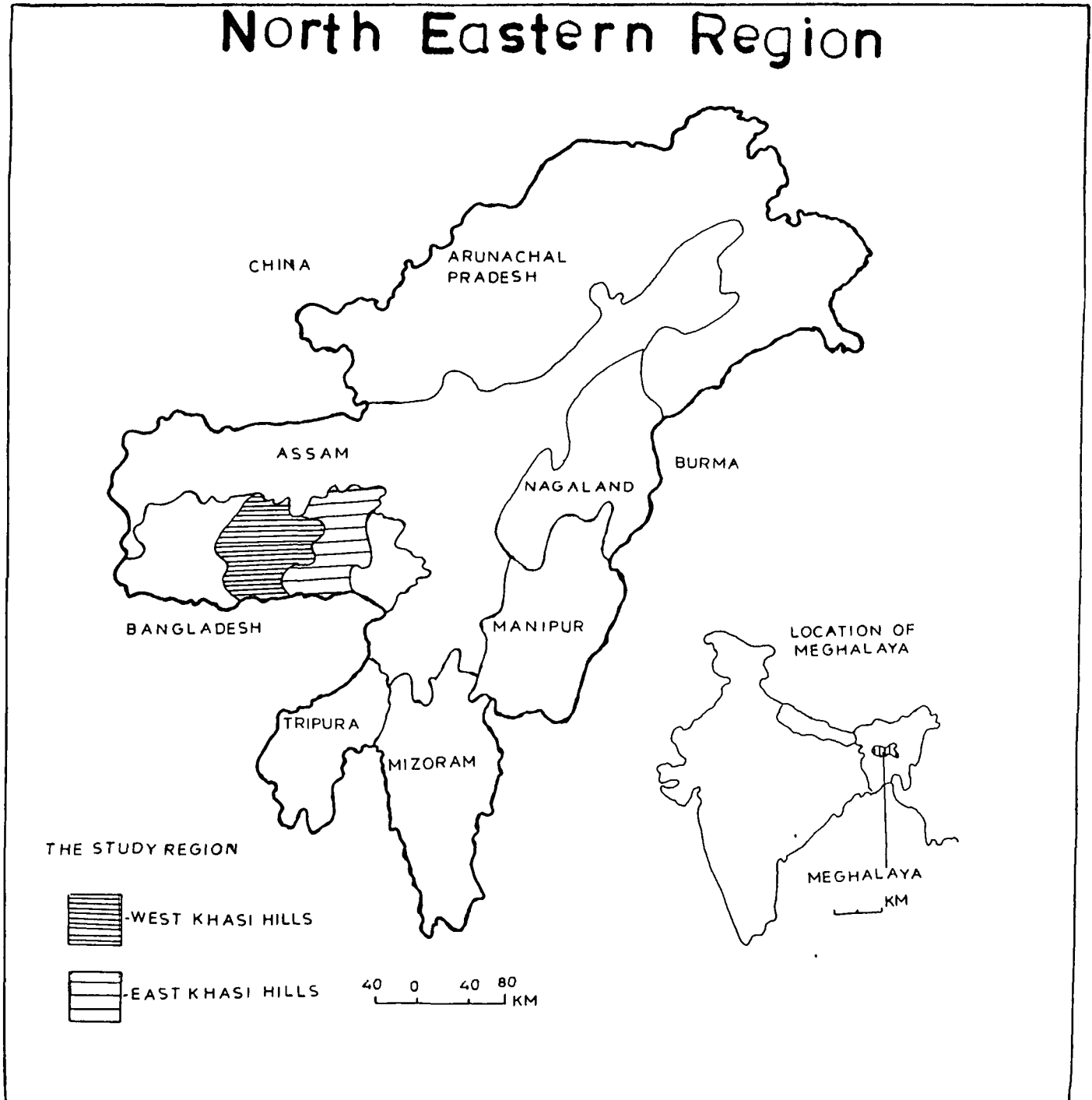
Map	Page
1 North Eastern Region (Study Area)	1
2 District East Khasi Hills (Location of C.D. Blocks)	6
3 District West Khasi Hills (Location of C.D. Blocks)	6
A Physiography	12
B Soil	17
C Vegetation	19
D Minerals	20
4 Nongpoh C.D. Block (Location of Village)	54
5 Nongpoh C.D. Block (Distribution of Clans in Selected Villages)	55
6 Bhoi Area C.D. Block (Location of village)	56
7 Bhoi Area C.D. Block (Distribution of Clans in Selected Villages)	58
8 Myllem C.D. Block (Location of Villages)	59
9 Myllem C.D. Block (Distribution of Clans in Selected Villages)	60
10 Mawphlang C.D. Block (Location of villages)	63
11 Mawphlang C.D. Block (Distribution of Clans in Selected villages)	64
12 Mawryngkneng C.D. Block (Location of villages)	66
13 Mawryngkneng C.D. Block (Distribution of Clans in Selected Villages)	68

Map		Page
14	Pynursla C.D. Block (Location of villages)	70
15	Pynursla C.D. Block (Distribution of clans in Selected Villages)	72
16	Shella Bholaganj C.D. Block (Location of Villages)	73
17	Shella Bholaganj C.D. Block (Distribution of Clans in Selected Villages)	75
18	Mawsynram C.D. Block (Location of Villages)	77
19	Mawsynram C.D. Block (Distribution of clans in Selected Villages)	79
20	Mawkynew C.D. Block (Location of Villages)	80
21	Mawkynew C.D. Block (Distribution of Clans in Selected Villages)	81
22	Mairang C.D. Block (Location of Villages)	84
23	Mairang C. D. Block (Distribution of Clans in Selected Villages)	85
24	Nongstoin C.D. Block (Location of Villages)	87
25	Nongstoin C.D. Block (Distribution of Clans in Selected Villages)	89
26	Mawkyrwat C.D. Block (Location of Villages)	90
27	Mawkyrwat C.D. Block (Distribution of clans in selected villages)	92

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

North Eastern Region



MAP 1

INTRODUCTION

The Meghalaya Plateau is consisted of Garo, Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The central part of the Plateau is known as the Khasi Hills (see Map 1). These hills are situated between $25^{\circ}1'$ and $26^{\circ}5'$ North latitude and between $90^{\circ}47'$ and $92^{\circ}52'$ East longitude and it is surrounded by the Jaintia Hills district in the East, Bangladesh in the South, Garo Hills district in the West and Dhubri district of Assam in the North.

Physiographically this Khasi Hills may be divided into three region. The first division is the Ri Bhoi on the North, which forms itself a compact plateau and gradually slopes towards the Brahmaputra valley. The second division is the Ri Lum, an irregular plateau on higher elevation with the highest peak (Shillong Peak 1966 m) situated in this part. In this region is located Cherrapunjee which records the highest rainfall in the world. The last division is Ri War forming a narrow belt full of oblong and sturdy ridges. The Khasi Hills are drained by many perennial and seasonal rivers which are tributaries of Brahmaputra river system (in the north) and Barak river system (in the south). The climate is relatively cool and humid. The impact of high humidity, extensive forest cover and the proximity

of the Bay of Bengal has resulted in very heavy rainfall. The Khasi Hills covers an area of about 10,443 Sq.Km. The total population of the Khasi Hills according to 1981 Census of India is 672,990 of which about 5 lakhs are Khasis. According to 1981 Census, there are 1890 inhabited villages in Khasi Hills (in East Khasi Hills 1180 and in West Khasi Hills 710). Nearly all of these villages are exclusively inhabited by the Khasis as they are the original inhabitants of this area. The concentration of non-tribal non-Khasi population is mainly in the urban areas of Shillong.

The Khasi tribe is consisted of four sub-groups — the Wars, the Bhoi, the Lyngngam and the Khyndriam. These sub-groups are divided into numerous clans. However, there are certain clans which transcends the regional boundary and are found almost all the regions of Khasi Hills. The Khasi term for clan is Kur (the term clan is used for unilineal descent-groups, claiming a common descent from an ancestor and recruiting the children of either male or female member, but not of both). As the Khasis have a matrilineal system, thus the descent is from the female side.

According to one study there are more than 2500 Khasi clans. Thus, in this study we would like to see how in a small community so many clans were formed. It may be assumed that factors such as the physical, economic and

socio-cultural factors have been responsible in the formation of so many clans. Apart from Khasi Hills, the Khasis are also found in the Garo Hills and in Jaintia Hills of Meghalaya and even in adjoining areas of Assam and Bangladesh. However, in this study we have selected only the Khasi Hills (East and West), due to the problem of collecting comparable data for the vast area, in which Khasis forms an insignificant minority. In the absence of any information about the process of evolution of the Khasi clans, we have limited the scope of this study only to the formation of clans. As the number of Khasi clans is very significant, so emerges the obvious question that how so many clans were formed in a small group which lived in relative isolation for thousand of years? Another related problem is that how so many of these clans are spread over a large area of Khasi Hills.

Survey of Literature

There are many books and articles on the history and culture of the Khasi people. These studies generally deals with the origin of Khasis, their migration and certain aspects of their culture. Hamlet Bareh (1985) in his book, The History and Culture of the Khasi People, deals with the land and her people, the origin of the Khasis and the evolution of Syiemships and its present picture. Major P.R.T. Gurdon (1975) in his book, The Khasis, deals with the appearance, physical and general characteristics, origin, law

and customs which includes marriage, inheritance, religion and language of the Khasi people. G.A. Grierson, in his book, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. II (1904) deals with the pattern of language of the Khasis. However there is no serious study about the formation and distribution of the Khasi clans. Study on the Khasi clans are even fewer, perhaps the best work on the Khasi clan is done by Spiton Kharakor. Kharakor, in his book, Ki Khun Ki Ksiew U Hynniewtrep, gives a list of Khasi and Jaintia clans found in Khasi Hills and Jaintia Hills. According to S. Kharakor there are 3,363 clans which are found both in Khasi Hills and Jaintia Hills. But we are mainly concerned with the Khasi clans of Khasi Hills only, Jaintia clans have been excluded from this study. However, in this book, the distribution and the basis of their formation is not sufficiently discussed. Therefore we would like to see and study their formation these different clans.

Keeping in view the inadequacy of earlier studies an attempt has been made here to construct the formation and the distributional pattern of the Khasi clans from the little material which is available.

Objective of the Study

The main objective of this study is to see the evolution and distributional pattern of the Khasi clans. As there

are numerous clans among the Khasis, it seems necessary to identify the areas of origin of Khasis. Secondly, to develop an understanding of the process of Khasi migration and settlement in this region and to identify the main features of the Khasi culture and also to develop an understanding of the basis of clan formation among the Khasis. Finally, to develop an understanding of the features of the pattern of their distribution.

Hypothesis

In order to analyse the objective, the following hypothesis were formulated:

1) All the clans in the beginning had an area of origin. However, some people of certain clan might have moved out of these areas due to various socio-economic and political reasons.

2) Some of the original clans might have remained concentrated in and around their area of origin and have a core area and spread over a large area.

Methodology

The present study has been completed with the help of both primary and secondary data. Apart from this, collecting of information from published and non-published material has been done. To study the distributional pattern of the

DISTRICT EAST KHASI HILLS

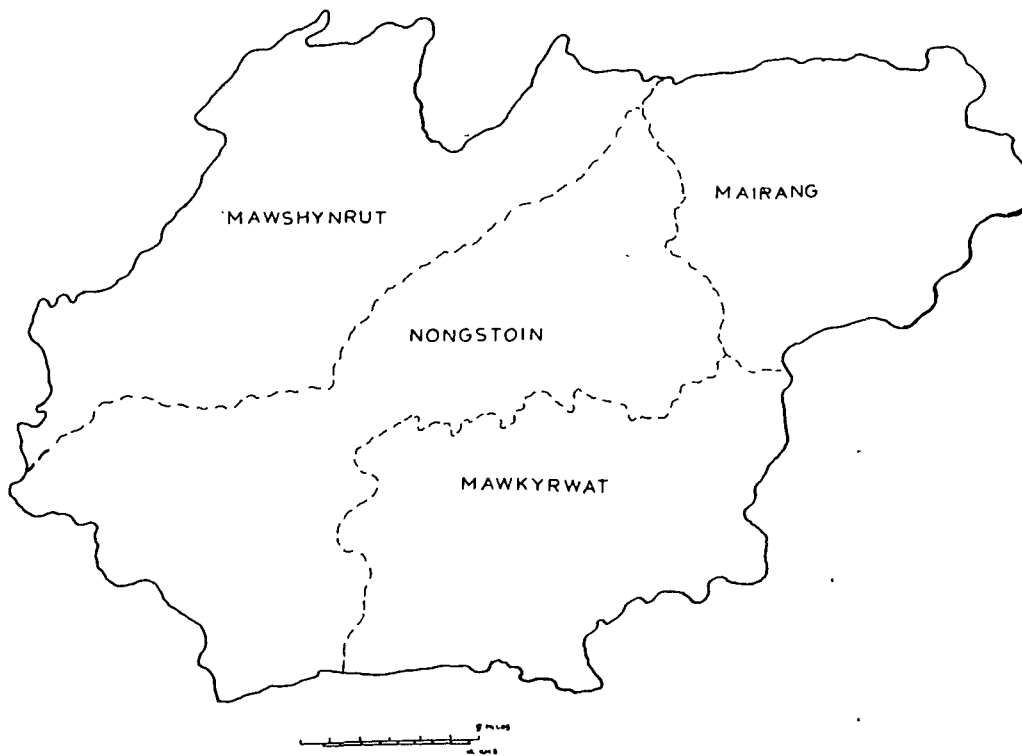
LOCATION OF C. D. BLOCKS



MAP 2

DISTRICT WEST KHASI HILLS

LOCATION OF C.D. BLOCKS



MAP 3.

Khasi clans, in this study, data has been collected mainly from the 1987 Electoral Rolls. These electoral rolls provide a very clear picture of the distribution of these clans in different villages. To study the distribution of these clans in various villages, few villages have been selected from different Community Development Blocks (C.D. Block). In Khasi Hills there are 13 C.D. Blocks, 9 in East Khasi Hills and 4 in West Khasi Hills (see Map 2, 3). However, due to certain unavoidable circumstances the data for Mawsyn-rut C.D. Block of West Khasi Hills could not be collected and so this study is limited to only 12 C.D. Blocks. From each of the 12 C.D. Blocks, 8 villages have been selected. While selecting these villages the size and location of these settlements have been taken into consideration. Besides this, a sample survey has been conducted for few of these selected villages from a questionnaire which have been prepared and a door to door survey has been conducted. Finally, use of adequate cartographic method for plotting the distributional pattern of various clans has been done in this work.

Organization of the Study

In this chapter an attempt has been made to assess the need and relevance of the present study. The objective and hypothesis of the study has also been discussed. The

methodology for conducting the study has also been discussed. A brief survey of existing literature has been made.

In Chapter II, the physical setting of the Khasi Hills has been discussed in detail to understand the physical landscape of the region which includes physiography, climate. Drainage, soil, natural vegetation and natural resources. In the first section the region has been divided into different physiographic region and the significant physiographic features of these regions have been discussed.

In the second section of the chapter some aspects of the climate of the Khasi Hills have been studied. The Khasi Hills have a temperate climate, except in the border areas on the north and south. The rainfall although sufficient throughout, however, it is very high in the 'Ri War' region and comparatively less in the 'Ri Lum' and 'Ri Bhoi' regions. Temperature in the Khasi Hills is mainly governed by altitude - thus the central upland zone is cooler area of the Khasi Hills.

In the third section, a study has been done on the drainage system. In the region of the Khasi Hills there are distinct river systems flowing to the north and the others to the south. Many of these rivers have their origin in the higher altitudes, thus flowing with a torrential speed.

In the fourth section, a detail study of the soils of the Khasi Hills has been made. However, the soils which are found in this region are quite fertile and may help in the growth of various crops in this region.

In the fifth section of the chapter, the natural vegetation of the region have been discussed. Natural vegetation growth is rich in the Khasi Hills. Numerous trees are found in the hills and the plains. Forest cover are of tropical and evergreen types.

In the last section of this chapter, the natural resources of the region have been discussed. Khasi Hills has a rich deposits of mineral resources, but due to lack of proper survey and means of communication they have not been properly tapped. Thus by discussing all the above factors it would give us an insight how the physical landscape of the region have influenced the development and the growth of Khasi culture and also influence the formation of Khasi clans.

In Chapter III, on the origin of Khasis and their socio-cultural characteristic, a detail discussion have been done, which includes the origin culture migration and the clan formation. In the first section, an attempt has been made to study the various hypotheses/theories about

their origin. In order to understand the origin an attempt has been made to study the physical features of the Khasi people in order to understand their areas of origin.

In the second section of this chapter, certain characteristic of their culture have been discussed. For this, both aspects of their material and non-material culture have been discussed. In the material culture a detail study on Neoliths, Megaliths and Iron smelting has been done, similarly in the non-material, culture, language, religion, materilineal descent and inheritance have also been discussed.

In the third section of this chapter, migration of the Khasis have been discussed. An attempt has been made to identify the possible route of their migration from the areas of their origin. An attempt have been made to find out and analyse the similarities between the Khasi culture and the culture of other communities of South-East Asia to highlight the process of their migration.

Finally, an attempt has been made to understand the basis of the formation of the Khasi clan, role and significance of the Khasi clans has also been assessed. Various aspects like marriage, physiography, migration, change of religion and legends have been discussed in order to understand their formation. While discussing the role and signi-

ficance of the Khasi clans an attempt has been made on marriage, clan durbar and syiemship, to highlight their importance on the role and significance of the Khasi clans.

In Chapter IV, on the basis of distributional pattern of the Khasi clans, a detail study has been made, by selecting the community development blocks of both East and West Khasi Hills. However, the present distribution of the Khasi clans may throw some light on the process of their formation and spread. The present distribution of the Khasi clans certainly is the outcome of a long historical process of settlement and resettlement of the Khasi in this region. The relative significance of these clans in the selected villages has also been shown by a table in the respective C.D. Blocks. However, it has been found that there are clans which are distributed both in East and West Khasi Hills, while some are found distributed only in one district, either in West Khasi Hills or East Khasi Hills.

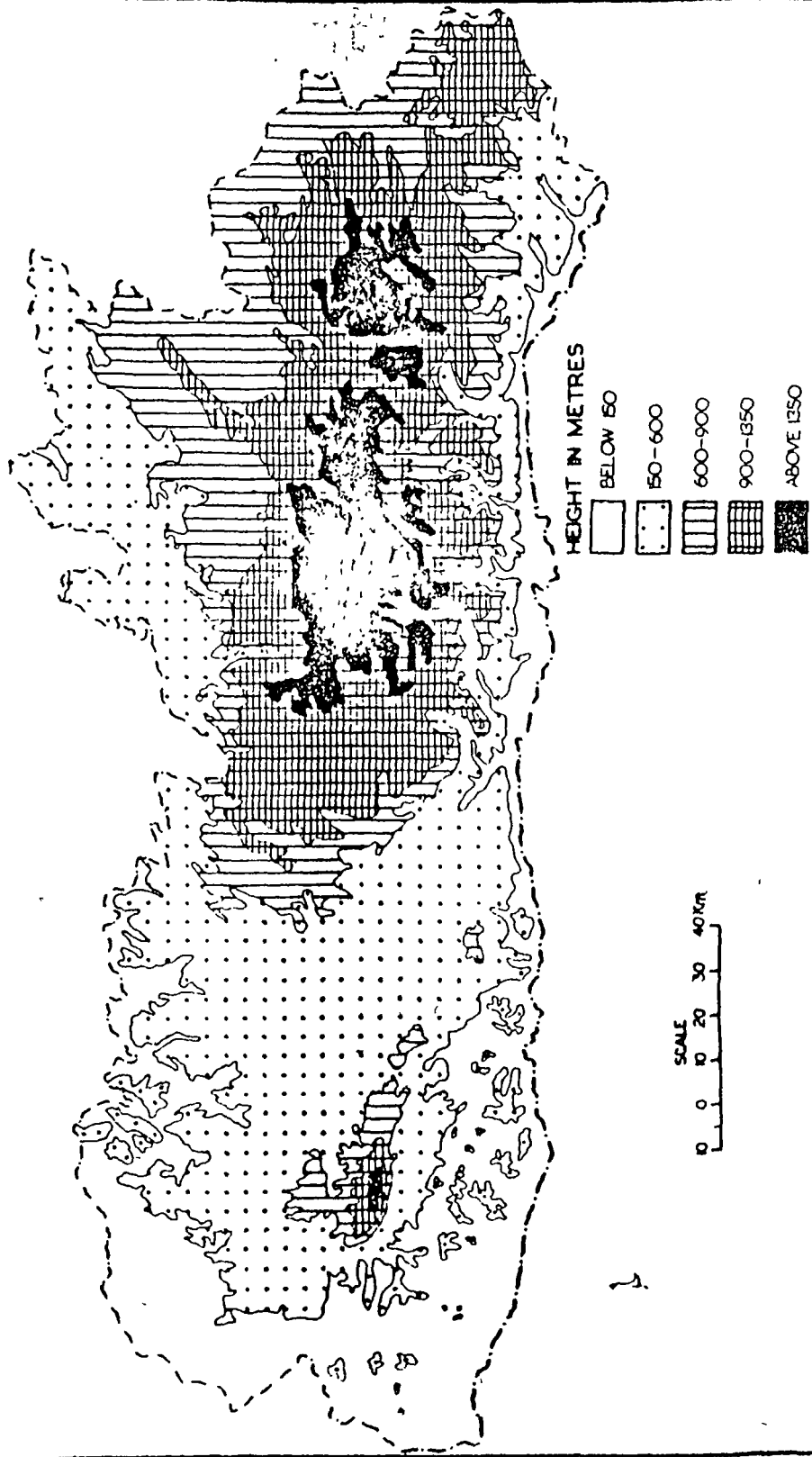
CHAPTER II

PHYSICAL SETTING OF THE KHASI HILLS

PHYSICAL SETTING OF THE KHASI HILLS

The Khasi Hills are located in the Centre of Meghalaya plateau. The Khasi Hills are bounded on the West by Garo Hills, on the East by Jaintia Hills, on the North by the Plains of Brahmaputra and on the South by the Plains of Surma River. The Khasi Hills although part of the Meghalayan table-land, plateau, have undulating hills in the North and steep escarpment and deep valley near the Sylhet plain, in the South. In this region, deep rivers valleys have swift flowing rivers and waterfalls of great beauty. The presence of these rapids and waterfalls indicates a continuous upliftment of the Meghalaya plateau. The region is drained by many perennial and seasonal rivers which are tributaries of Brahmaputra river system (in the North) and Barak river system (in the South). These rivers are torrential in character, and they follow the direction of the ridges. The climate is characterized by coolness and humidity. The impact of high humidity, extensive forest cover and the proximity of Bay of Bengal is resulted in very heavy rainfall. Cherrapunjee at the Southern extremity of the Khasi Hills incidently receives the heaviest rainfall in the world.

RELIEF



MAP A

For a better understanding of the physical condition of the Khasi Hills, it seems necessary to discuss it into the following sub-heads:

- 1) Physiography,
- 2) Drainage,
- 3) Climate,
- 4) Soil,
- 5) Natural Vegetation, and
- 6) Natural Resources.

1. Physiography

Khasi Hills, located in the central part of Meghalaya plateau. Physiographically are remarkable due to then highly dissected and irregular terrain in the Northern part. The boundary in this area is not very well defined, due to low irregular broken hill ranges separating plateau from Brahmaputra Valley. Khasi Hills are separated from Garo Hills by Moheskhola Adaguri range. There is, however, no significant physical barrier between Khasi and Jaintia Hills. There is an abrupt fall in the altitude in the Southern part of the region, near the plains of Bangladesh.

The region may be divided into three physiography divisions (see Map A) -

- a) **The Northern Undulating Hills** - This region with

accordant summit (170-820 m)¹ gradually slopes down towards the Brahmaputra valley. This region is locally known as 'Ri Bhoi' region in Khasi Hills. In this region there are two terraces, indicating two peneplain surfaces, one from Khanapara to Jorabat and the other from Burnihat to Nongpoh.

b) Central Upland Zone - It is separated from the Northern Hills by an important fault line. Its outer limit is defined roughly by the 1500 m contour. This plateau section is known as 'Ri Lum' in Khasi Hills. In general, this zone consists mostly of rolling grassy downs, intersected with river valleys and clotted all over with soft rounded Hills with fresh soft tuft which from distance looks as soft as a velvet. The Central Upland Zone contains the remnants of peneplain surface, thus preserving the several terraces of erosion cycles in this part. The presence of many rapids and waterfalls in the neighbourhood of Shillong indicates that this region has a youth full topography due perhaps to a recent uplift. The Shillong Peak with an altitude of 1961 m² is the highest point of the whole plateau region.

c) The Southern Face of the Plateau - Locally this region of steep slopes is known as 'Ri War' region in the

-
1. D.T. Zimba, Geography of Meghalaya, (1978).
 2. Ibid., p. 16.

Khasi Hills. This part in its Northern fringe, to the South of the Shillong Hills has a granite topography with rounded Hills and shallow valleys of the Myllem granite. South of Myllem, is the vast structural platform on which stands Cherrapunjee. From Cherrapunjee the terrain has a gentle slope south-ward for about 7 Kms and then falls rapidly to the Sylhet plain, the ground slopes conforming to the high dip of sedimentary rocks.

2. Drainage

The region is remarkable for the absence of navigable rivers (due to constant upliftment of the region which resulted in the formation of many waterfalls) except for short stretches at the base of the Hills. In the region of the Khasi Hills there are distinct river system flowing to the North and the other to the South. The important rivers are Khri and Umiam. Others are Mawpa and Umiew or Umiam. Many of these rivers have their origin in the higher altitudes, thus flowing with a torrential speed. Some of the large streams however,, near the point where they debouch upon the Plain, small cannoes are used for short distances below the rapids. The drainage pattern in the region represent a most spectacular features revealing extraordinary straight courses of the river, evidently along joints and faults. The magnificent gorges scooped out by the river in the Southern Khasi

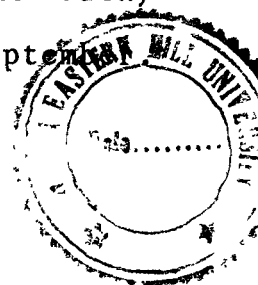
Hills, are the result of massive headward erosion by antecedent streams along joints of the sedimentary rocks over the block experiencing relatively greater uplift. The Northern part of the Plateau is marked by long incisive valley formed due to headward erosion of rivers.

3. Climate

Owing to the range in elevation, climate varies from one region to another. The climatic condition range from sub-tropical to semi-temperate. The Upland of the Khasi Hills have a salubrious climate characterized by warm summer and cold winter. In the foothills, on the North and South, they share a climate which is hot and damp in summer. Rainfall starts at the end of May and continues upto end of September and sometimes to the middle of October. But in the Northern part of the plateau as it as being in the rain shadow area, it receives less rainfall. Rainfall is more in the Southern part than in the central portion. The wettest place in the globe is located in the Khasi Hills. Cherrapunjee and Mawsynram being the rainiest places. Heavy down-pour sometimes at Cherra or Mawsynram continues at a stretch for 14 days.

On the basis of the weather conditions, the whole Khasi Hills may be divided into four seasons. The rainy season begins in May and continues till the end of September.

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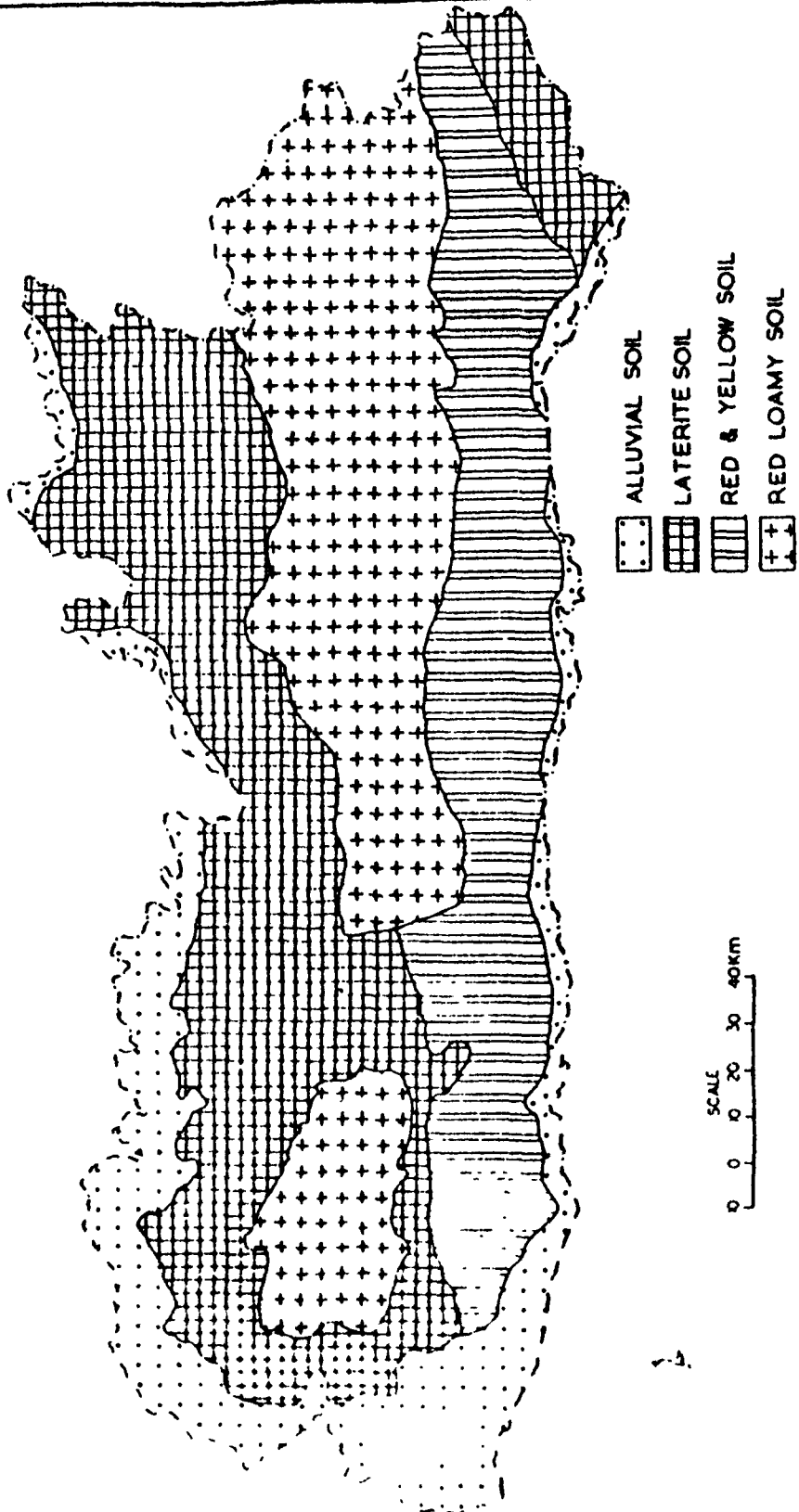
The months of October to November may be treated as cool season, as these periods are neither hot nor cold. The cold season includes December, January and February when the mean temperature falls as low as 3.6°C. The month of March and April are the hottest months in which they record the highest temperatures.

4. Soil

The soil of Khasi Hills have developed under varied conditions of Geology, relief climate and vegetation. This region has different soil profiles due to hilly terrain. Except on hill plateau where we find mature soils with characteristic profiles, the slopes of the hills may present thin skeletal profiles or no clear profiles at all. Hill slopes support sparse vegetation due to loose materials due to down hill wash or creeps. The mineral deposits are also less in these soils.

Khasi Hills have different types of soils, the red loamy soil which is found in the central upland zone of Khasi Hills, are generally lomy but sometimes vary from clayey to sandy loam. It is rich in organic matter and nitrogen but deficient in phosphate and potash. Laterite soil occurs in a broad belt extending from West to East in the Northern Region. They are generally reddish or yellowish in colour. This soil is poor in organic matter and are acidic

SOILS



MAP B

in reaction. Red and yellow soil are found in the belt running from East to West in the foothills. The yellow colour is due to high degree of hydration. The soil are usually fine-textured ranging from loam to silty loam and are suitable for cultivation of rice and fruits. Alluvial soil also occurs all along the Northern, Western and Southern fringe of the region. This soil is good for cultivation of rice, jute and fruits.

The important crops which are grown in the region due to the present of different soil are rice sugarcane, cotton, maize, potato. Other important commercial crops are orange pineapple, banana, betel-leaf, turmeric etc. (see Map B).

5. Natural Vegetation

The natural vegetation cover of the Khasi Hills ranges from tropical to temperate. Dense jungle still clothe the higher submits of the whole region. Besides the valuable timber, medicinal plants, hard and soft wood are found abundantly. Due to the variation in rainfall there is considerable difference in the distribution of vegetational cover.

The Khasi pine or (*Pinus khasiya*) is well known and dominate the upper region in the Khasi Hills. In the whole of the Khasi Hills, pine is the principal tree. Khasi

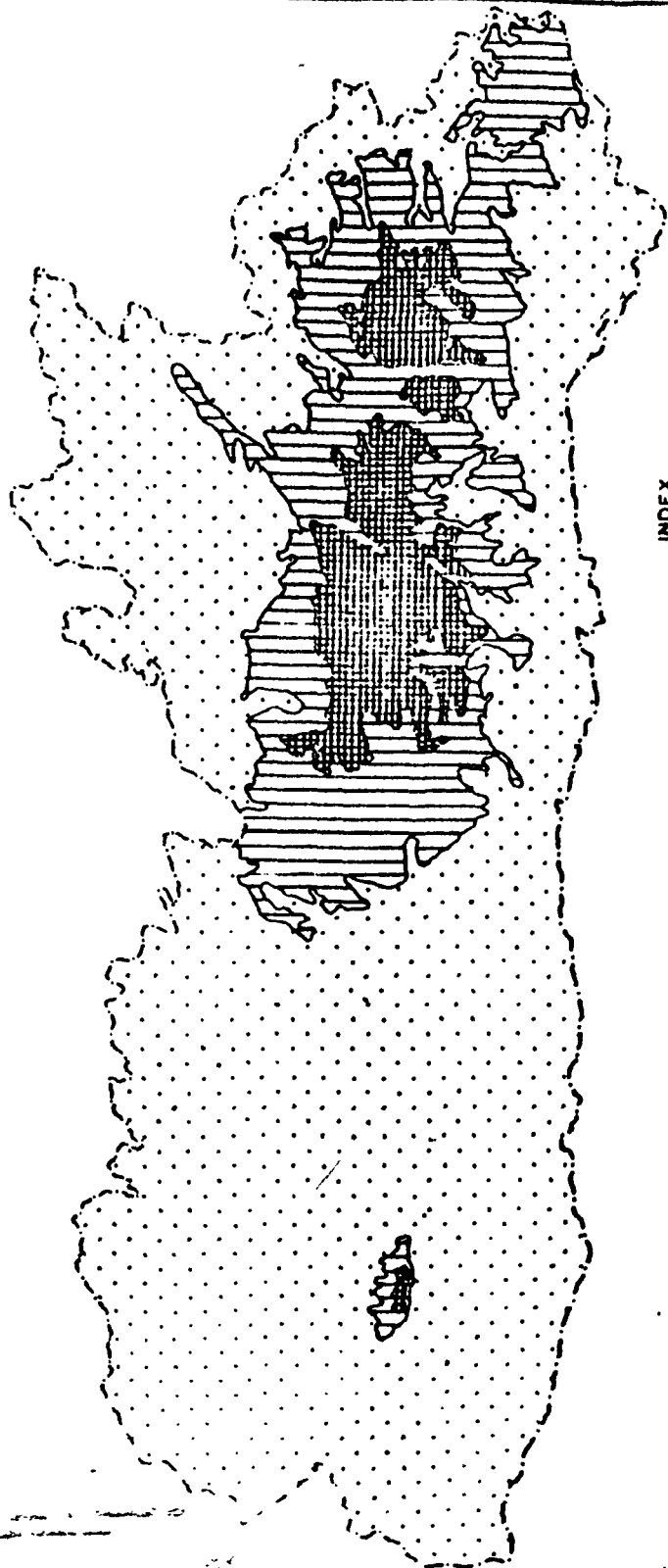
Hills are further known for flora of infinite varieties which spring near Shillong, Cherrapunjee, Mairang and other places. Bamboo, sal are the important trees found in the Khasi Hills. Apart of the valuable trees, Khasi Hills also have a huge abundant of medicinal plants and herbs. Orchids are also found in different region of the Khasi Hills.

We can summed up by saying that the natural vegetation of Khasi Hills comprises of mixed evergreen forest in Northern and Southern parts, Pine forest in most of the hilly areas and the grasslands. The mixed evergreen forest are found in protected areas like the sacred groves, where Oak, Rhododendron and species of Schima and Cinnamomun are common. The common Khasi pine namely *Pinus Khasiya* dominates most of the hills slopes where habitations, roads and shifting cultivation have not reduced the forest to grasslands.

But due to the constant felling of the trees many of the forested areas are cleared. This has led to the change of climate to become hotter, and besides the huge destruction of forest has posed problems such as shortage of arable land and caused frequent movement of farming communities.

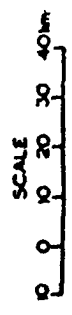
Besides the growth of vegetation, Khasi Hills is also gifted with beautiful fauna. There are varieties of species of birds, snakes, tigers etc. The tropical and sub-

VEGETATION



INDEX

- MIXED TROPICAL FOREST
- GRASSLAND
- TEMPERATE FOREST



MAP C

tropical moist evergreen forest ensured the survival of rich mammalian fauna of Meghalaya as also other groups of animals like birds, reptiles etc. (see Map C).

6. Mineral Resources

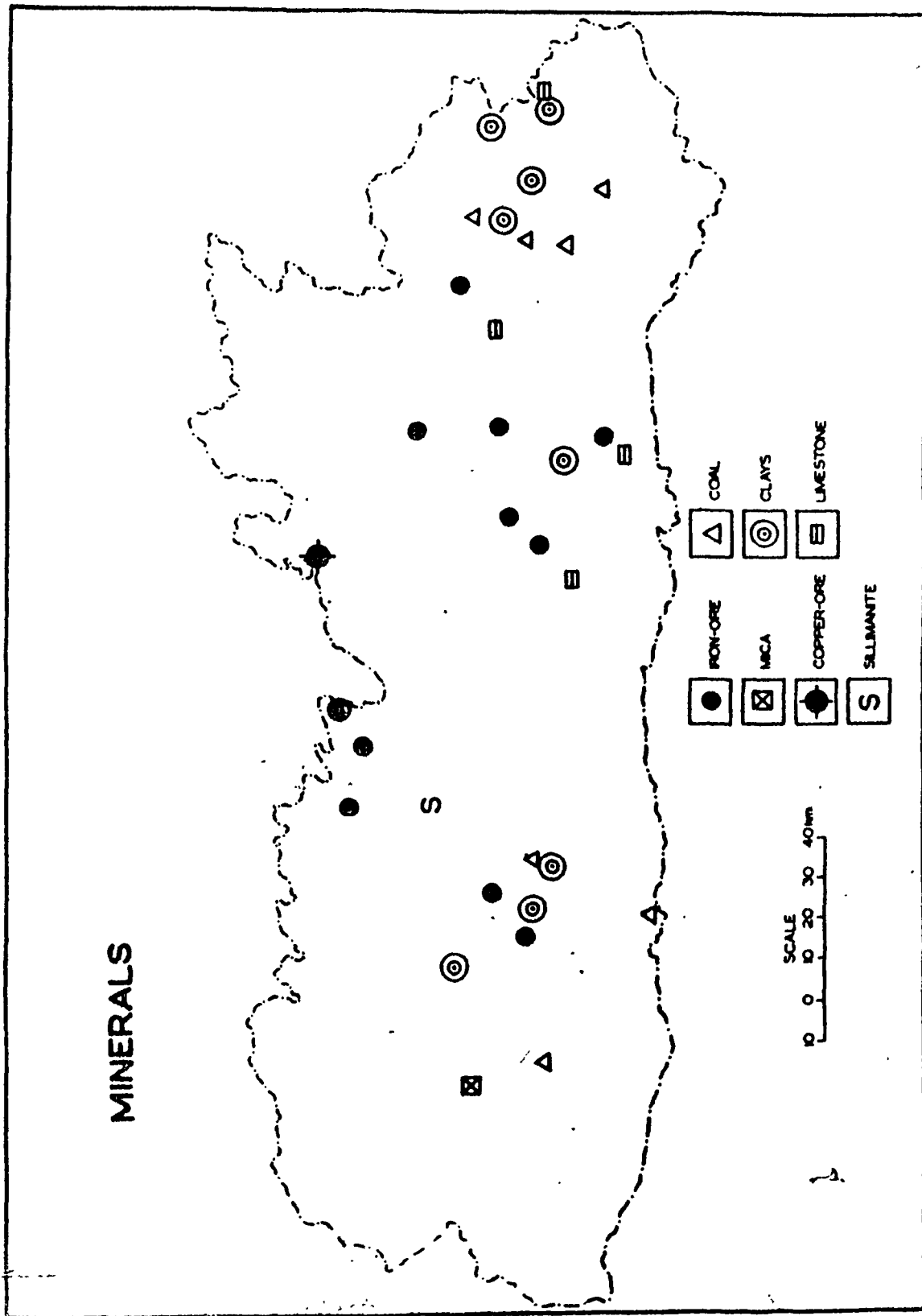
The region has been gifted with a huge deposit of minerals. They have been influencing the distribution of settlement in the region. Even in the past the occurrences and use of certain minerals were known to the local people which are evident by existence of few sides of old quarries and smelting centres. Coal, limestone and silliminite are the chief minerals of the region. Other includes clay, glass-sand, gold, iron and copper. But among these coal, limestone and silliminite are of great economic value to the region.

The deposit of minerals in this region are mainly associated with the three important of the region viz., the Archaean Gneissic complex, the Shillong group of rocks and the Cretaceous Tertiary Sediments. The first two formation contains iron-ore, copper, silliminite and mica the third one contains coal, limestone and clay. Khasi Hills also has a huge deposit of coal in certain region.³

Limestone deposit occurs in the Khasi Hills in the

3. J.N. Chowdhury, The Khasi Canvas: Minerals of Meghalaya.

MINERALS



F 7 C

MAP D

BASED ON GEOLOGICAL AND MINERAL MAP
GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, MISC. PUS. NO. 39
1974

south region from Lamgaon, through Terraighat, Shella and Mawsynram from Shella to Bholaganj and in the Mawmluh-Mawsmail Hills.

The deposits of silliminite are found in a large extent only in the Sonapahar region in the Khasi Hills. It accounts for nearly 90 per cent of the total production of silliminite in the country.

Large deposits of white clay are in the Khasi Hills and it is found in Mawphlang, Thadlaskein and in Laitlyngkot (see Map D).

On the basis of the above study of physical setting of the Khasi Hills the following conclusion may be made:

(1) Physiographically although part of Meghalaya plateau the Khasi Hills have a highly dissected terrain and have many broken hills. The physical barrier of Moheskhola Adagiri range separates Khasi Hills from Garo Hills. Whereas there is no physical barrier between Khasi Hills and Jaintia Hills. The Northern undulating hills which are locally known as 'Ri Bhoi' region, slopes down towards the Brahmaputra valley. The Central Upland Zone locally known as 'Ri Lum' is separated by fault line from the Northern part. It is an irregular plateau on the higher elevation comprised of metamorphic rocks and small river basin. The

Southern face of the region which is locally known as 'Ri War' formed by a narrow belt full of oblong and sturdy ridges, abruptly terminating at the Surma Valley, forming a series of mounted valleys and deep gorges.

(2) Central Upland Zone forms of the watershed between the tributaries of Brahmaputra and Surma rivers. The rivers of the northern part drain the northern half of the hills to Brahmaputra river system. The southern half of the hills is drained by the rivers of Surma river system. There are many rapids and waterfalls around the Shillong indicating the constant upliftment of the region. Many rivers have their source in this area.

(3) The Khasi Hills has a temperate climate. Except the border areas on the North and South which have a comparatively warmer weather. The central part of the region receives the highest rainfall average being 700 inches. The rainfall although sufficient, throughout is very high in the 'Ri War' region and comparatively less in 'Ri Lum' and 'Ri Bhoi' region in the same order. Temperature in the Khasi Hills are mainly governed by the altitude - thus the Central Upland Zone is the cooler area of the Khasi Hills.

(4) The Khasi Hills being a region of undulating slopes dissected ridges and deep gorges have limited flat land, in the broad river valleys. However, the soils which

are found in this region are quite fertile and may help in the growth of various crops in this region depending upon the altitude and angle of slopes.

(5) Natural vegetation growth is rich in the Khasi Hills. Numerous trees are found in the Hills and the Plains. Forest covers are of tropical and evergreen types. Various trees such as sal, teak which are found in the northern part of the region. Pine trees are wide spread in the central tableland. A few open tracts in the 'Ri Lum' forms pastures and grasslands.

(6) Khasi Hills has a rich deposit of mineral resources but due to lack of proper survey and means of communication they have not been properly tapped. The principal mineral found in this region are coal, limestone, silliminite, gypsum, corundum, glass-sand etc. These minerals are found in the area of Cherrapunjee, Shella, Laitlyngkot, Mawphlang, Laitryngew and Sonaphar in West Khasi Hills where a huge deposit of silliminite is found.

CHAPTER III

**ORIGIN CULTURE OF KHASIS AND
THE CLANS FORMATION**

ORIGIN CULTURE OF KHASIS AND THE CLANS FORMATION

The Khasis are perhaps the first community which occupied the North-East Region of India during the pre-historical period. Thus, our knowledge of their migration to this area is extremely limited. Etymologically, the meaning of Kha¹ is born of, and Si² refers to ancient mother. Thus, the word Khasi means born of the Mother. (The Khasi system of ascribing the name of clans after mother is ultimately related to their matrilineal system). Though the Khasis are mainly concentrated in the Khasi Hills, however, many of them have been living in the adjoining plain of present Assam and Sylhet region of Bangladesh, perhaps for hundred of years. The Khasi living in the Hills and those in the plain developed some distinct socio-cultural traits in due course of time in accordance to the social and physical environment of the area of their settlement. Not only this, Khasi living in different parts of the Khasi Hills, have some cultural variation. It is not clear that Khasis living in different parts of Khasi Hills were different people at the time of their settlement in these areas or they become different in due course of time due to their

1. H. Bareh, History and Culture of the Khasi People, 1967, p. 10.

2. Ibid.

limited interaction with the people living in other parts of Khasi Hills.

The Khasis of different region have acquired different names e.g., the Lyngams in the West, the Bhoi in the North, the Wars in the South and the Khyriams in the Central Plateau. These sub-groups of the Khasis have their distinct culture and dialects distinguishing them from each other. However, these regional variation in their culture and language are not very significant.

For a better understanding of the division and distribution of the Khasis - sub-tribes and their clans, it is necessary to study their origin culture and possible basis of their clan formation.

This chapter has been divided into two sections and also into sub-sections.

SECTION I

Origin and Culture

The problem of the origin of the Khasis have been discussed by many scholars, however, due to the paucity of materials it is not possible to develop any foolproof theory about the exact area of their origin. However, with the help of their physical structure, material and non-

material culture, it is possible to develop some understanding of the probable areas of their origin. As their physical characteristic and language may throw some light on the possible areas of their origin and their subsequent socio-cultural interaction. As mentioned above, various scholars have developed different hypotheses/theories about the origin of the Khasis basing their arguments on the aspects of materials and non-material culture.

i) Physical Features

On the basis of the physical appearance of the Khasis, certain scholars had tried to trace their origin as they found similar type of physical features in some other parts of South-East Asia. The Anthropologists divide mankind into various racial groups on the basis of the superficial physical and biological differences, such as colour of skin, stature and build of body, the face, the formation of nose, lips and the forehead and the colour of eyes and hair.³ The physical differences distinguishing racial stock from one another owe their origin to variation in environment factor in which early evolution took place.

3. Moonis Raza, General Geography of India, 1978.

Aijaz Ahmed, Peopling of India and Ethnic Diversities, p. 82.

Although, the search of racial purity is neither possible or desirable as since pre-historic times different groups of people might have mixed with one another, giving rise to mixed racial groups. However, in the area of isolation some relatively pure racial group are found indicating to their areas of origin and later migration.

Generally speaking the Khasi are of fair and medium complexion.⁴ The Central Highlanders are all brownish complexion. The Wars have medium complexion, while Lyngngams catch the tan colour of their Bodo neighbours.⁵ The Bhois of the North appear to have a mixed Mikir complexion due to their close neighbour. On an average main Khasi have a Burmese complexion and appearance which distinguish them from Indo-Chinese as well as plain Indian.⁶

ii) Features of Khasi Culture

Culture on its broadest definition, refers to that part of the total repertoire of human action (and its product), which is socially as opposed to genetically transmitted.⁷ According to E.B. Tylor,⁸ culture includes knowledge,

4. H. Bareh, History of the Khasi People, 1967, p. 23.

5. Ibid., p. 23.

6. Ibid., p. 23.

7. H.C. Wyld, The Dictionary of Sociology.

8. E.B. Tylor, Primitive Culture: Research into Development of Mythology Philosophy, Religion, Art & Custom.

belief, art, moral, law, customs and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

In the absence of any other information, their traditional culture and customs of the Khasi may help in developing some understanding of their origin. Thus in this study, the treatment of Khasi culture will mostly be from historical angle. The culture has two aspects, material and non-material and thus may be divided into material and non-material.

The term material culture denotes their technology men, wrest from their habitat, the food itself, the shelter, the clothing and the implements they have.⁹ While non-material denotes those which do not represent any material culture. The material culture includes Neoliths, Megaliths and iron smelting while non-material culture includes language, religion, marriage and inheritance. These factors are discussed as follows:

a) Material Culture

While studying the origin of the Khasis, it is necessary to discuss some features of their material culture which may provide some ideas of their origin. Following features of their culture are being included:

9. M.J. Herskovits, Cultural Anthropology, (1958), Technology and Utilization of Natural Resources, p. 119.

- i) Neoliths
- ii) Megaliths
- iii) Iron smelting

i) Neoliths

The stone age is divided into three period Paleolithic, Mesolithic and Neolithic. In the Khasi Hills the stone implements which are found belong to Neolithic period and thus are called as Neoliths. The type of Neoliths, found in Khasi Hills are similar to those stone implements which are found in the Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur, region of Central India.¹⁰ This distribution pattern do suggest some link between the people of these region, during later part of stone age. According to some Archaeologist and Anthropologist, during the neolithic period there was a movement of people from South-East Asia to Central India through the North Eastern Region. And so they think that the neolithic culture was brought to this region by the speakers of Mon-Khmer,¹¹ speech during the neolithic period. They consider that the Khasi were the first people who brought this culture to the Eastern India. Even today in the interior villages, small stones celts are still used and some of them are considered as religiously important.

10. H. Bareh, op.cit., p. 19.

11. Ibid., p. 19.

ii) Megaliths

The megaliths are large stones erected in the memory of the dead and are found almost in every part of the Khasi hills. These megaliths remains belong to different period of history. It is quite difficult to discover the origin of the Khasi megaliths. But there is no denying the fact on striking similarities among Khasi megaliths with those of Tonkin, Indonesia and Burma.¹² Moreover, stone pulling ceremonies among the Naga and Khasi, are similar.¹³ Among the Khasi megaliths, are of two types - Monumental stone and Ossuaries.¹⁴ The Khasi burn their dead and collect the bones in a pot which are placed in a Stone Ossuary. The used of these pot by the Khasis resembles those which Konyaks used. The Khasi used stone urns for kings and earthen pots for ordinary persons, which are similar to Burma.

Monumental stones are common in Laitlyngkot, Marngar, Nongkseh and Laitkor. These monumental stones serve as way side seat at important centres. Some of the stones are raised as foundation of markets and marked the ancient places of settlement. But majority of the Khasi megaliths

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12. P.C. Choudhury, History of the People of Assam (Final edition), pp. 62-65.
 13. H. Bareh, History of the Khasi People, (1985), p. 20.
 14. Ibid., p. 19.

are associated with funeral ceremonies or forming memorials of the dead, which are similar to the types of stones found in the far East.

iii) Iron Smelting

One of the most significant features of Khasi culture is the use of iron implements from the very early times. There is a reason to believe that technique was brought to this region by the people who came from the areas where iron smelting was quite common. In the absence of iron mines (from where iron ore could have been obtained) in this area, iron was being smelted over some artificial channels or lanes and iron deposits are collected at particular reservoirs. The Khasi system of iron smelting is very closely related to a smithery system used by tribes in Bihar and Orissa. Similarly, the Mon-Khmer in the East smelted iron which is similar to the Khasis. But when we refer to iron smelting, we also take into account the Khasi hoe which is locally known as Mohkhiew. It supports the idea of its arrival from the East. It conforms more to Burmese and Malayan type so iron smelting and its migration from the East seems almost established.

b) Non-Material Culture

Apart from above mentioned aspects of material culture, it seems necessary to discuss some features of non-

material culture of Khasis like (i) Language, (ii) Religion, (iii) Inheritance, and (iv) Marriage. The non-material aspects of their culture may throw some light on their cultural history, as the present Khasi culture and customs are the outcome of a long historical process.

i) Language

Language has an important bearing in the origin and cultural interaction of the people. Several scholars are of the opinion that the Khasis speak a dialect of the Mon-khmer linguistic group. Dr. Grierson,¹⁵ reveals that the language of the Mon-khmer group of Burma and the Malay Peninsula are intimately connected with the language of Khasi. The Khasi are also described as the sub-group of the Mon-khmer and Palaung. There is a close relationship of the Khasis to the Mon-khmer linguistic group as well as to the Nicobarase.¹⁶ Several dialects spoken by various tribes of the Malay Peninsula language. Therefore it can be said that the Khasi language bears a relation to the Mon and Cambodia type.

ii) Religion

In broadest term religion may best be defined as a belief in and identification with a greater force or

15. G.E. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. 11, p.4.

16. H. Bareh, The Origin of the Khasi, 1967, p. 16.

power.¹⁷ Like all other tribal communities, Khasis also had their own traditional religion and cultural. The traditional Khasi religion is known as Seng Khasi. This religion may be described as animism or spirit worship or rather the propitiation of spirit both evil on certain occasion principally in of troubles.

The traditional Khasi religion has not changed significantly prior to the coming of the Christian Missionaries in the 19th Century. However, due to the impact of the activities of the Missionaries, majority of the Khasi has accepted Christianity as their religion. This conversion of the Khasi into Christianity gave rise to various cultural changes in the society and to impact may be observed in different aspects of their culture. This change in their religion has even influenced the formation of their clans.

iii) Inheritance

The traditional Khasi society is a matrilineal society, where the inheritance and the descent is mainly to female side. In this system the youngest daughter or Khadduh inherits all the property. But one exception is of the Wars on the Southern Hills where both males and females own, control and possess property and therefore observe both patrilineal and matrilineal system.

17. Melville J. Herskovits, Cultural Anthropology, 1958, p. 233.

The Khasi inheritance is the youngest daughter gets the major share among all her sisters. Apart from getting all the property, she is also the custodian of the mother's house and she cannot sell or dispose the house to any other. But even the other sisters get some share in the form of lands, vessels, ornaments etc., but the major share or lion share goes to Ka Khadduh or the youngest daughter. Similar system is found in Cambodia and parts of Thailand.

iv) Marriage

The traditional Khasi system of marriage has been quite simple. Both love and arrange marriages were permissible. After marriage generally the bride remains in her mother's house with her husband. The marriage is prohibited between the people who are related by blood. Not only this, marriage between the boy and girl belonging to same clan is also considered as taboo. This system is quite strict. Both male and female cannot marry a person belonging to a clan with whom their fathers and mothers have blood relation. Marriage within the related clans is a great sin a Khasi commits and he or she will be excommunicated from his kinsfolk. This marriage among the Khasi takes place from one clan to another and this shows that marriage plays a vital role in clan formation among the Khasis.

(v) Migration

In the absence of any written records of Khasi migration to the North Eastern Region of India in general and the Khasi Hills in particular, most of the scholars working on this aspect have based their study on the physical cultural similarities between the Khasis and other tribal communities found in parts of South-East Asia and Central India. Some aspects of the physical and cultural traits of Khasi have already been discussed above. Similarities between the physical structure of Khasi and other tribal groups do indicate areas of their similar origin. Cultural traits of Khasis which are quite distinct have some parallels in some of the other small communities in the areas of isolation or relative isolation in certain parts of South-East Asia, where they could preserve their earlier cultural heritage.

It has already been mentioned that Khasis, who are believed to be first Mongoloid people who have migrated to North-East Region and they speak a language of Austric origin. It requires some explanation, as generally communities belonging to Mongoloid origin and speaking language of Austro. Asiatic (Austric)¹⁸ family. The Mongoloid people

18. Ali Ahmad, The Linguistic Pattern of North Eastern Region, 1982.

were considered to have penetrated into this region much earlier than any other group. But due to thick forest cover and rugged terrain their distribution was insignificant. The Khasi came into contact with the Mongoloid people speaking Austro Asiatic language and in the course, of their interaction, Khasi people adopted the similar language which is shown by their similarities.

The presence of the Meglaiths and Neoliths in Khasi Hills, shows a similarity with those found in the South-East Asia and Central India. The Khasis might have lived in these region and at their time of settlement adopted this culture. But later, due to their migration to the Khasi Hills, brought along with them the same culture, which thus shows their similarities with the people of South-East Asia and Central India.

Among the Khasis, in the earlier period, were found settled in the plain of the Brahmaputra in Assam. This have been indicated by the temple which existed in Assam which was known as the Kamakhya Temple. The word Kamakhya is derived from the Khasi Ka Meikha, an oldest cousin mother. It is true that the Khasis before they migrated to the Hills, had first settled in the plains of Brahmaputra indicated by the above factor.

Another similarity among the Khasi, which other section of the people is the system of inheritance and matrilineal descent. As mentioned earlier, inheritance and matrilineal descent is from the female side. Similar culture is found with the people of Cambodia, Mois of Laos and parts of Thailand. The Khasis who migrated from these region, found this type of culture suitable, so when they settled in the Khasi Hills adopted the same culture, which indicates the similarities.

Thus we can say that the Khasis entered their present home at different period of time in the historical past. The distribution of neoliths, erection of megaliths, their Austric language and some other cultural traits indicates that the Khasis might certainly have migrated from their original areas of origin in South-East Asia.

BASES OF FORMATION OF KHASI CLANS OR KURS

It is very difficult to explain the existence of nearly 2500 Khasi clans as they might have been formed during last hundred of years - prior or after their settlement in Khasi Hills. The Khasi clans and subclans (all the Khasi surnames should not be considered as separate clans) have their origin even in the mythologies. It is neither possible or required in this study to explain the

bases of origin of each Khasi clan and sub-clans. Here, however, an attempts had been made to give some example to highlight the probable bases of the formation of some of the clans. The examples have been selected arbitrarily, using whatever, little knowledge could be obtained in this subject.

The process of the formation of Khasi clans, may be studied and analysed, in the light of their long course of migration, stages of settlement, and the changing pattern of their socio-economic conditions. The formation of these clans, might have been influenced by the following factors -

a) Marriage

The Khasis consider it as a sin to marry within their own clan. They have to marry a person belonging to other clan and their related clans. This system not only influenced the mobility among the Khasis but might also have influenced the formation of the new clans. The Khasis, who have a matrilineal system of descent use the title or clan name of their mother. In cases, where two persons belonging to two different clans of Khasis, marry each other there is not problem as their children will take the title of their mother. In the event, when a Khasi lady marry a non-Khasi male, there is not problem in adoption of the title by the children as they will be given the

title of the mother. However, in case a Khasi male marries a non-Khasi female there are bound to be some problems as children cannot take the title of the mother, who obviously has no Khasi title. In this case the usual practice which has been followed by the daughter was to start a new clan, usually by putting the word Khar, before the new adopted surname. So this, obviously might have been the reason of the formation of various new clans. According to Spiton Kharakor,²¹ there are about 150 Khasi clans which bear the title Khar. However, it will not be advisable to assume that all these clans bearing the word Khar have the same bases of origin.

b) Migration

Migration of Khasis from one area to another, might have lead to the formation of certain new clans in due course of time. As stated earlier, the Khasis migrated from South-East Asia to this region. However, there are evidences to show that there was a lot of movement of Khasis, after the arrival to this area due to various factor. This migration of Khasis from one area to another might have been responsible formation of some new clans. For instance, it is believed that Thangkhiew Clan migrated from Jowai and settled down in the East Khasi Hills. Simi-

21. S. Kharakor, Ki Khun Ki Ksiew U Hynniewtrep, 1981, p. 15.

larly, clan Thabah which at the beginning were settled in the East Khasi Hills, but due to the migration of their ancestral mother, now found settled in West Khasi Hills in Sohiong village. We also have clans who bare the title Dkhar. These clans were the migrants from the plains, who were given shelter and later adopted the Khasi culture, and in this process got the title Dkhar. So we can say, that migration in a way, has a great influence in the bases of clan formation among the Khasis.

c) Physical Setting

It has been observed, while discussing physiography of the region, that Khasi hills, generally speaking have gentle slopes and thus movement of people within the region might not have been very difficult. Possibility of movement and system of marriage must have been responsible for the formation of some new clans. For instance, there is legend that there were three sisters who, after the marriage moved out of their mothers house to establish their own Iing, house. They are said to have established their houses at different altitudes. Their descendents have developed three new clans, basing their title on the location of then Iing. Descendents of the daughter who occupied the lower part of the Hill, called as Nongrum (people of lower region). Descendents of the sister who occupied the middle

part of slope are known as Nongpdeng (people of middle region). Sister who occupied the higher region is said to have developed the Nongneng (people of higher region) clan. In all probability, it is possible to assume in the similar manner, some other clans might have been formed on the basis of the physical setting of the area of their settlement.

d) Occupation

Among the Khasis, some clans have been formed on the basis of their occupants like the castes in the adjoining regions. For instance, Syiem, Syiemlieh and Syiemiong clans have got their title from their occupation or profession in which the people entrusted them. The Syiem clans are usually given charge of administrating a Syiemship. In the same case with the Syiemlieh's and Syiemiong clan which ultimately leads to the formation of clans in their own Syiemships. Not only this, some clans like Lyngdohs who are priests, got their title from the profession in which they were engaged. However, it is interesting to note that all the Lyngdohs also have their separate clan names. There are 64 clans who use before their title the word Lyngdoh. However, many Khasis even after accepting Christianity, leaving traditional priestly profession use the title of Lyngdoh.

e) Change of Religion

As mentioned earlier, Khasis had their own traditional religion which they practised from time immemorial. However, after the arrival of British and due to the impact of Christian Missionaries many have taken Christianity as their religion. The change of religion has influenced their life in many ways and even have been responsible in the formation of some so called new clans. The following title cannot be considered as new clans on the strict sense of the term as these are the cases of change in spelling of the traditional clan names. For instance Khongwir clan to Cunville clan.

There are clans which were much influenced by the British Missionaries, that they adopted these title and in this way new clans emerge which we may term as Anglo-Khasi like Scott clan and Reade clan.

f) Legends

In some cases the legends became bases of clan formation. There are some clans about whose origin there are some legends. It is believed that ancestral mother named their clan on the basis of certain legends. For instance the clan Thangkhiew got their name after U Khiew, that mother kept the bones of her deceased daughter.²² Not

22. H. Bareh, op.cit., p. 287.

only this, there are some clan bearing the names of monkeys, trees, crabs etc., some of these clans are Shrieh or monkey clan, Tham or crab clan, tree, such as the Diengdoh clan, but there are also other legends for other clans, which are of less significant.

FORMATION AND SIGNIFICANCE OF KHASI CLAN

Before discussing the formation of Khasi clans, it will be better to define the term clan and its counterpart in Khasi Kur. According to H.C. Wyld, "a clan is a named unilateral descent group that is a body of persons claiming common descent from an ancestor (often mythical) and recruiting the children of either male or female but not of both."²³ He further mentions that, the word derives from the Gaelic clann meaning children or descents and thus refers originally to a cognatic descent group; anthropologist, however, have usually reserved the term for unilateral groups. British usage is now standardized in the usage of clan as the genetic term, with matri-clan (belongs to his mother's family) and patri-clan (belongs to his father family) denoting the two varieties. Any grouping of clan is referred to a phratry.

The Khasis have a matrilineal system where the descent is from the female side. The Khasis clan or Kurs

23. H.C. Wyld, Dictionary of Sociology, p. 30.

have been formed through descent from the Meirad, ancestral mother, real or imaginary. Among the Khasis each clan has its triad. Ka Iawbei the ancestral mother, the progenitic U Thawlang, the ancestral father, progenitor the founder of the clan and the institutor of the clan's religious rituals, the builder and the consecrator of the clans and U Suidnia the elder son of ka Iawbei.²⁴ All these traced their origin to the seven huts or Hynniewtrep who were the progenitor of the whole Khasi race and from them the organisation of the Khasis and their clan relationship is based.

As mentioned earlier one of the most significant features of the Khasi culture and society is their Kur or clan. The number of Khasi clans is so high that it seems absolutely necessary to understand the possible bases of their formation and the role of these clans in different aspects of their life. It has already been mentioned that though Khasis consider marriage within their own clan a sin, however, they have strong feeling of belonging to their own kur people, as evident from the existence of various Kur Durbar of different clans. Some of the clans have been responsible even in the establishment of different syiemship in the Khasi hills. It will

20. H. Bareh, History of the Khasi People, p. 90.

be better, if this section is divided into two sub-sections: (1) Bases of formation, and (2) Role and significant of Khasi clan.

SECTION II

ROLE AND SIGNIFICANT OF KHASI CLANS

The important of Khasi clans cannot be exaggerate as they play a significant role in the Khasi society in determining the formation of Khasi clans. The number of the Khasi clans are so high that it seems necessary to understand their significant role. The significant of the Khasi clan may be appreciated better by examining their role in the following heads:

- a) Marriage
- b) Durbars, and
- c) Syiemships.

a) Marriage

In the previous section it has been mentioned that among the Khasis, marriage cannot take place within their own and related clans as it is considered a sin. It means marriage cannot take place among two persons if there is any relation among the clans of their parents (both father and mother). Thus, the institution of marriage is governed by the one's clan relation.

b) Durbars

Another aspects of Khasi culture is the presence of various Kur Durbar. Membership of these durbars is restricted for the people of the particular clan. However, not all the clans have their own durbars, only important clans could formed their own clan durbars due to obvious reasons of number and distribution of their clans' people.

These clan durbars help them to feel as one, and also to strengthen their own clan. Some of these clan durbars have been formed in the earlier period, but some of them have been formed recently. Some of the important clan durbars are Mawlong, Swer, Syiemlieh and Ryntathiang. Thus, these clan durbars play a significant role among the Khasi clans.

c) Syiemship

One of the most significant features of the Khasi administration is the institution of these Syiemship. These syiemship are said to have been established by different clans (Kur). These clans (Kur) helps in the forming of the different syiemship. According to sources available, some of the syiemship which have been established by different clans are Shillong syiemship, Sohra-Mawsmi syiemship, Nongspung syiemship and Mawsynram syiemship. The forming of these syiemship by different clans are discussed as follows.

Shillong Syiemship - Shillong syiemship which was regarded as the biggest syiemship were formed by the clans of Myllemngap and Pathaw. But it was also formed by four Basans and three Lyngdohs.²⁵ The four Basans are Nongneng clan, Swer clan, Synrem clan and Thangkhiew clan. The other three Lyngdoh are Myllem, Nongbri and Pyngrope. Perhaps, these Basans and Lyngdohs were the founder clan of the Shillong syiemship.

Nongkhlaw Syiemship - The Nongkhlaw syiemship is also known as Hima Khadsawphra,²⁶ situated in the mid-western part of the Khasi hills. In literal sense, Khadsawphra means 'fourteen-eight', illustrating the fourteen and eight conspicuous areas inside its fold. The Nongkhlaw syiemship as it may be said by written theories has been formed by the clan Syiemlieh which is still the ruling clan.

Sohra and Mawsmi Syiemship - The growth of the Sohra syiemship was fundamentally the result of Swer's succession from the Shillong syiemship, most probably during the 16th Century. But it was difficult to come

25. Lyngdoh: A Lyngdoh is a priest. A Lyngdoh here is equivalent of Lyngdoh Nongsynshar. Literally priest administrator who has administrative than sacerdotal function.

26. H. Bareh, op.cit., p. 75.

to a conclusion. But later scholars writes that the Sohra syiemship was formed by the clan Dkhar. But there were other 12 clans which were also related i.e., clan Nongrum, Khongwir, Diengdoh, Shrieh, Marbuh, Tham, Nongtraw, Majaw, Umdor, Dohling, Mawdkhap and Sohkhia.

Nongspung Syiemship - The present Nongspung syiemship has been formed by the clan Syiemiong, the Black Syiem or Kala Raja. They have been distinguished from the clan Syiemlieh of Nongkhlaw syiemship.

Mawsynram Syiemship - The Mawsynram syiemship was an offshoot of the old Malngiang syiems. But later, this branch fled and settled in other areas. But later, the Mawsynram syiemship came under control of a powerful Marbaniang clan, upto the present generation. However, these are the important syiemship which have been established by different clans and thus played a significant role in forming the Khasi clans.

On the basis of the above analysis the following conclusions emerges:

- 1) The Khasis are perhaps the first community which occupied the North East region and in particular the Khasi Hills. However before their arrival, to Khasi hills, they might have first settled in the adjoining plains of Brahma-

putra. The Khasi living in different parts of Khasi hills acquired different names e.g., the Lyngngams, the Bhois, the Wars and the Khyngriams. These sub groups of the Khasis have their distinct culture and dialects distinguishing them from each other.

2) However, on the basis of the physical appearance, it may be said that Khasis resembles some communities of Burma and South East Asia. Their materials culture like Neoliths, Megaliths and Iron smelting in many ways is similar to those of Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur plateau region of Central India. Megaliths similar to those of Khasi are found in Torikin of Indonesia and Burma. Khasi system of iron smelting was found to be similar to that of some tribes of Central India and Mon and Khmer areas of Burma and Cambodia.

3) While discussing the problems of language, it has been found that the Khasis speak a dialect of the Monkhmer linguistic group. It has also been found that Khasi language has many similarities with other language of Monkhmer linguistic group of Austric family.

4) The Khasis had their own traditional religion "Seng Khasi". But however, it has been found that due to the impact of the activities of the Missionaries, majority

of the Khasi have accepted Christianity as their religion and it gives rise to various cultural changes in the society.

5) On the question of inheritance and descent, it has been found that Khasi female inherits most of the ancestral property of the family. Even among the daughters the youngest or Khadduh inherits and gets largest share of the property. Similarly with the descent it has been found that Matrilineal descent is followed where descent is from the female side. This system of culture is also found with the people of Cambodia, Mois of Laos and parts of Thailand.

6) While analysing the institution of marriage among the Khasis it was found that marriage cannot take place between the persons of the same clan or even among the related clans (both, either of mother or father). So it was found that marriage has a vital factor in the forming of new clans.

7) While identifying the areas of migration, it was found that the Khasi migrated from South East Asia and Central India. The similarities of their culture, language, indicates that the Khasi migrated from these regions. It has been found that they were the first community to

settle in the North Eastern Region and in Khasi Hills in particular.

8) While analysing the possible basis of formation of Khasi clans it has been found that factors like marriage, migration, physical setting, change of religion and legends were responsible for the formation of different clans.

i) Many clans were formed as a matrimonial alliances between Khasi males and non-Khasi females. Many of the clans starting with the word Khar are said to have formed due to this type of marriage.

ii) The formation of several new clans can be attributed to the physical setting of the area which they occupied during the later phase of their settlement. Some of the clans formed on this basis are Nongrum, Nongneng and Nongpdeng.

iii) Various new clans were formed due to constant movement of Khasis within the Khasi Hills as evident from presence of clans like Thangkhiew and Thabah.

iv) On the basis of the profession or occupation originated clans like Syiem, Syiemlieh and Syiemiong as they became the ruling clan of Khasis. Lyngdoh title has also been formed on the same basis as Lyngdoh are Priests. However, Lyngdoh have their own separate original clans.

v) Some clans have also been formed on the basis of the change of religion among Khasis as they accepted Christianity and started same.

vi) Numerous clans have their origin in the mythology legends. Some of these clans are Shrieh, Tham, Diengdoh and Thangkhiew.

9) While discussing the role and significant of Khasi clans it has been found that clan identity of individual plays a decisive role in the event of marriage. Marriage is prohibited among two persons if there is any relation among the clans of their parents. The existence of various clans durbars do indicate a significant role of clans in the Khasi society. However, only relatively important clans have their own durbars, where generally matters of the welfare of the clansmen are discussed. It has been found that certain clans had even been responsible in the establishment of various syiemship in Khasi hills.

CHAPTER IV

DISTRIBUTIONAL PATTERN OF THE KHASI CLANS

DISTRIBUTIONAL PATTERN OF THE KHASI CLANS

The Khasi tribe as discussed earlier is consisted of numerous clans or Kur. The number of these clans is highly significant if we consider the total population of the Khasis. Our knowledge about their origin and basis of the clan formation quite limited. However, the present distribution of the Khasi clans may throw some light on the processes of their formation and spread. The present distribution of the Khasi clans certainly is the outcome of a long historical process of settlement and resettlement of the Khasis in this region after their migration from their area of origin. As discussed earlier, our knowledge about the Khasi clans, at the time of their migration to this region is extremely limited. The formation of clans (apart from the original clans if there were any), might have started with the settlement of these groups in different parts of Khasi Hills. Apart from this due to matrimonial alliances among the settlers some new clans might have developed. In the beginning, one can assume, that the total population of these Khasis in this area was very limited, thus in the first phase of their settlement, only few clans might have developed. As mentioned earlier, the Khasis follow matrilineal system,

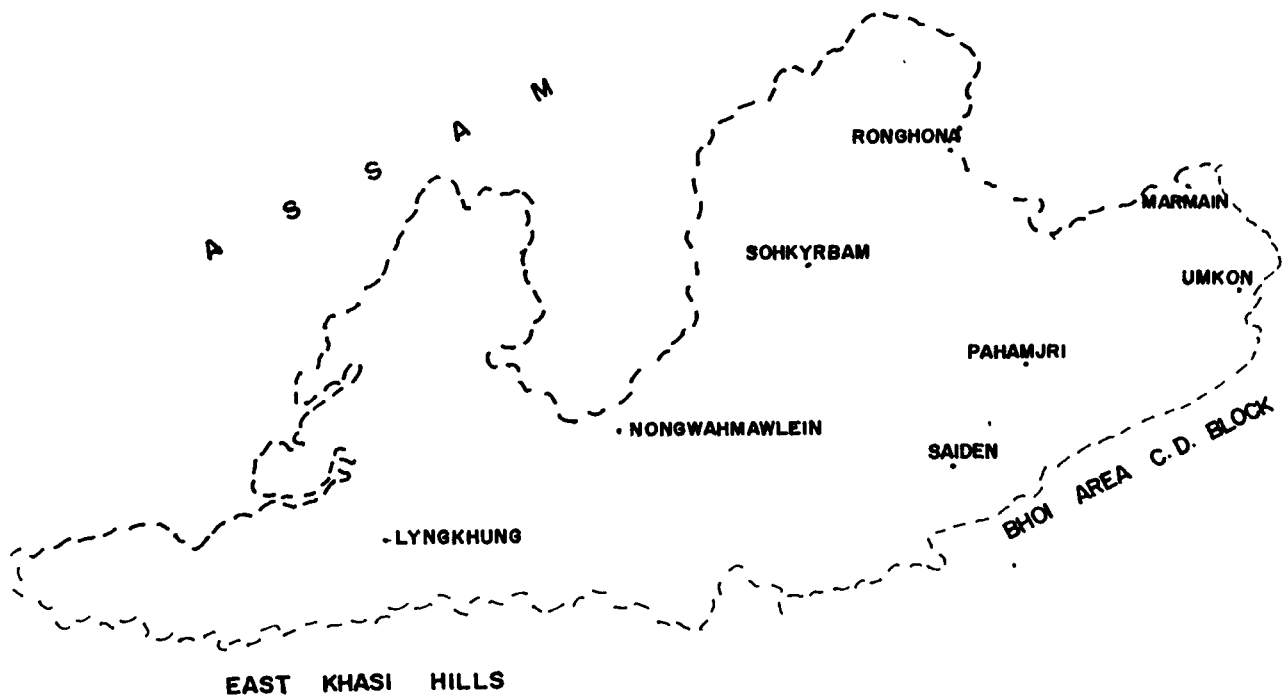
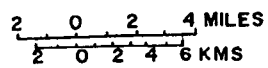
so the earliest clans must have developed through the Meirad (original) Grandmother. Even after the formation of these clans, some new or sub-clans might have been developing, constantly, which explains the present distribution of these clans in this region. As mentioned in Chapter II, the basis of the formation of these clans were many, it is not difficult to find out strong physical basis of the distribution of these clans.

Physical factors in many ways have been responsible for the present distribution of the Khasi clans. The impact of the factors like nature of terrain and slope, forest lands, variation in climatic condition and availability of fertile soils for growth of agriculture might have led to the present distribution of these clans.

The pattern of distribution of these clans is quite interesting for instance some clans are found distributed throughout the region, whereas there are clans found distributed only in particular areas. There are some clans which are not numerically strong but are found in almost all the areas of Khasi Hills. However, there are clans which are large in number, but are found distributed only in few areas.

For a better understanding of the distribution of Khasi clans, 8 villages have been selected from each of

**NONGPOH C.D. BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES**



MAP 4

the 12 C.D. Blocks of Khasi Hills, 9 in East Khasi Hills and 4 in West Khasi Hills. As the Khasi is the dominant tribe of both the East and West Khasi Hills, so Khasis are found distributed in all over the Khasi Hills.

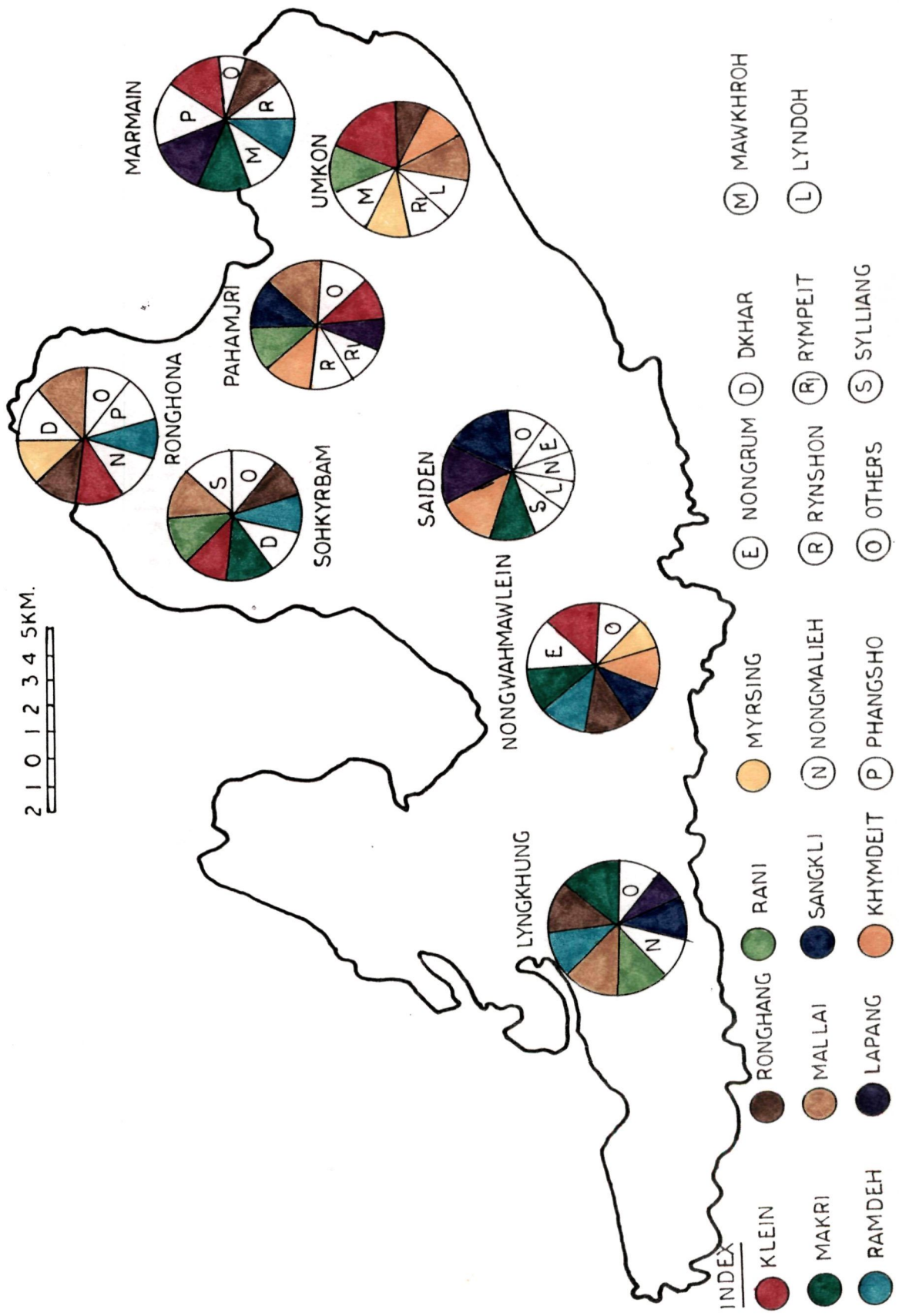
1. Nongpoh Community Development Block

There are 186 villages in Nongpoh C.D. Block. Out of these the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 4).

- 1) Marmain
- 2) Pahamjri
- 3) Nongwah Mawlein
- 4) Saiden
- 5) Umkon
- 6) Sohkyrbam
- 7) Ronghona
- 8) Lyngkhung

In these selected villages, Khasis belonging to 43 different clans are found. However, the population of 18 of these clans is numerically quite insignificant and that is why while making the maps they have not been plotted. Out of the remaining 25 clans, Klein clan is found in 6 (out of the selected 8 villages) villages, namely – Marmain, Pahamjri, Nongwah Mawlein, Umkon, Sohkyrbam and Ronghona.

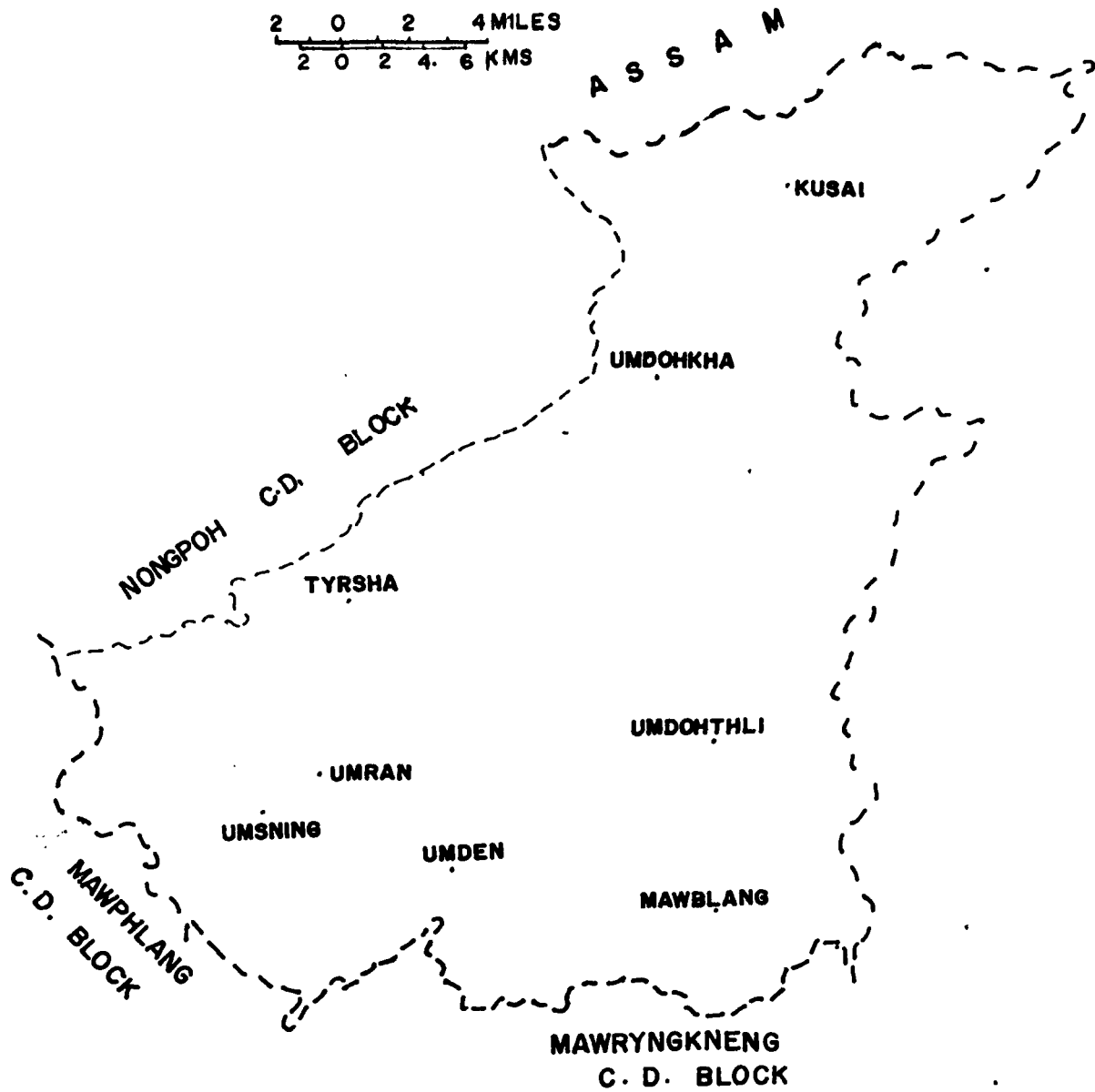
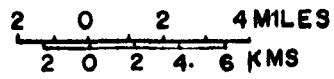
NONGPOH C. D. BLOCK DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS IN SELECTED VILLAGES



There are 4 clans, namely - Makri, Ramdeh, Ronghang, and Mallai which are found in 5 villages. People belonging to Makri clan are found in Marmain, Nongwah Mawlein, Saiden, Sohkyrbam and Lyngkhung of Ramdeh clan in Marmain, Nongwah Mawlein, Sohkyrbam and Lyngkhung of Ronghang clan in Marmain, Nongwah Mawlein, Sohkyrbam, Ronghona and Lyngkhung and of Mallai clan in Pahamjri, Umkon, Sohkyrbam, Ronghona and Lyngkhung. There are 4 clans e.g., Lapang, Rani, Sangkli and Khyndeit which are found in 4 of the selected villages each. People belonging to Lapang clan are found in Marmain, Pahamjri, Saiden and Lyngkhung, Rani clan is found in Pahamjri, Umkon, Sohkyrbam and Lyngkhung, Synkli clan is found in Pahamjri, Nongwah Mawlein, Saiden and Lyngkhung and Khyndeit clan is found in Pahamjri, Nongwah Mawlein, Saiden and Umkon. Myrsing clan is found 3 villages, namely - Nongwah Mawlein, Umkon and Ronghona. Then there are following clans which are found only in one or two of the selected villages. Nongmalieh, Phangsap, Dkhar, Nongkhud, Sylliang, Mawphniang, Langni, Kharnaior, Lyngdoh, Nongrum, Nongshli, Rympeit, Rynshon and Mawkhnoh (see Map 5).

The relative significance of these clans in the selected village may be shown in the following table.

**BHOI AREA C. D. BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES**



MAP 6.

Sl. No.	Name of the clan	Number of village
1.	Klein	6
2.	Makri	5
3.	Ramdeh	5
4.	Ronghang	5
5.	Mallai	5
6.	Lapang	4
7.	Rani	4
8.	Sangkli	4
9.	Khyndeit	4
10.	Myrsing	3
11.	Phangsho	2
12.	Langli	2
13.	Kharnaier	2
14.	Lyngdoh	2
15.	Nongrum	2
16.	Rynshon	2
17.	Dkhar	1
18.	Sylliang	1
19.	Nongmalieh	1
20.	Mawphniang	1
21.	Nongshli	1
22.	Rympeit	1
23.	Mawkhrah	1

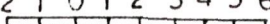
2. Bhoi Area Community Development Block

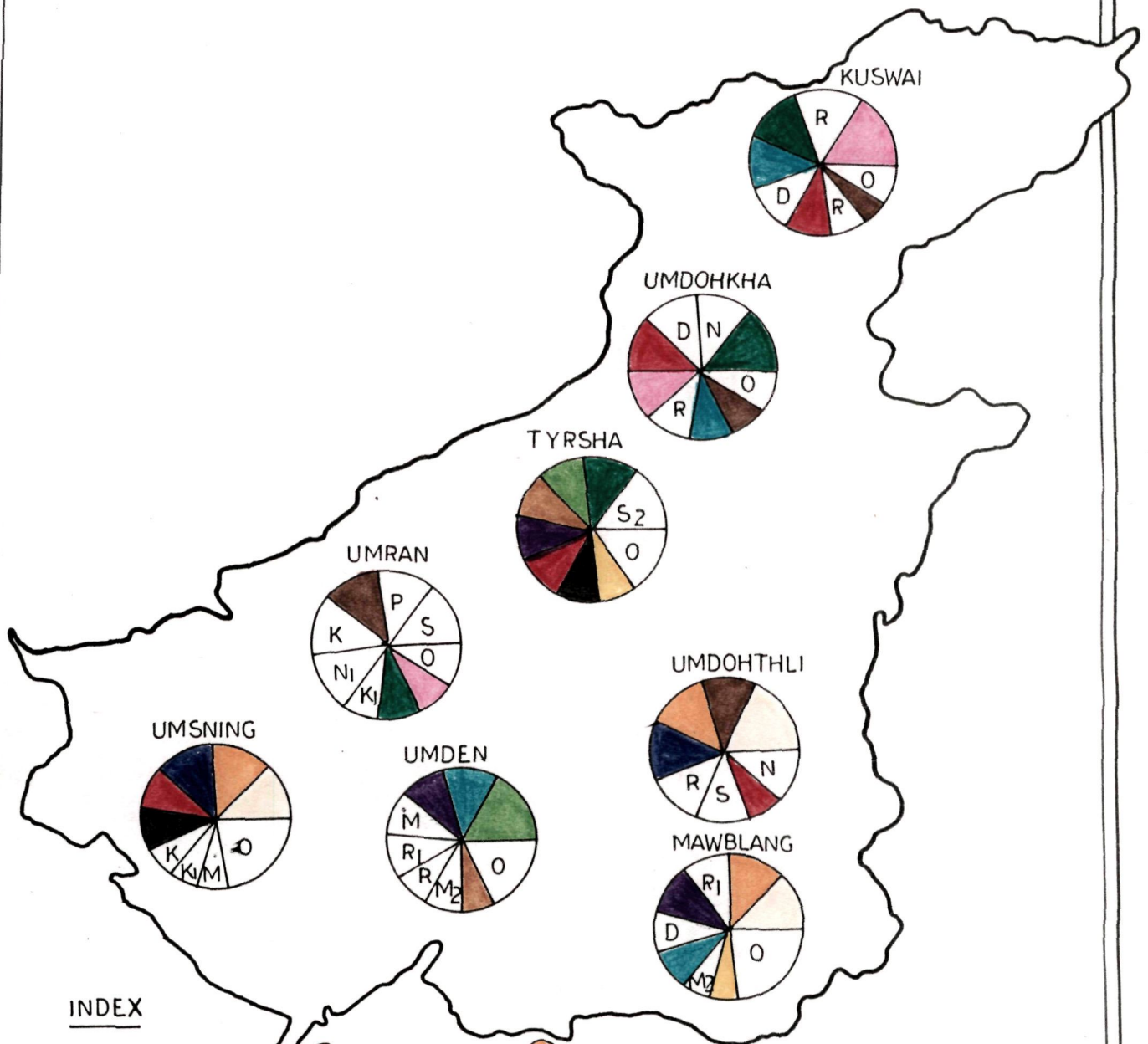
There are 248 villages in the Bhoi Area C.D. Block. Out of these, the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 6).

- 1) Tyrsha
- 2) Umsning
- 3) Umdohkha
- 4) Umran
- 5) Umden
- 6) Mawblang
- 7) Umdohthli
- 8) Kuswai

In these selected villages Khasi people belonging to 34 different clans are found. However, there are 5 clans which are numerically quite insignificant in the villages they are found and that is why while making the Maps they have not been plotted. Out of the remaining 29 clans, Makri clan is found in 5 villages (out of the 8 selected) - Tyrsha, Umsning, Umdohkha, Umdohthli and Kuswai. There are 3 clans namely, Rangdong, Sangkli and Swer which are found in 4 villages each. People belonging to Rangdong clan are found in Tyrsha, Umdohkha, Umran and Kuswai, Sangkli clan is found in Umdohkha, Umden, Mawblang and Kuswai. Swer clan is found in Umdohkha, Umran, Umdohthli and Kuswai. Lapang and Klein clans are found in 3 villages each. Lapang clan is found in Umsning, Mawblang and Umdohthli and Klein clan is found in Umdohkha, Umran and Kuswai. But there are also clan in the C.D. Block which are distributed only in 1 or 2 of the

BHOI C. D. BLOCK DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS IN SELETED VILLAGES

2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 KM.




INDEX

- | | | | |
|-----------|------------|--------------|----------|
| MAKRI | MALLAI | KHARTHANGMAW | RAMDEH |
| RANGDONG | RYMPEIT | SUIAM | KHONGJOH |
| SANGKLI | KHYMDEIT | NONGRUM | LAPANG |
| SWER | LYNGDOH | SURONG | OTHERS |
| KLEIN | PATHAW | DIENGDOH | MAIONG |
| NONGRUM | RONOPEIT | SUMER | MYNSONG |
| KHARKRANG | KHARMULIEH | | |

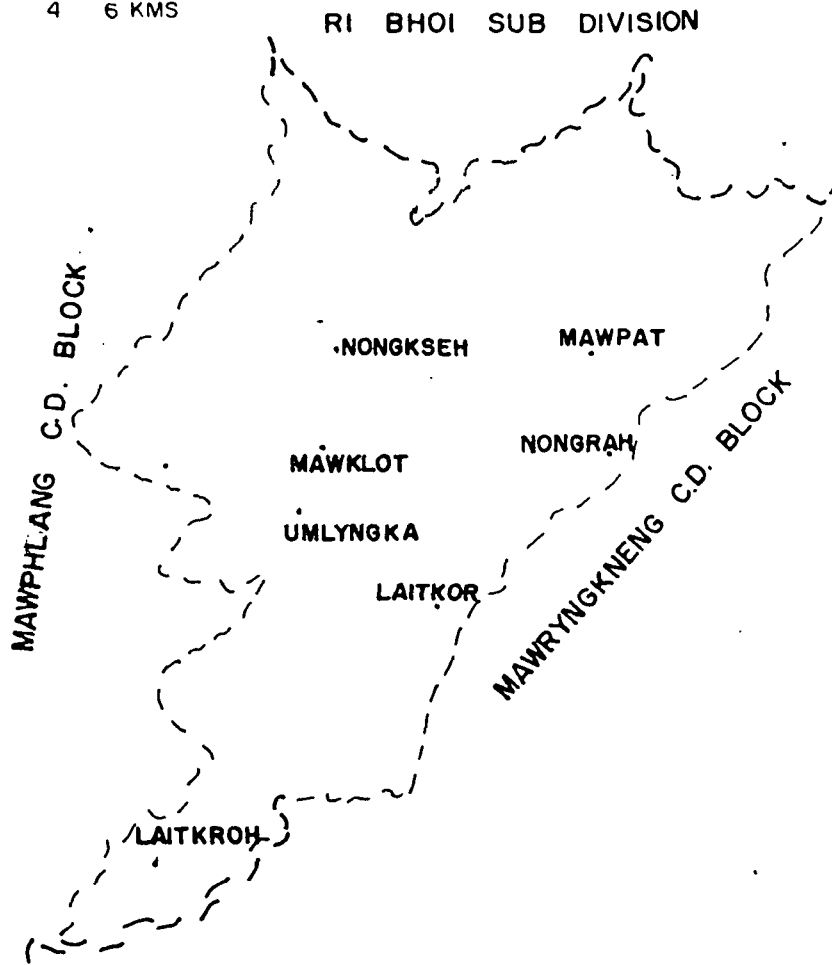
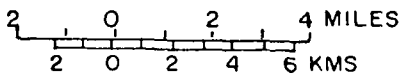
MAP 7.

selected villages. These clans are Mallai, Rympeit, Khyndeit, Sumer, Lyngdoh, Pathaw, Maiong, Kharthangmaw, Suiam, Sunong, Rongpeit, Diengdoh, Mynsong, Myrsing, Nongrum, Kharmalieh, Kshiar, Ramdeh, Kharkrang, Khongwir, Khongjoh and Rongshon (see Map 7).

The relative significance of these clans found in these selected villages can be seen from the following table.

S1. No.	Name of the clan	Number of villages
1.	Makri	5
2.	Rangdong	4
3.	Sangkli	4
4.	Swer	4
5.	Lapang	3
6.	Klein	3
7.	Mallai	2
8.	Rympeit	2
9.	Khymdeit	2
10.	Lyngdoh	2
11.	Pathaw	2
12.	Kharthangmaw	2
13.	Suiam	2
14.	Nongrum	2
15.	Surong	2
16.	Diengdoh	2
17.	Ramdeh	2
18.	Khongjoh	2
19.	Sumer	1

MYLLIEM C.D BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES



MAP 8.

S1. No.	Name of the clan	Number of villages
20.	Maiong	1
21.	Rongpeit	1
22.	Mynsong	1
23.	Myrsing	1
24.	Nongrum	1
25.	Kharmulieh	1
26.	Kshiar	1
27.	Kharkrang	1
28.	Khongwir	1
29.	Rongshon	1
30.	Tado	1
31.	Diengdoh	1
32.	Dohling	1
33.	Dkhar	1
34.	Chyne	1

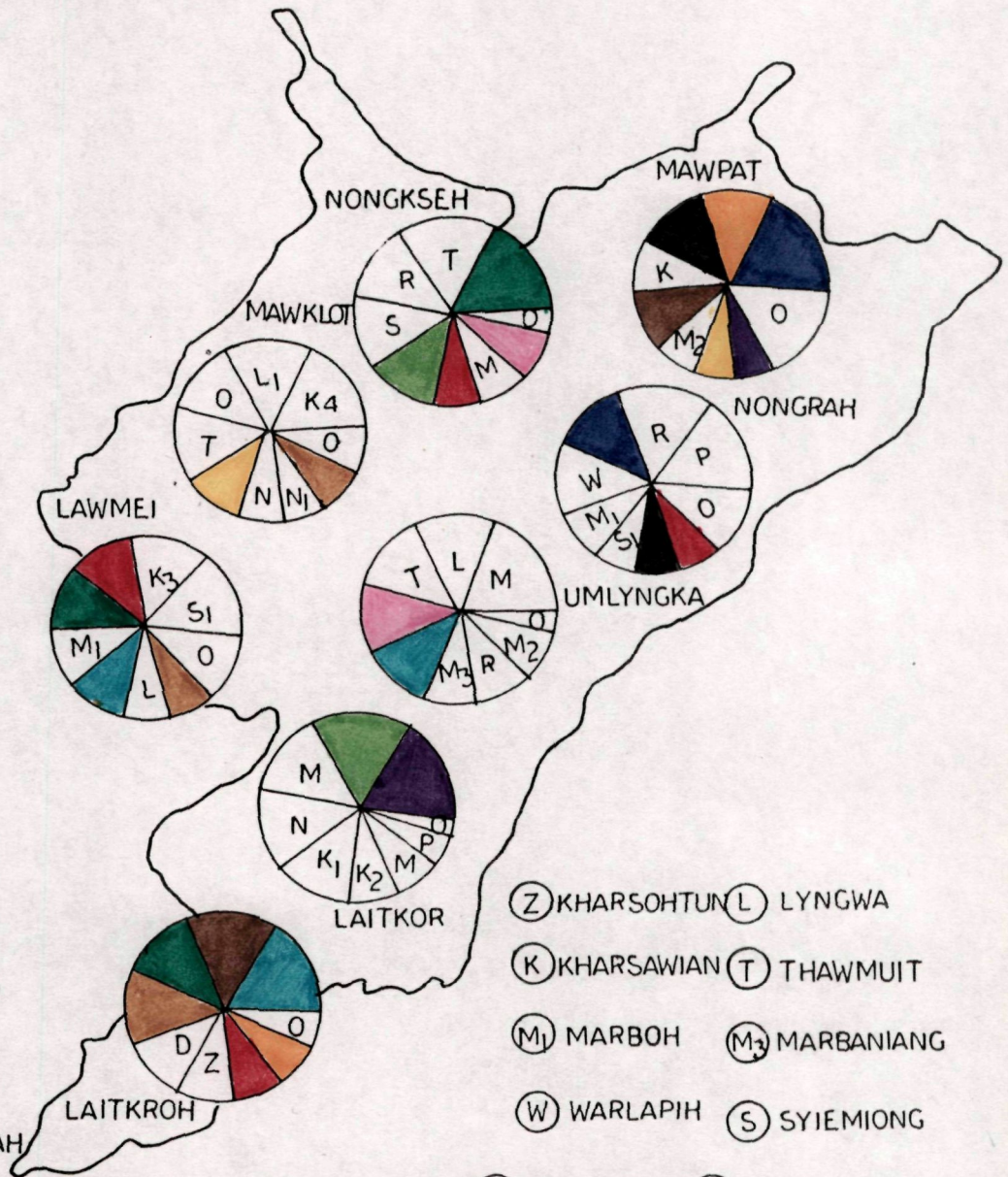
3. Myllem Community Development Block

There are 64 villages in the Myllem C.D. Block. Out of these the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 8).

- 1) Lawmei
- 2) Laitkor
- 3) Laitkroh
- 4) Nongrah
- 5) Mawpat

MYLLIEM C.D BLOCK DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS IN SELECTED VILLAGES

2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 KM.



INDEX

- | | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|--|--|--|--|--|---|
| ● WANKHAR | ● NONGBSAP | ● KHARBUKI | ● KHARBUDNAH | ● MAWRIE | ● BAMON | R RUMNONG | K₃ KHARLOR | N NONGKHLAW |
| Z KHARSOHTUN | L LYNGWA | K KHARSAWIAN | T THAWMUIT | M₁ MARBOH | M₃ MARBANIANG | W WARLAPIH | S SYIEMIONG | |
| M MAJAW | M₂ MYLLIEM | K₁ KHARBANI | S SHABONG | M M | N N | K₁ K ₁ | K₂ K ₂ | M M |
| D DKHAR | S₁ SUN | P KHABANI | | K₄ KHARUMNUID | N₁ NONGPRUIR | R RANI | | |
| T THANGKHIEW | L LANGBNANG | K₂ KHARPRAN | O OTHERS | | | | | |

- 6) Mawklot
- 7) Umlyngka
- 8) Nongkseh

In these selected villages Khasi belonging to 6 different clans are found. However, the population of 18 of these clans is quite insignificant and that is why, while calculating the data they have not been considered. Out of the remaining 43 clans - Wankhar clan is found in 4 (out of the 8 selected villages) villages, namely - Lawmei, Laitkroh, Nongrah and Nongkseh. There are 3 clans, namely - Nongbsap, Kharbuki and Kharbuhnah which are found in 3 of the villages. People belonging to Nongbsap clan are found in Lawmei, Laitkroh and Nongkseh, Kharbuki clans are found in Lawmei, Laitkroh and Umlyngka and clan Kharbuhnah are found in Lawmei, Laitkroh and Mawklot. But there are also clans which are distributed only in 1 or in 2 of the selected villages. These clans are Mawrie, Nongkhlaw, Kharkongor, Kharkamni, Marboh, Kharpran, Nongpiur, Khyriem, Kharlor, Sun, Mylliem, Langbnang, Kharsyntiew, Kharumnuid, Pyngrope, Kharsotun, Khar-iir, Myrshiang, Bamon, Rani, Kharsawian, Warlapih, Syiemiong, Kharsohnoh, Nongrum, Langstieh, Marbaniang, Jyrwa, Mawlong, Thangkhiew, Majaw, Rumnong, Lyngwa, Dkhar, Shabong, Kurkalang, Nongneng and Thawmuit (see Map 9).

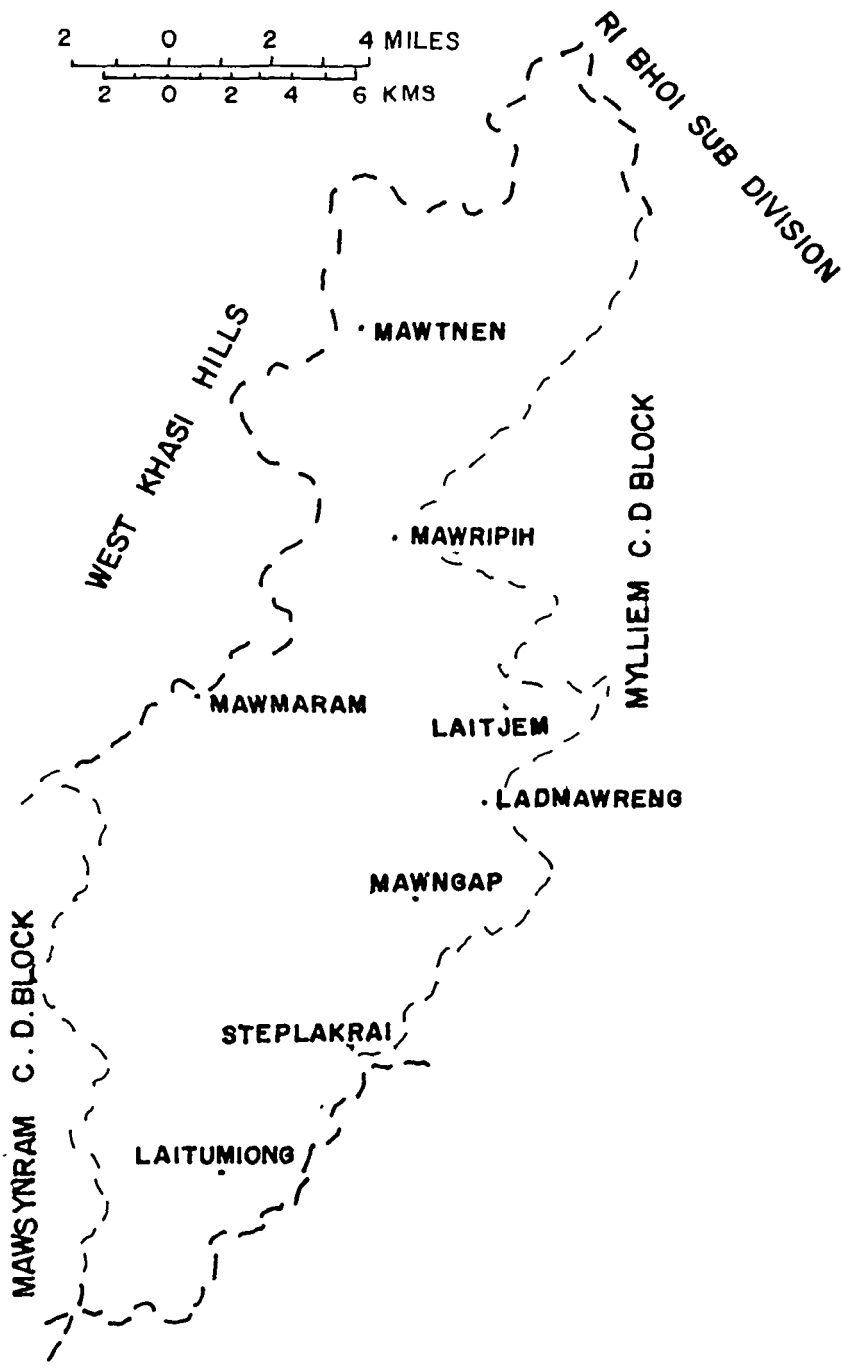
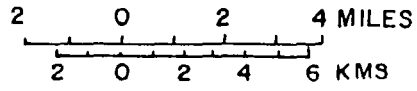
The relative significance of these clans in the

selected villages may be shown in the following table.

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
1.	Wankhar	4
2.	Kharbunah	3
3.	Nongbsap	3
4.	Kharbuki	3
5.	Mawrie	2
6.	Kharkongor	2
7.	Kharsyntiew	2
8.	Pyngrope	2
9.	Khar-iir	2
10.	Bamon	2
11.	Kharsohnoh	2
12.	Jyrwa	2
13.	Thangkhiew	2
14.	Majaw	2
15.	Rumnong	2
16.	Dkhar	2
17.	Nongkhlaw	1
18.	Kharkamni	1
19.	Marboh	1
20.	Kharpran	1
21.	Nongpiur	1
22.	Khyriem	1
23.	Kharlor	1
24.	Sun	1
25.	Mylliem	1
26.	Langbnang	1
27.	Kharumnuid	1

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
28.	Kharsobtun	1
29.	Myrshiang	1
30.	Rani	1
31.	Kharsawian	1
32.	Warlapih	1
33.	Marboh	1
34.	Syiemiong	1
35.	Nongrum	1
36.	Langstieh	1
37.	Marbaniang	1
38.	Mawlong	1
39.	Lyngwa	1
40.	Shabong	1
41.	Kurkalang	1
42.	Nongpiur	1
43.	Nongneng	1
44.	Thawmuit	1
45.	Synrem	1
46.	Sumer	1
47.	Rapsang	1
48.	Pyngrope	1
49.	Wahlang	1
50.	Khongwar	1
51.	Kharbaki	1
52.	Thabah	1
53.	Riahtam	1
54.	Masynting	1
55.	Tariang	1
56.	Syad	1

**MAWPHLANG C. D. BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES**



MAP 10

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
57.	Diengdoh	1
58.	Suting	1
59.	Thangmaw	1
60.	War	1
61.	Paswett	1
62.	Lartang	1

4. Mawphlang Community Development Block

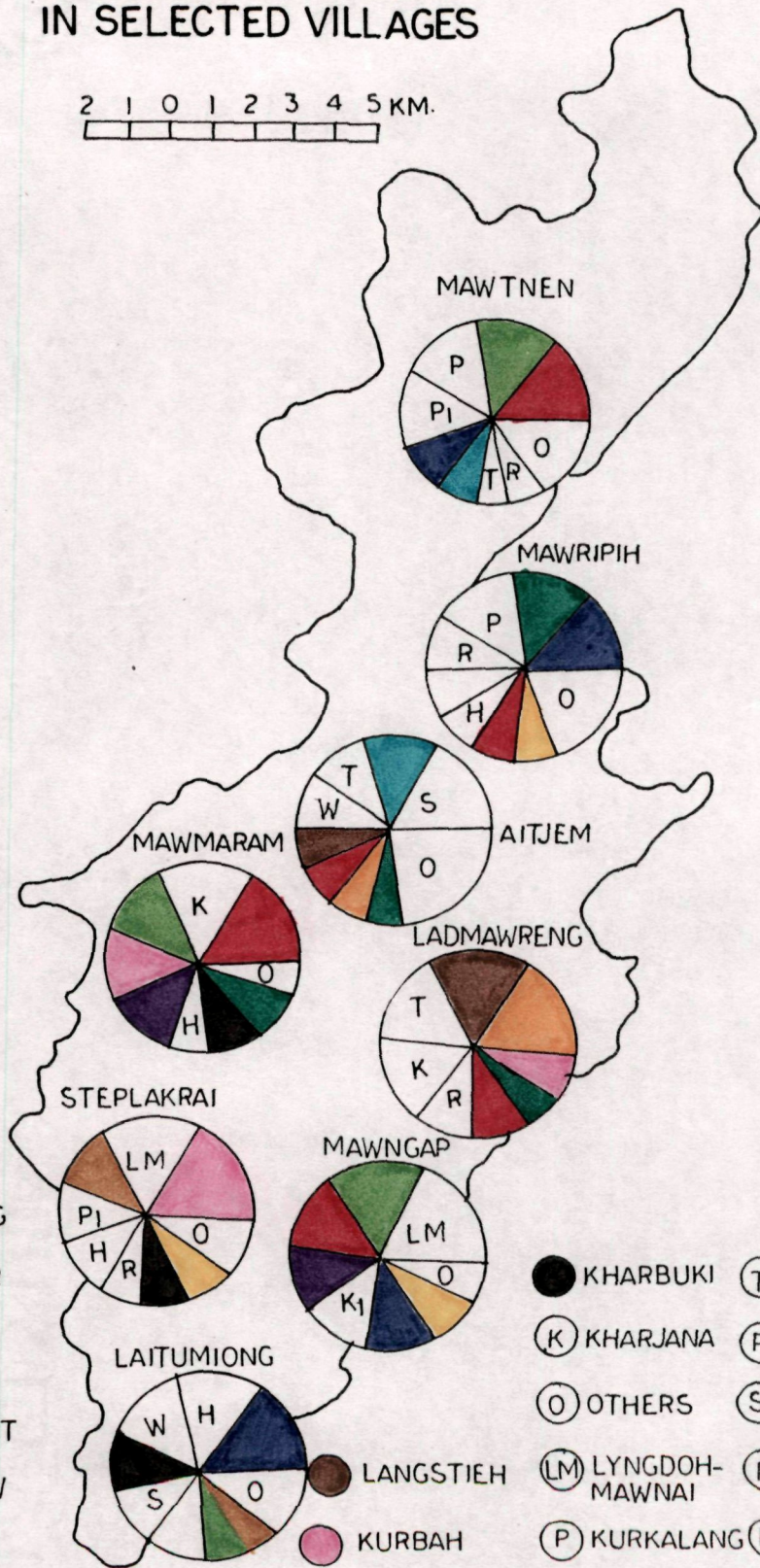
In this C.D. Block there are 112 villages. Out of these the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 10).

- 1) Laitumiong
- 2) Ladmawreng
- 3) Laitjem
- 4) Mawripih
- 5) Mawngap
- 6) Mawtnen
- 7) Mawmaram
- 8) Steplakrai

In these selected villages Khasi belonging to 50 different clans are found. However, the population of 12 clans are quite insignificant, and that is why while calcula-

MAWPHLANG C.D.BLOCK DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS IN SELECTED VILLAGES

2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 KM.



● MARBANIANG
● KHARBYNGAR

● PATHAW

● BASAIAWMOIT

● NONGKHLAW

● MAWLONG

● MARSHABONG

● SOHTUN

● KHAPEW

● KHARBUKI (T) THAWMUIT

(K) KHARJANA (Pi) PATHAW

(O) OTHERS (S) SHABONG

(LM) LYNGDOH-MAWNAI (R) RANGLANG

(P) KURKALANG (H) PYNGROPE

(W) WANKHAR (Ki) KHARTHANGMAW

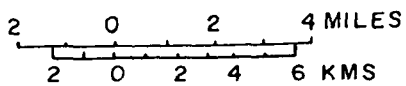
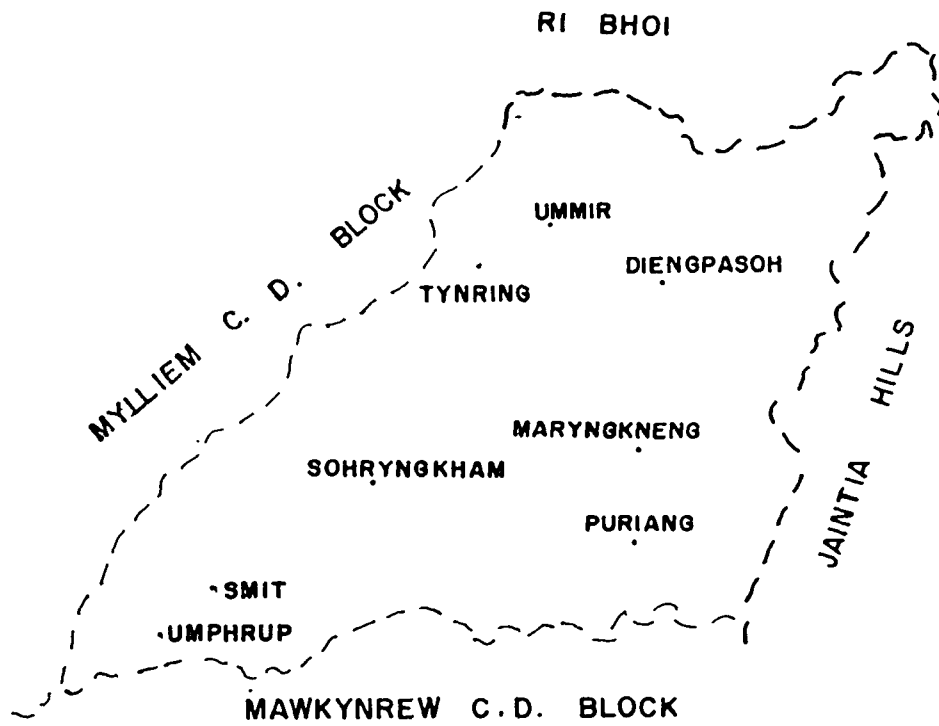
MAP II

ting the data they have not been considered. But out of the remaining 38 clans, Marbaniang clan is found in 6 (out of the 8 selected villages). These villages are Ladmawreng, Laitjem, Mawripih, Mawngap, Mawtnen and Mawmaram. There is 1 clan namely, Kharbyngngar which is found in 4 villages namely, Ladmawreng, Laitjem, Mawripih and Mawmaram. There are 3 clans namely, Pathaw, Nongkhlaw and Mawlong which are found in 3 villages. People belonging to Pathaw clan are found in Laitumiong, Laitjem and Mawtnen, Nongkhlaw clan in Laitumiong, Mawripih and Mawtnen, and Mawlong clan is found in Laitumiong, Mawtnen and Mawmaram. But there are also clans in Mawphlang C.D. Block which are distributed only in 1 or in 2 of the selected villages. These clans are Syndor, Basaiawmoit, Shabong, Wankhar, Wahlang, Mawnai, Thabah, Lyngdoh Mawnai, Kharthangmaw, Namshieh, Warshabong, Sohtun, Kharsohnoh, Langstieh, Kurbah, Kharjana, Thawmuit, Nongbri, Khapew, Kharbuki, Kharmalki, Kharpran, Dohtdong, Nongrum, Thangkhiew, Rynjah, Rangslang, Kurkalang, Kharsati, Kharpuri, Pyngrope and Warjri (see Map 11).

The relative significance of these clans in the selected villages may be shown in the following table.

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
1.	Marbaniang	6
2.	Kurbah	4
3.	Kharbyngngar	3
4.	Rangslang	3
5.	Warjri	3
6.	Pathaw	3
7.	Nongkhlaw	3
8.	Mawlong	3
9.	Basaiawmoit	2
10.	Namshieh	2
11.	Warshabong	2
12.	Kharsohnoh	2
13.	Langstieh	2
14.	Thawmuit	2
15.	Nongbri	2
16.	Khapew	2
17.	Rynjah	2
18.	Kurkalang	2
19.	Kharsati	2
20.	Pyngrope	2
21.	Laloo	2
22.	Syndor	1
23.	Shabong	1
24.	Wankhar	1
25.	Wahlang	1
26.	Mawnai	1
27.	Thabah	1
28.	Lyngdoh Mawnai	1
29.	Kharthangmaw	1

MAWRYNGKNENG C. D. BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES



Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
30.	Sohtun	1
31.	Kharjana	1
32.	Kharbuki	1
33.	Kharmalki	1
34.	Kharpran	1
35.	Dohtdong	1
36.	Nongrum	1
37.	Thangkhiew	1
38.	Kharsyntiew	1
39.	Kharpuri	1
40.	Hynniewta	1
41.	Kurbah	1
42.	Khasen	1
43.	Nongrang	1
44.	War	1
45.	Diengdoh	1
46.	Nongsiej	1
47.	Jana	1
48.	Mallai	1
49.	Lamare	1
50.	Phira	1

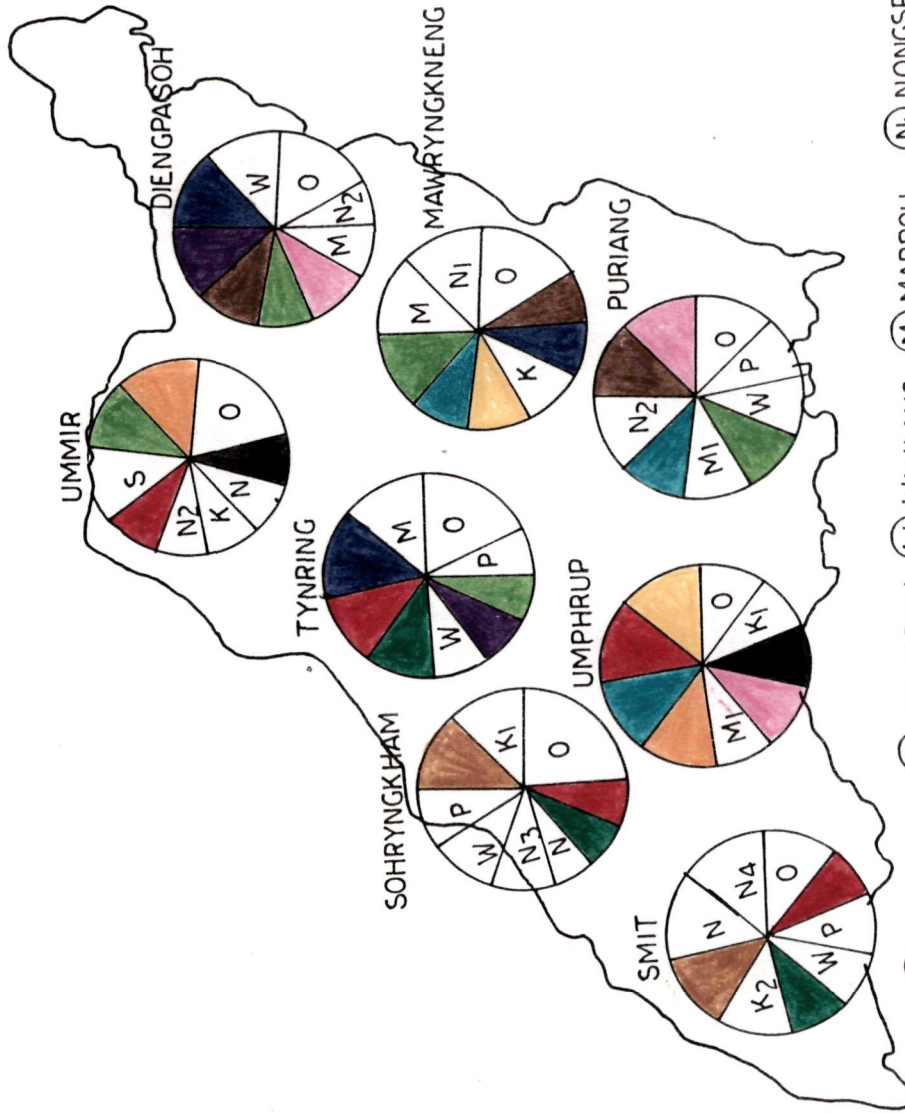
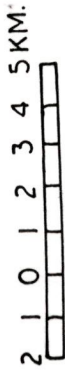
5. Mawryngkneng Community Development Block

There are 64 villages in the Mawryngkneng C.D. Block. Out of these the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 12).

- 1) Tynring
- 2) Sohryngkham
- 3) Ummir
- 4) Diengpasoh
- 5) Puriang
- 6) Umphrup
- 7) Smit
- 8) Mawryngkneng

In these selected villages, Khasis belonging to 54 different clans are found. However, the population of 14 of these clans is quite insignificant and that is why while making the maps they have not been considered and plotted. Out of the remaining 40 clans, Kharumnuid clan is found in 5 (out of the 8 selected villages) villages namely, Tynring, Sohryngkham, Ummir, Umphrup and Smit. There are 5 clans namely, Kharmalki, Sohtun, Mukhim, Marboh and Kharsati which are found in 3 villages. People belonging to Kharmalki clan are found in Tynring, Sohryngkham and Smit, Sohtun clan are found in Puriang, Umphrup and Mawryngkneng. Mukhim clan is found in Diengpasoh, Puriang and Mawryngkneng. Marboh clan in Tynring, Diengpasoh and Mawryngkneng and Kharsati clan is found in Diengpasoh and Mawryngkneng. But there also clans in the C.D. Block which are distributed only in 1 or in 2 of the selected villages.

**MAWRYNGKNENG C.D. BLOCK
DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS
IN SELECTED VILLAGES**



INDEX

- | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|--|------------|--|-----------|--|-----------|--|---------|--|---------|--|---------|--|-----------|--|-----------|
| | KHARUMNUID | | MUKHIM | | NONGBRI | | NONGRUM | | WAHLANG | | MARBOH | | NONGSPUNG | | NONGPLUH |
| | KHARMALKI | | MARBOH | | KHARMUJAI | | SWER | | NONGRUM | | KHARRAN | | N4 | | NONGDHAR |
| | SOHTON | | KHARSATI | | WARLARPIH | | SYNNAH | | MAWRIE | | M3 | | N3 | | NONGKHLAW |
| | MAWTHOH | | KHARLUKHI | | | | | | | | | | | | |

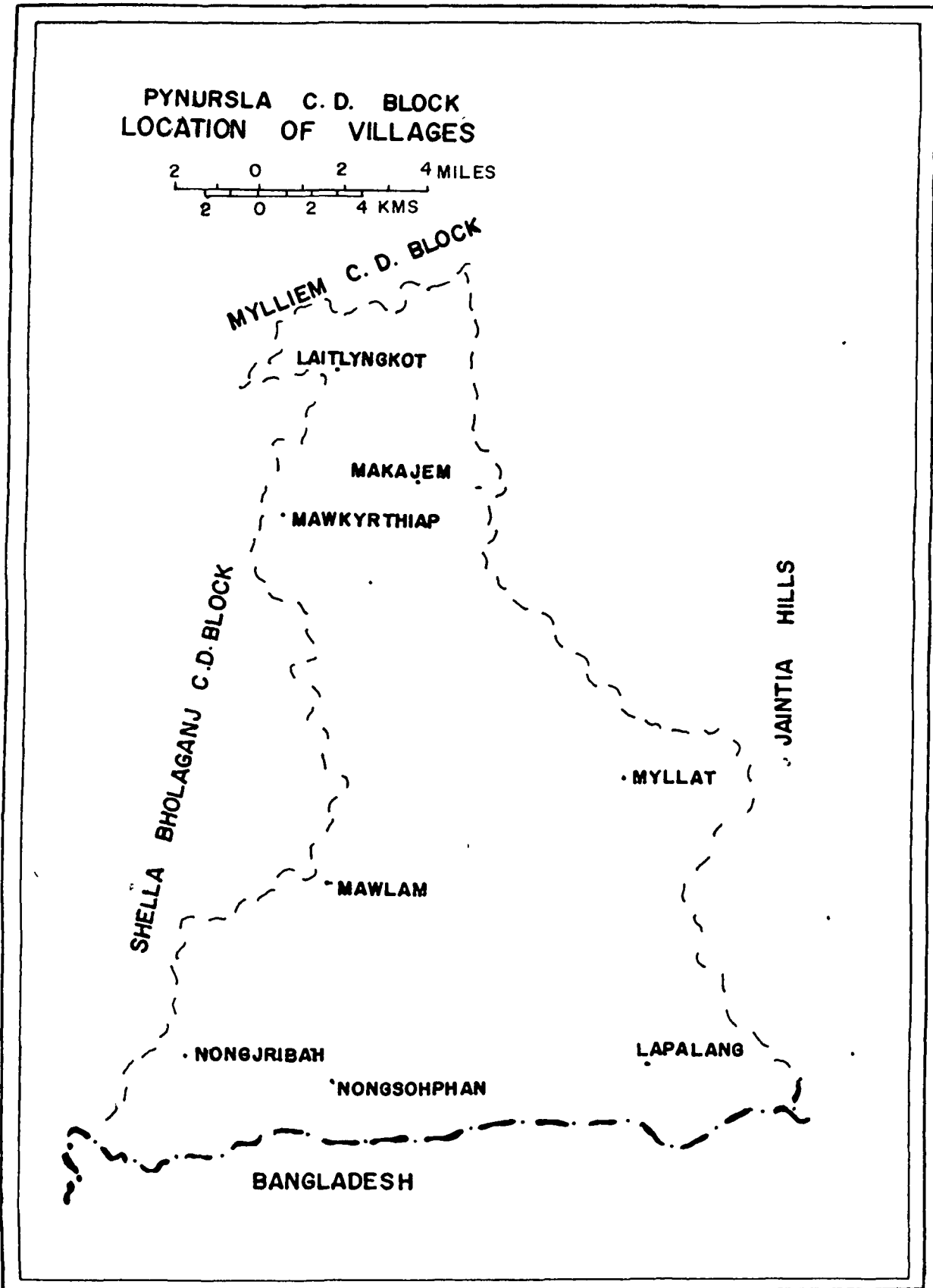
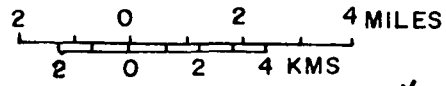
These clans are Nongbri, Nongstein, Khyriem, Nongkynrih, Khar-rngi, Kharmih, Kharmujai, Warlapih, Mawthoh, Marbaniang, Kurkalang, Lyngdoh-sla, Nongpluh, Lawai, Kharlukhi, Kharsunai, Mynsong, Synnah, Nongdhar, Kharmuti, Syiem, Nongrum, Kharnaior, Swer, Kharbuli, Kharpran, Nongkhlaw, Pyngrope, Wahlang, Myllemngap, Nongbet, Nongspung, Mawrie and Kharkon (see Map 13).

The relative significance of these clans in the selected villages may be shown in the following table.

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
1.	Kharmujai	5
2.	Kharmalki	3
3.	Warlapih	3
4.	Mukhim	3
5.	Marboh	3
6.	Kharsati	3
7.	Nongbri	2
8.	Sohtun	2
9.	Mawthoh	2
10.	Marbaniang	2
11.	Kharlukhi	2
12.	Synnah	2
13.	Nongrum	2
14.	Pyngrope	2
15.	Wahlang	2

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
16.	Nongstein	1
17.	Khyriem	1
18.	Nongkynrih	1
19.	Khar-rngi	1
20.	Kharumnuid	1
21.	Kurkalang	1
22.	Lyngdoh-sla	1
23.	Nongpluh	1
24.	Lawai	1
25.	Kharsumai	1
26.	Mynsong	1
27.	Nongdhar	1
28.	Kharmuti	1
29.	Syiem	1
30.	Kharnaier	1
31.	Swer	1
32.	Kharbuli	1
33.	Kharpran	1
34.	Nongkhlaw	1
35.	Mylliemngap	1
36.	Nongbet	1
37.	Nongspung	1
38.	Mawrie	1
39.	Kharkon	1
40.	Hadem	1
41.	Warjri	1
42.	Mawroh	1
43.	Lynrah	1
44.	Kharsohnoh	1

PYNURSLA C. D. BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES



MAP 14

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
45.	Shrieh	1
46.	Nongrang	1
47.	Basaiawmoit	1
48.	Warjri	1
49.	Dkhar	1
50.	Kharbihkhiew	1
51.	Warkhyllaw	1
52.	Kharmomtiah	1
53.	Diengdoh	1

6. Pynursla Community Development Block

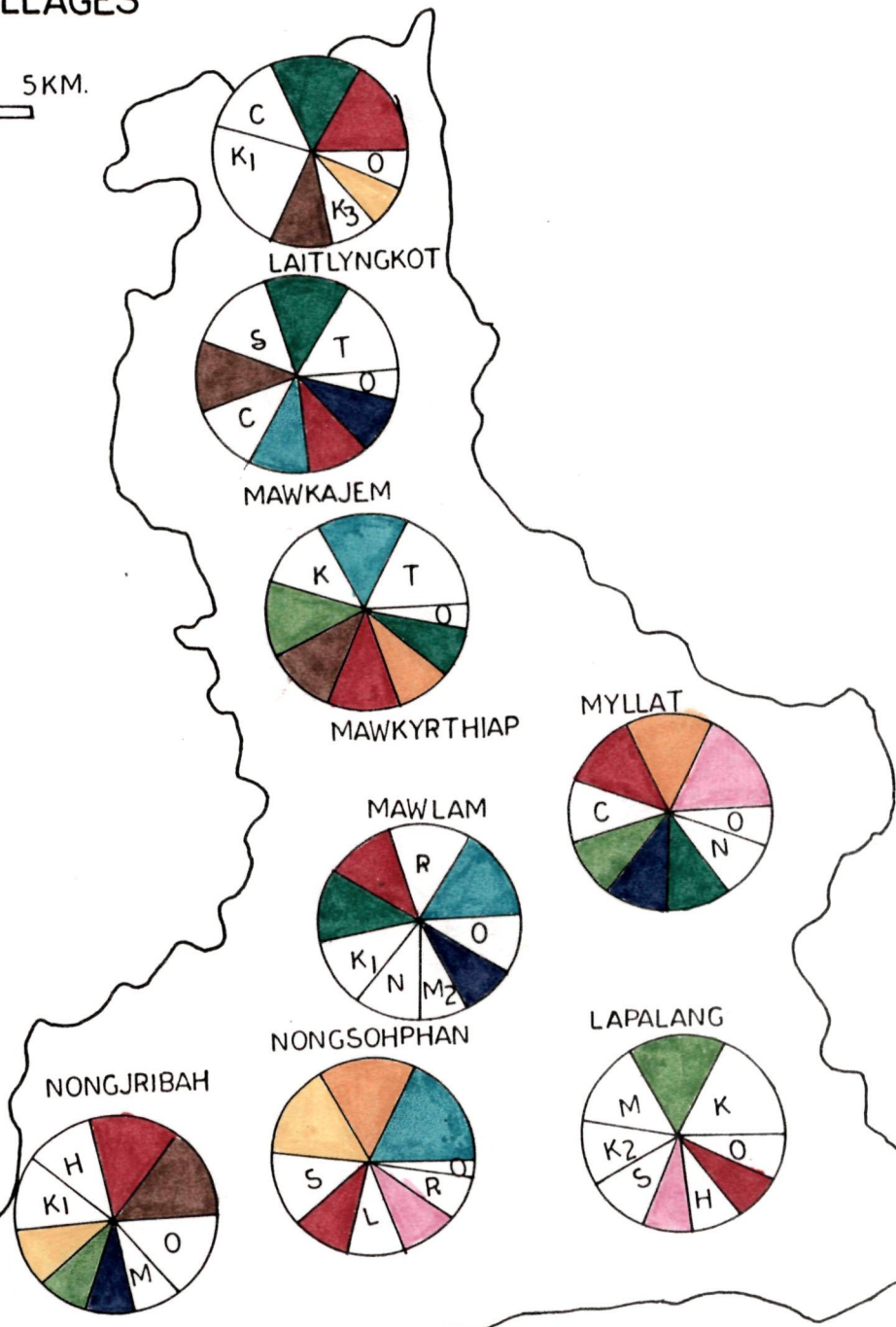
In these C.D. Block where are 127 villages. Out of these the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 14).

- 1) Mawkajem
- 2) Nongsohphan
- 3) Laitlyngkot
- 4) Nongjribah
- 5) Lapalang
- 6) Myllat
- 7) Mawlam
- 8) Mawkyrthiap

In these selected villages, Khasi belonging to 40 different clans are found. However, the population of 15 clans are quite insignificant and that is why, while calculating the data they have not been considered. But out of the remaining 25 clans, they have been shown in the map. The clan Khongmdir is found in all the 8 selected villages namely, Mawkajem, Nongsohphan, Laitlyngkot, Nongjribah, Lapalang, Myllat, Mawlam and Mawkyrthiap. There is 1 clan namely, Khongtim is found only in 5 of the selected villages namely, Mawkajem, Laitlyngkot, Myllat, Mawlam and Mawkyrthiap. There are also 6 clans which are found in 4 villages. These clans are Khongjawer, Mawpling, Buhphang, Wankon, Khonglam and Khongthoh. People belonging to Surong clan are found in villages of Mawkajem, Lapalang, Laitlyngkot and Myllat, Mawpling in Mawkajem, Nongsohphan, Mawlam and Mawkyrthiap; Buhphang in Mawkajem, Laitlyngkot, Nongjribah and Mawkyrthiap; Wankon in Mawkajem, Nongjribah, Myllat and Mawlam; Khonglam in Nongjribah, Lapalang, Myllat and Mawkyrthiap and Khongthoh clan is found in Nongsohphan, Laitlyngkot, Myllat and Mawkyrthiap. There are 2 clans namely, Khongkhlad and Massar are found in 3 villages. People belonging to Khongkhlad clan are found in Nongsohphan, Lapalang and Myllat. Massar clan in Nongsohphan, Laitlyngkot and Nongjribah. But there are also clans which are distributed only in 1 or in 2 of the selected villages. These clans

PYNURSLA C. D. BLOCK
 DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS
 IN SELECTED VILLAGES

2 1 0 2 3 4 5 KM.



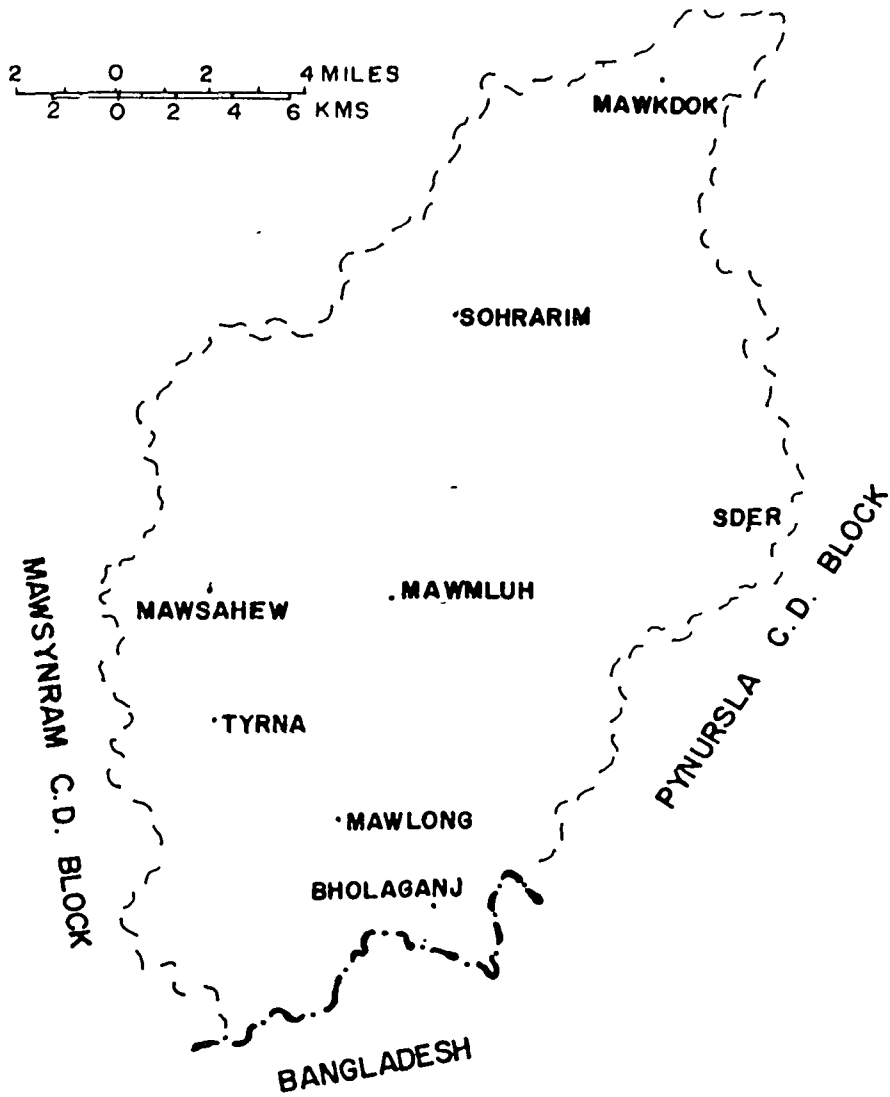
- | | | | | |
|-----------|------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| KHONGSDIR | KHONGLAM | T TANGSONG | H KHONGKAI | M ₂ MAWKON |
| KHONGTIM | KHONGTHAH | K KHONGKROM | C KHONGJAWER | L LASO |
| MAWPLING | KHONGKHLAD | N NONGRUM | M MASYNTING | K ₃ KHONGDUP |
| BUHPHANG | MASSAR | R RYNGA | O THERS | |
| WARKON | S SURONG | K ₁ KHONOWIR | K ₂ KHONGMALAI | |

are Surong, Tangsong, Khongkrom, Nongrum, Khongjee, Ryngat, Mawkon, Khongkai, Masynting, Khongmalai, Khongwir, Khongsip, Khongdup, Shabong and Laso (see Map 15).

The relative significance of these clans in the selected villages may be shown in the following table.

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
1.	Khongsdir	8
2.	Khongtim	5
3.	Khongjawer	4
4.	Mawpling	4
5.	Buhphang	4
6.	Warkon	4
7.	Khonglam	4
8.	Nongrum	4
9.	Khongkhlad	3
10.	Khongduh	3
11.	Surong	2
12.	Thangsong	2
13.	Khongkrom	2
14.	Khongthoh	2
15.	Ryngat	2
16.	Khongkai	2
17.	Masynting	2
18.	Khongmalai	2
19.	Shabong	2
20.	Khongjee	1
21.	Mawkon	1

SHELLA BHOLAGANJ C.D. BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES



MAP 16

S1. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
22.	Khongwir	1
23.	Massar	1
24.	Khongsip	1
25.	Laso	1
26.	Khongsdoh	1
27.	Sohtun	1
28.	Kharbihkhiew	1
29.	Warkhyllew	1
30.	Tron	1
31.	Majaw	1
32.	Sohkhlet	1
33.	Manar	1
34.	Dkhar	1
35.	Pohthmi	1
36.	Tongper	1
37.	Nongkhlaw	1
38.	Japang	1
39.	Synrem	1
40.	Sohkhlet	1

7. Shella-Bholaganj Community Development Block

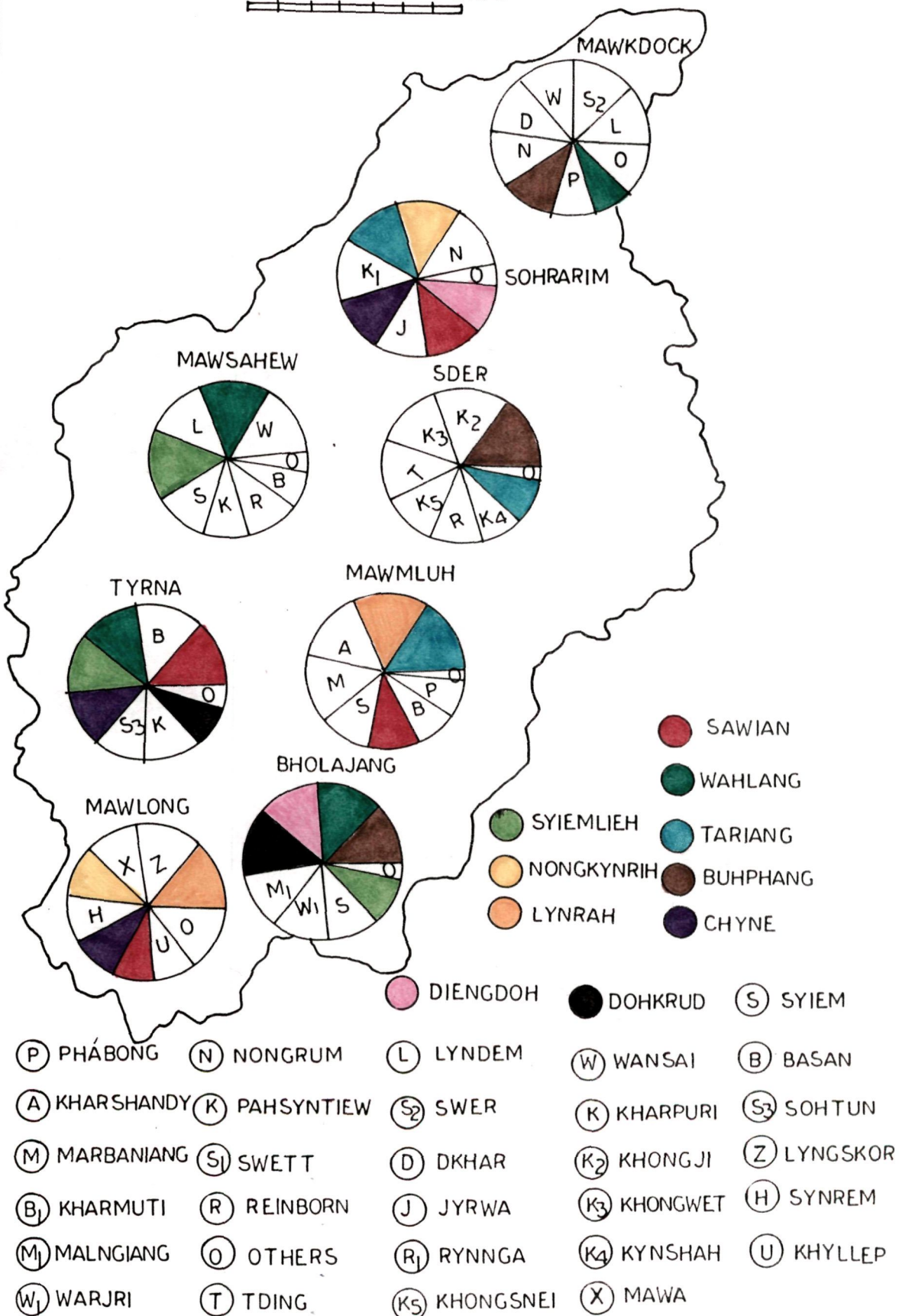
In the Shella-Bholaganj C.D. Block, there are 172 villages. Out of these the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 16).

- 1) Sder
- 2) Mawsahew
- 3) Tyrna
- 4) Bholaganj
- 5) Mawmluh
- 6) Mawlong
- 7) Sohrarim
- 8) Mawkdok

In these selected villages, Khasi belonging to 53 different clans are found. However, the population of 14 clans are quite insignificant and that is why, while calculating the data, they have not been considered. But out of the remaining 39 clans, these have been shown and mapped. Sawian and Wahlang clans are found in 4 (out of the 8 selected villages). Sawian clan are found in Tyrna, Mawmluh, Mawlong and Sohrarim; Wahlang clan in Mawsahew, Tyrna, Bholaganj and Mawkdok. There are 4 clans namely, Buhphang, Tariang, Chyne and Syiemlieh clans which are found in 3 villages each. People belonging to Buhphang clan are found in Sder, Bholaganj and Mawkdok. Tariang clan in Sder, Mawmluh and Sohrarim. Chyne clan in Tyrna, Mawlong and Sohrarim and Syiemlieh clan in Mawsahew, Tyrna and Bholaganj. But there are also clans which are distributed only in 1 or in 2 of the selected villages. These clans are Khongshei,

SHELLA BHOLAGANJ C. D. BLOCK DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS IN SEL- ECTED VILLAGES

2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 KM.



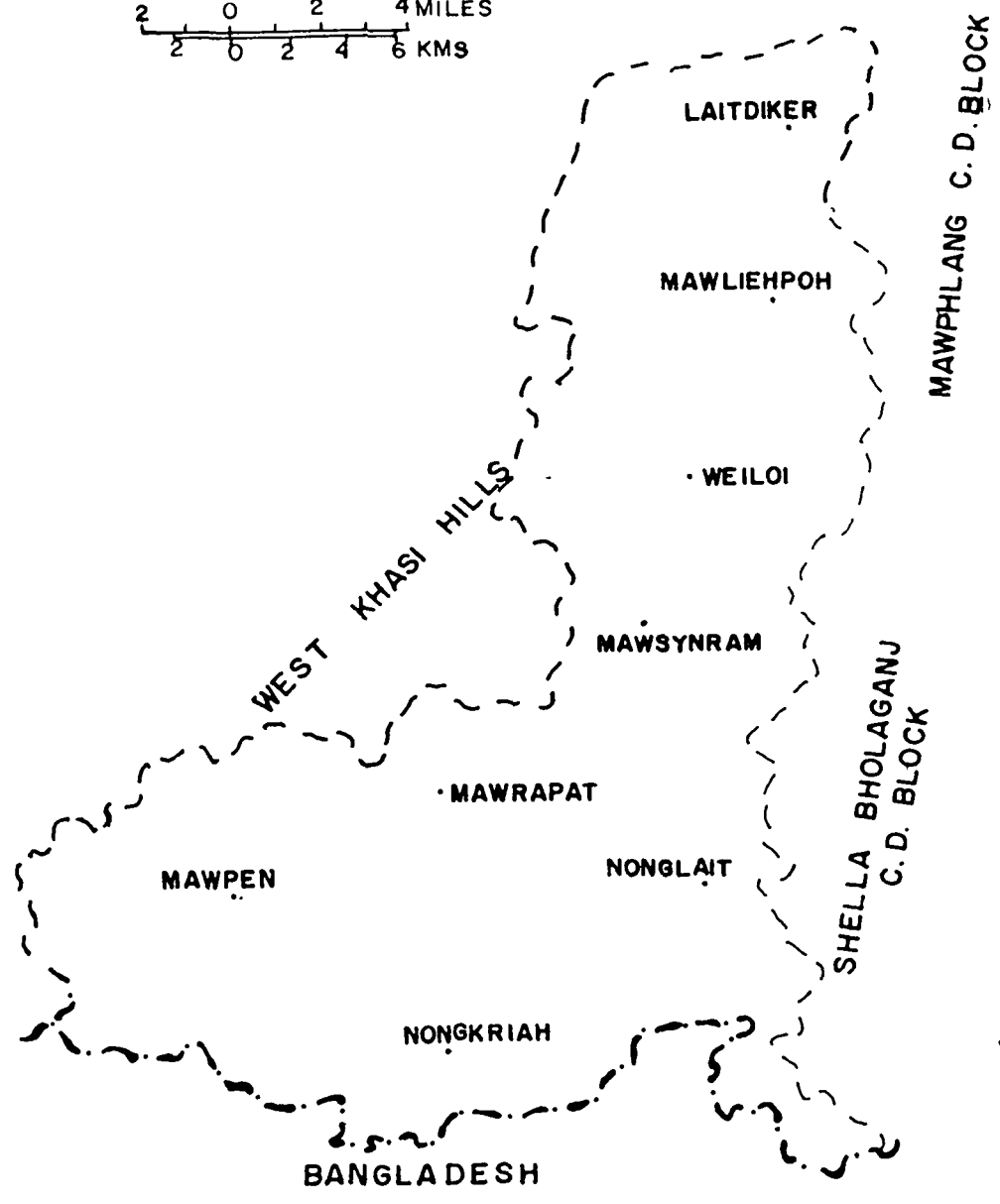
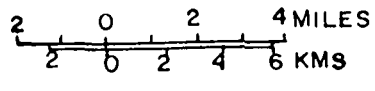
Tding, Khongwet, Rynga, Khongti, Kynshah, Synrem, Khylllep, Mawa, Lyngskor, Nongkynrih, Lynrah, Diengdoh, Warjri, Dohkrud, Malngiang, Syiem, Kharshandy, Marbaniang, Kharmuti, Shabong, Nongrum, Swer, Lyndem, Dkhar, Wansai, Swett, Reinborn, Basan, Pahsyntiew, Sohtun, Kharpuri and Jyrwa (see Map 17).

The relative significant of these clans in the selected villages may be shown in the following table.

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
1.	Sawian	4
2.	Wahlang	4
3.	Buhphang	3
4.	Tariang	3
5.	Chyne	3
6.	Syiemlieh	3
7.	Nongkynrih	2
8.	Lynrah	2
9.	Diengdoh	2
10.	Dohkrud	2
11.	Syiem	2
12.	Shabong	2
13.	Nongrum	2
14.	Lyndem	2
15.	Wansai	2
16.	Basan	2
17.	Pahsyntiew	2

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
18.	Khongshei	1
19.	Tding	1
20.	Khongwet	1
21.	Rynga	1
22.	Khongti	1
23.	Kynshah	1
24.	Synrem	1
25.	Khyllep	1
26.	Mawa	1
27.	Lyngskor	1
28.	Warjri	1
29.	Malngiang	1
30.	Kharshandy	1
31.	Marbaniang	1
32.	Kharmuti	1
33.	Swer	1
34.	Dkhar	1
35.	Swett	1
36.	Reinborn	1
37.	Sohtun	1
38.	Kharpuri	1
39.	Jyrwa	1
40.	Rajee	1
41.	Bamon	1
42.	Thabah	1
43.	Nongbri	1
44.	Iangngap	1
45.	Lyngdoh	1
46.	Mukhim	1

**MAWSYNRAM C. D. BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES**



MAP 18

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
47.	Lyngdoh	1
48.	Sohkhlet	1
49.	Shanpru	1
50.	Rani	1
51.	Lyngdoh	1
52.	Lona	1
53.	Laloo	1

8. Mawsynram Community Development Block

In the Mawsynram C.D. Block there are 154 villages and out of these, the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 18).

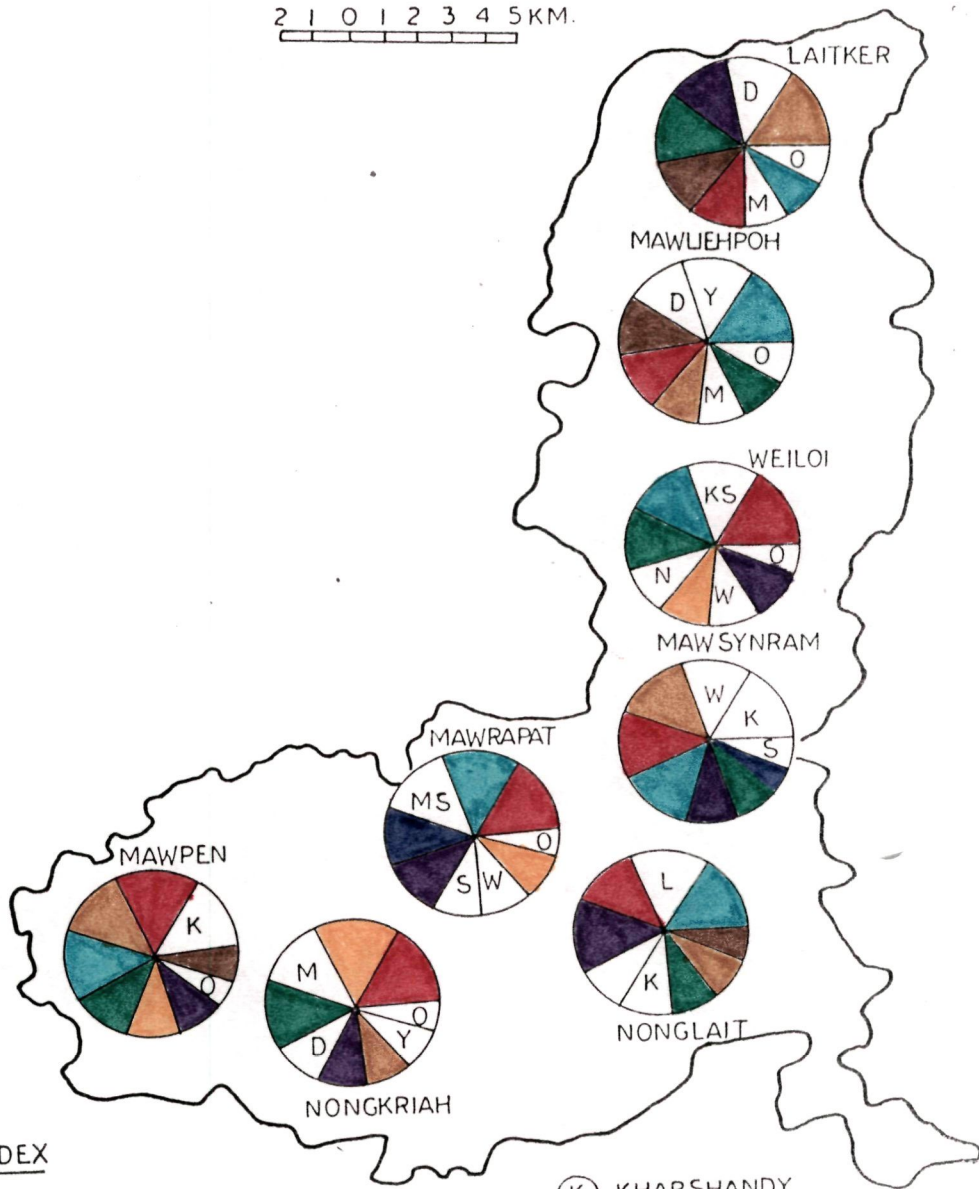
- 1) Mawliehpoh
- 2) Laitdiker
- 3) Mawrapat
- 4) Nonglait
- 5) Mawpen
- 6) Nongkriah
- 7) Mawsynram
- 8) Weiloi

In these selected villages, Khasi belonging to 28 different clans are found. However, the population of 10

of these clans is quite insignificant and that is why while calculating the data they have not been considered. But out of the remaining 18 clans they have been mapped and shown. Marbaniang clan is found distributed in all of the 8 selected villages namely, Mawliehpoh, Laitdiker, Mawrapat, Nonglait, Mawpen, Nongkriah, Mawsynram and Weiloi. There are 2 clans namely, Nongtalang and Swer which are found in 7 of the selected villages. People belonging to Nongtalang clan are found in Mawliehpoh, Laitdiker, Nonglait, Mawpen, Nongkriah, Mawsynram and Weiloi. Swer clan in Mawliehpoh, Laitdiker, Mawrapat, Nonglait, Mawpen, Mawsynram and Weiloi. There is 1 clan Sawkmie which is found only in 5 villages namely, Laitdiker, Mawrapat, Nonglait, Mawsynram and Weiloi. There are 3 clans namely, Manar, Nongjri and Nongkhlaw which are found in 4 villages. People belonging to Manar clan are found in villages Mawrapat, Mawpen, Nongkriah and Weiloi. Nongjri clan in Mawrapat, Mawpen, Nongkriah and Mawsynram. Nongkhlaw clan in Mawliehpoh, Laitdiker, Nonglait and Mawpen. There is also 3 clans namely, Kharshandy, Kharpuri and Dohling which is found in 3 villages. Clan belonging to Kharshandy are found in Nonglait, Mawpen and Mawsynram. Kharpuri clan in Mawliehpoh, Laitdiker, and Nongkriah and Dohling clan in Mawliehpoh, Laitdiker and Nongkriah. But there are also clan which are found in 1 or 2 of the selected villages. These clans are Kharsati,

MAWSYNRAM C.D. BLOCK DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS IN SELECTED VILLAGES

2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 KM.



INDEX

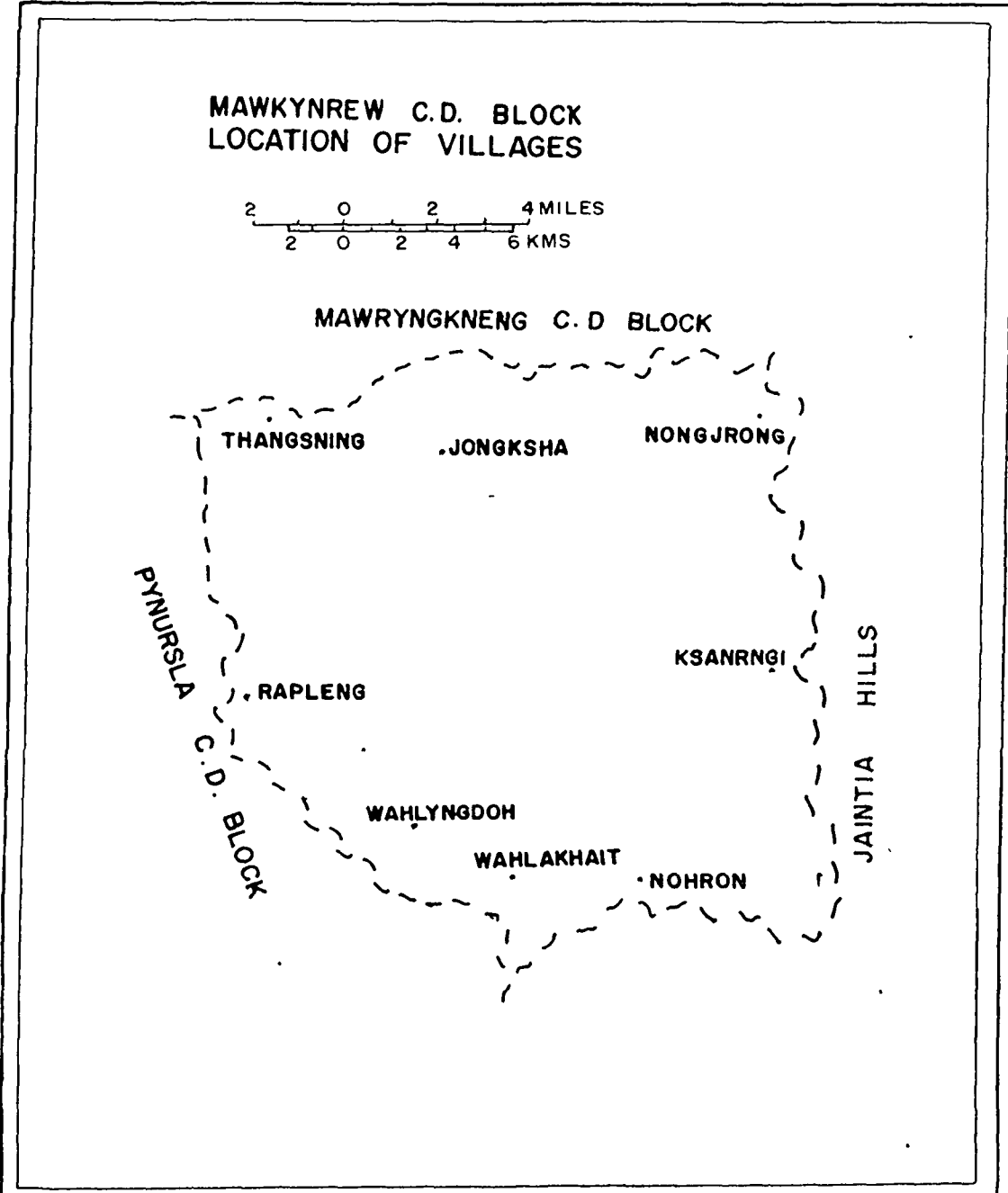
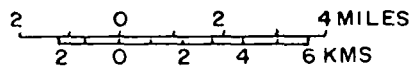
- | | | |
|---|---|---|
| ● MARBANIANG | ● MANAR | K KHARSHANDY |
| ● NONGTALANG | ● NONGJRI | M KHARPURI |
| ● SWER | ● NONGKHLAW | D DOHLING |
| ● KHARHUJON | ● SAWKMIE | W WARKHYLLEW |
| L LYNGDOH | N NONGBRI | KS KHARSATI |
| | | S SAIBON |
| | | Y KHARIR |
| | | MS MALAI SOHMAT |
| | | O OTHERS |

Nongbri, Warkhyllaw, Saibon, Khar-iir, Malai-Sohmat and Lyngdoh (see Map 19).

The relative significance of these clans in the selected villages may be shown in the following table.

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
1.	Marbaniang	8
2.	Kharhujon	6
3.	Swer	7
4.	Nongtalang	7
5.	Sawkmie	5
6.	Manar	4
7.	Nongbri	4
8.	Nongkhlaw	4
9.	Kharshandy	3
10.	Kharpuri	3
11.	Dohling	3
12.	Warkhyllaw	2
13.	Saibon	2
14.	Khar-iir	2
15.	Kharsati	1
16.	Nongbri	1
17.	Malai-Sohmat	1
18.	Lyngdoh	1
19.	Rynjah	1
20.	Jyrwa	1
21.	Langrin	1
22.	Chyne	1

**MAWKYNREW C.D. BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES**



MAP 20

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
23.	Langrin	1
24.	Jyrwa	1
25.	Dkhar	1
26.	Kharsati	1
27.	Sohmat	1
28.	Diengdoh	1

9. Mawkynrew Community Development Block

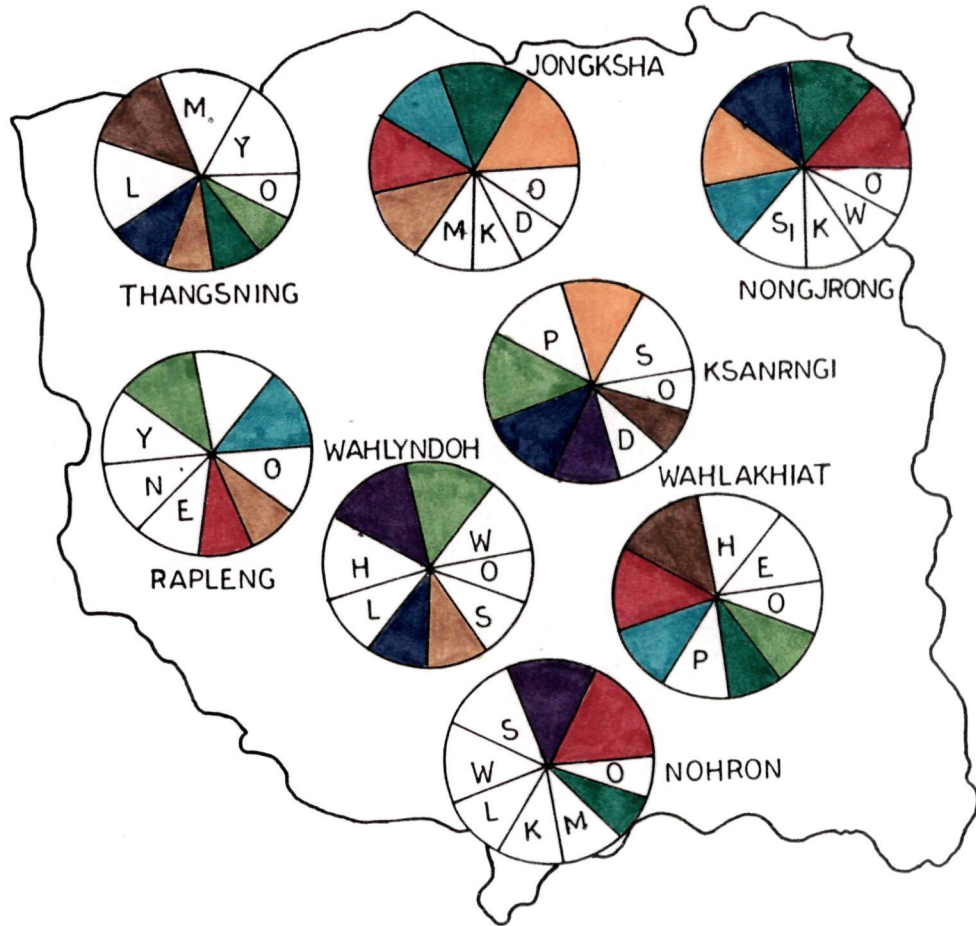
In the Mawkynrew C.D. Block there are 68 villages and out of these the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 20).

- 1) Nongjriong
- 2) Wahlyngdoh
- 3) Thangsning
- 4) Wahlakhiat
- 5) Rapleng
- 6) Nohron
- 7) Ksanrangi
- 8) Jongksha

In these selected villages, Khasi people belonging to 40 different clans are found. However, the population

MAWKYNREW C. D. BLOCK DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS IN SELECTED VILLAGES

2 1 0 1 2 3 4 KM.



INDEX

- | | | | |
|------------|--------------|---------|------------|
| NONGKHLAW | KHARMIH | MARBOH | MUTHOH |
| MUKHIM | KHARBIHKHIEW | KHYRIEW | KHARRNGI |
| NONGLYER | KHARBULI | MYNSONG | KHARMUJAI |
| NONGRUM | KHARPRAN | SUTING | WARKHYLLEW |
| KHARUMNUID | PYNGROPE | NONGBI | OTHERS |
| | | SOHTUN | NONGLYER |

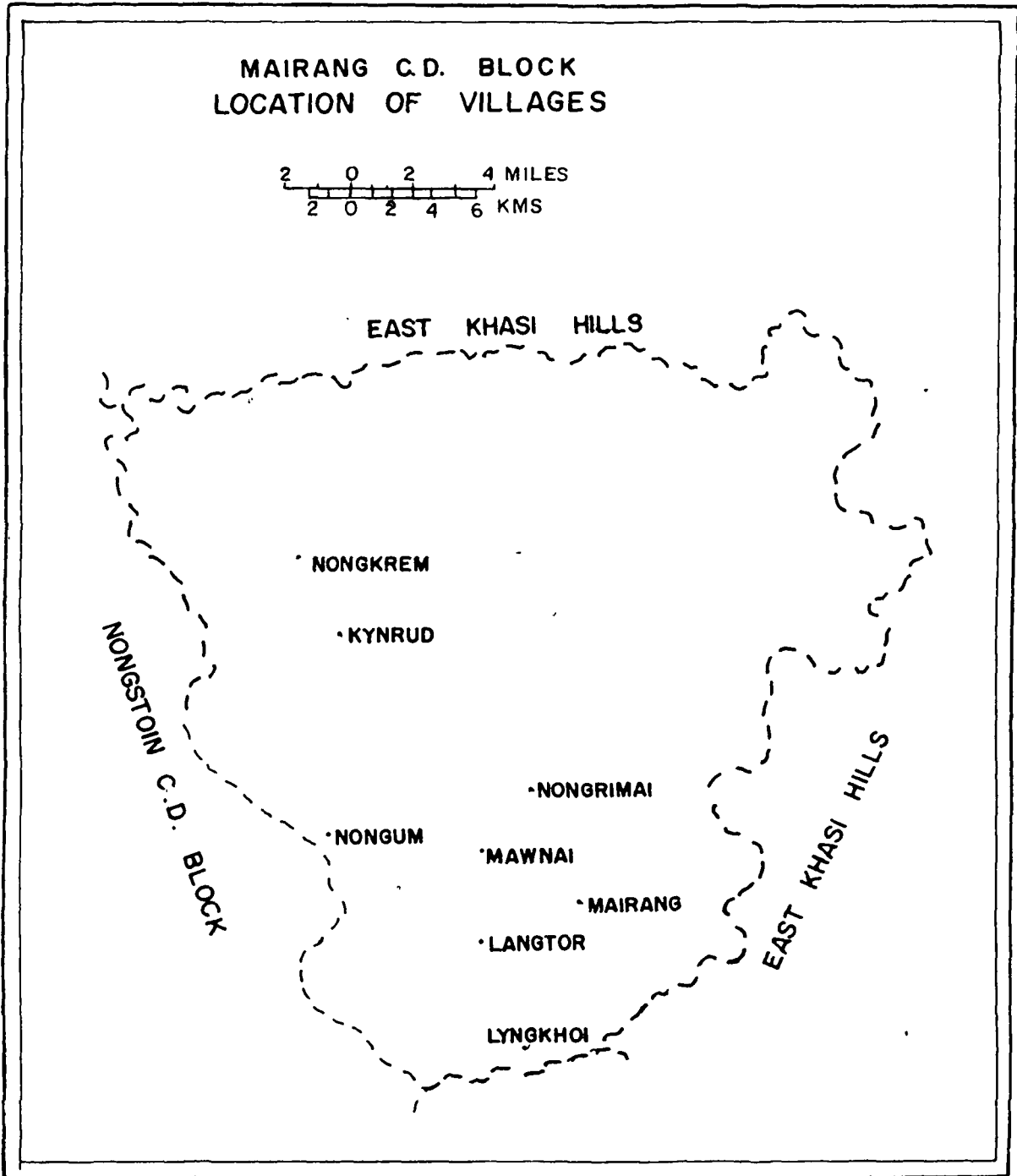
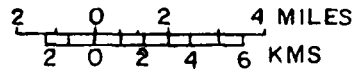
of 11 of these clans is quite insignificant and therefore, while calculating the data they have not been considered. Out of the remaining 29 clans. Nongkhlaw and Mukhim clans are found in 5 (out of the selected 8 villages) villages. People belonging to Nongkhlaw clan are found in Nongjrong, Wahlakhiat, Rapleng, Nohron and Jongksha. Mukhim clan in Nongjrong, Thangsning, Wahlakhiat, Nohron and Jongksha. There are 3 clans namely, Nonglyer, Nongrum and Kharumnuid which are found in 4 villages. People belonging to Nonglyer clan are found in Nongjrong, Wahlakhiat, Rapleng and Jongksha. Nongrum clan in Wahlyngdoh, Thangsning, Rapleng and Jongksha and Kharumnuid clans in Nongjrong, Wahlyngdoh, Thangsning and Ksanrangi. There are also clans which are found in 3 villages namely, clan Kharmih, Kharbihkhiew, Kharbuli and Kharpran. The villages in which they are found are Kharmih clan in Nongjrong, Ksanrangi and Jongksha. Kharbihkhiew clan in Wahlyngdoh, Nohron and Ksanrangi. Kharbuli clan in Thangsning, Wahlakhiat and Ksanrangi and Kharpran clan in Thangsning, Wahlakhiat and Rapleng. But we also find that there are few clans which are distributed only in 1 or 2 of the selected villages. These clans are Pyngrope, Marboh, Khyriem, Nongkynrih, Mynsong, Suting, Kurkalang, Nongstein, Kharmuti, Wanshong, Kharbyngar, Nongbri, Muthoh, Khar-rngi, Kharmujai, Wankhar, Wanswet, War-khyllaw, Kharsahnoh and Sohtun (see Map 21).

The relative significance of these clans in the selected villages may be shown in the following table.

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
1.	Nongkhlaw	5
2.	Mukhim	5
3.	Nonglyer	4
4.	Nongrum	4
5.	Kharumnuid	4
6.	Kharmih	3
7.	Kharbihkhiew	3
8.	Kharbuli	3
9.	Kharpran	3
10.	Pyngrope	2
11.	Marboh	2
12.	Khyriem	2
13.	Mynsong	2
14.	Suting	2
15.	Nongbri	2
16.	Muthoh	2
17.	Khar-rngi	2
18.	Kharmujai	2
19.	Warkhyllaw	2
20.	Nongkynrih	1
21.	Kurkalang	2
22.	Nongstein	1
23.	Kharmuti	1
24.	Wanshong	1
25.	Kharbyngar	1

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
26.	Wankhar	1
27.	Wanswett	1
28.	Kharsahnoh	1
29.	Sohtun	1
30.	Lawai	1
31.	Diengdoh	1
32.	Kharkongor	1
33.	Mawthoh	1
34.	Shabong	1
35.	Khonglam	1
36.	Jyrwa	1
37.	Langstieh	1
38.	Lyngdoh	1
39.	Lartang	1
40.	Jyrwa	1

MAIRANG C.D. BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES



MAP 22

10. West Khasi Hills

From the West Khasi Hills district, there are 4 Community Development Blocks namely, (1) Mairang, (2) Mawkyrwat, (3) Nongstoin, and (4) Mawshynrut.

Similarly, in the West Khasi Hills, 8 villages have been selected from each C.D. Block.

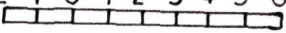
Mairang Community Development Block

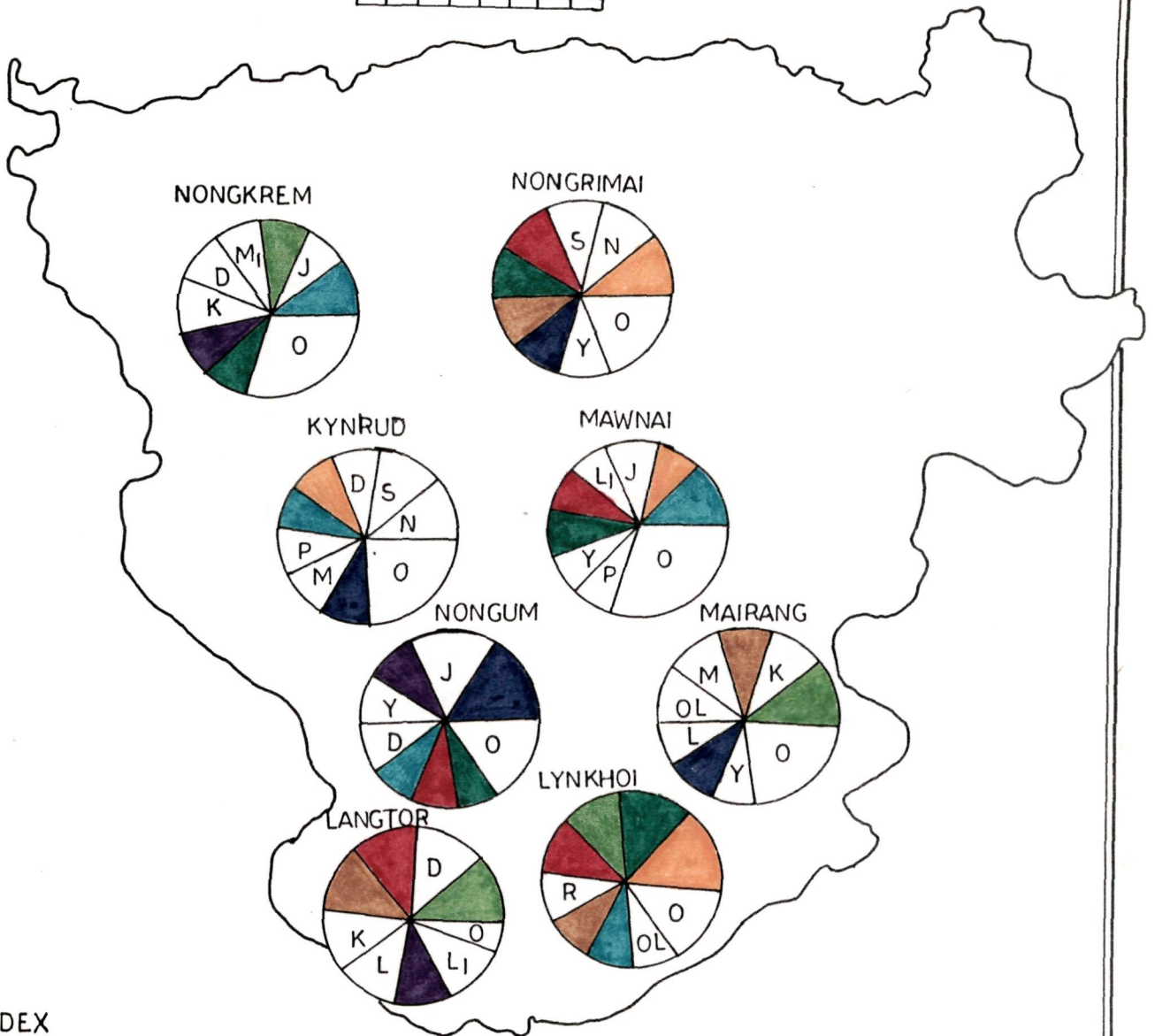
In the Mairang C.D. Block there are 122 villages and out of these the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 22).

- 1) Kynrud
- 2) Langtor
- 3) Mairang
- 4) Nongrimai
- 5) Mawnai
- 6) Nongkrem
- 7) Nongum
- 8) Lyngkhoi

In these selected villages, Khasi belonging to 41 different clans are found. However, the population of 9 of these clans are quite insignificant and that is why while calculating the data they have not been considered. But out of the remaining 32 clans, these have been mapped

MAIRANG C. D. BLOCK DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS IN SELECTED VILLAGES

2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 KM.




INDEX

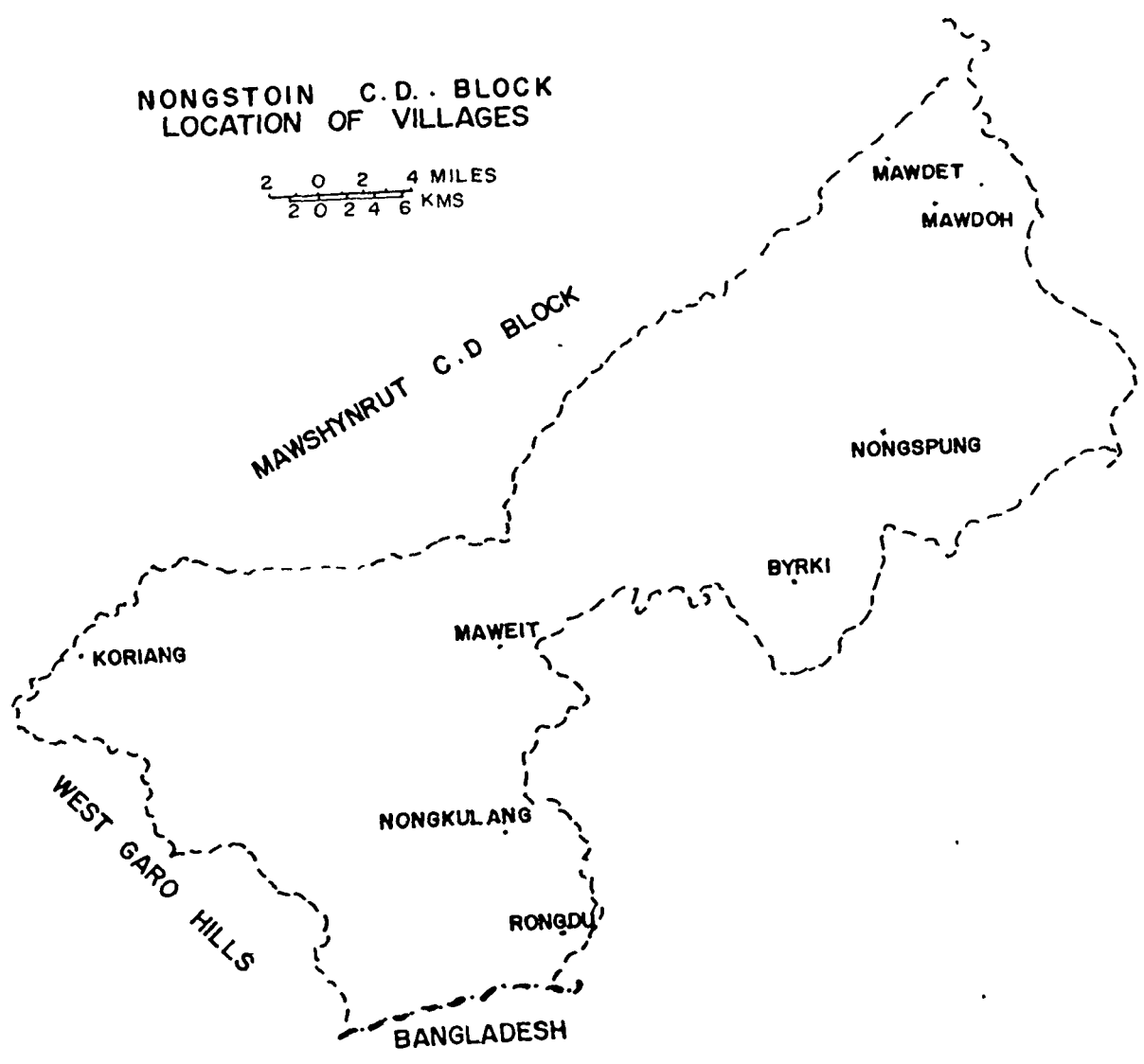
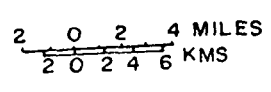
- | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|
|  NONGSIEJ |  RYNTATHIANG |  MAWNAI |  SYIEM |
|  RANI |  NONGRUM |  LYNDOH |  BASIAWMOIT |
|  MARBANIANG |  SYIEMLIEH |  LYNGKHOI |  OTHERS |
|  LYNGDOH MAWNAI |  SOHSHANG |  PARIONG |  RANI |
|  MAWBLEI |  MAWLONG |  LYNGDOH MAWLONG |  LYNGDOH
MAWNAI |
| |  NONGRANG |  MAWPNI | |

and plotted. Nongsiej clan is found in 5 (out of 8 selected villages). These villages are Langtor, Nongrimai, Mawnai, Nongum and Lyngkhoi. There is 3 clans namely, Marbaniang, Lyngdoh Mawnai and Rani which are found in 4 villages each. People belonging to Marbaniang clan are found in Kynnud, Mawnai, Nongum and Lyngkhoi, Lyngdoh Mawnai in Langtor, Mairang, Nongrmai and Lyngkhoi and Rani clan is found in Nongrmai, Mawnai, Nongkrem and Lyngkhoi. There are also 4 clans namely, Mawblei, Ryntathiang, Nongrum and Syiemlieh which are found in 3 villages. People belonging to Mawblei clan are found in Kynnud, Nongrmai, and Nongum. Ryntathiang clan in Kynnud, Nongrmai and Mawnai, Nongrum clan in Langtor, Nongkrem and Nongum and Syiemlieh in Langtor, Mairang, and Lyngkhoi. But we also found that there are few clans which are distributed only in 1 or in 2 of the selected villages. These clans are Sohshang, Kharsyntiew, Mawlong, Mawnai, Lyngdoh-Kynsi, Lyngdoh, Lyngkhoi, Pariong, Lyngdoh Mawlong, Kynsen, Warshabong, Kharmawlong, Syiem, Nongrang, Basaiawmoit, Jyrwa, Nongphot, Thabah, Myrthong, Mawpni, Mawtyllup, Jana, War, Mairang and Shangoi (see Map 23).

For a better understanding of the relative significance of these clans in the selected villages, the following table may be seen.

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
1.	Nongsiej	5
2.	Marbaniang	4
3.	Lyngdoh Mawnai	4
4.	Syiem	4
5.	Mawblei	3
6.	Ryntathiang	3
7.	Nongrum	3
8.	Syiemlieh	3
9.	Sohshang	2
10.	Mawlong	2
11.	Mawnai	2
12.	Lyngdoh	2
13.	Lyngkhoi	2
14.	Pariong	2
15.	Lyngdoh-Mawlong	2
16.	Kharmawlong	2
17.	Nongrang	2
18.	Kharsyntiew	1
19.	Lyngdoh-Kynsi	1
20.	Kynsen	1
21.	Warshabong	1
22.	Rani	1
23.	Basaiawmoit	1
24.	Jyrwa	1
25.	Nongphut	1
26.	Thabah	1
27.	Myrthong	1
28.	Mawpni	1
29.	Mawtyllup	1

NONGSTON C.D. BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES



MAP 24

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
30.	Jana	1
31.	War	1
32.	Shangoi	1
33.	Mawdoh	1
34.	Dkhar	1
35.	Nongbri	1
36.	Shabong	1
37.	Kurbah	1
38.	Larthang	1
39.	Myrsiang	1
40.	Mawdoh	1

Nongstoin Community Development Block

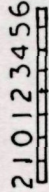
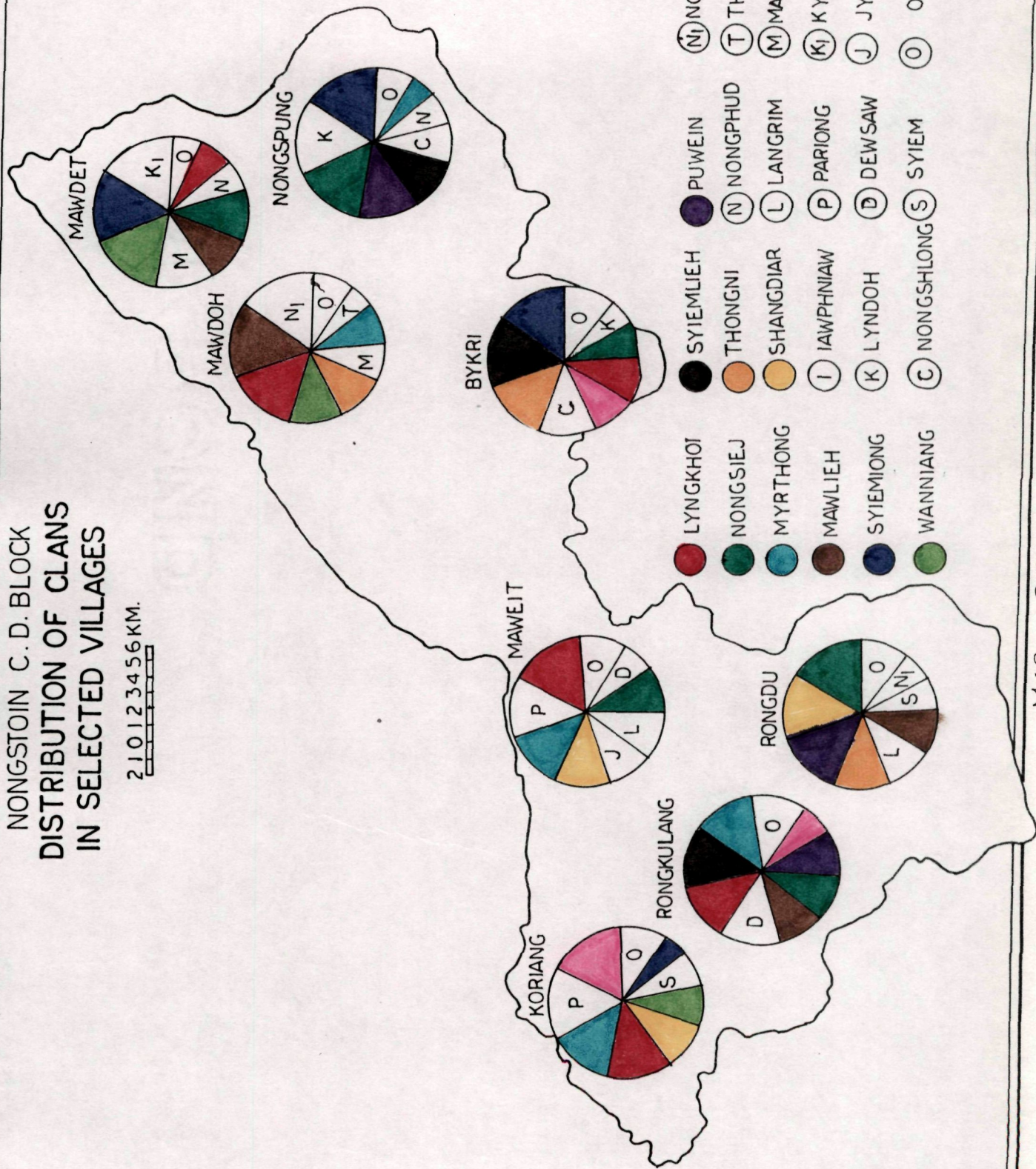
In the Nongstoin C.D. Block there are 226 villages and out of these the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 24).

- 1) Mawdoh
- 2) Mawdet
- 3) Maweit
- 4) Koirang
- 5) Nongkulang
- 6) Rongdu
- 7) Byrki
- 8) Nongspung

In these selected villages, Khasi people belonging to 34 different clans are found. However, the population of 8 of these clans is quite insignificant and that is why while calculating the data they have not been considered. But out of the remaining 26 clans they have been considered and mapped. Lyngkhoi and Nongsiej clans are found in 6 (out of the selected 8 villages). The clan Lyngkhoi is found in Mawdon, Mawdet, Maweit, Koirang, Nongkulang, and Byrki, and clan Nongsiej is found in Mawdet, Maweit, Nongkulang, Rongdu, Byrki and Nongspung. There is 1 clan Myrthong which is found in 5 of the 7 selected villages. These villages are Mawdoh, Maweit, Koirang, Nongkulang and Nongspung. There are 2 clans which are found in 4 villages. People belonging to Mawlieh clan is found in Mawdoh, Mawdet, Nongkulang and Rongdu and Syiemiong clan in Mawdet, Koirang, Byrki and Nongspung. We also find that about 6 clans namely, Wanniang, Thongni, Shangdiar, Iawphniaw, Syiemlieh and Puwein are found in 3 villages each. Wanniang clan is found in Mawdoh, Mawdet, and Koirang. Thongni clan in Mawdoh. Rongdu and Byrki. Shangdiar in Maweit, Koirang and Rongdu, Iawphniaw in Koirang, Nongkulang and Byrki, Syiemlieh in Nongkulang, Byrki and Nongspung and Puwein clans in Nongkulang, Rongdu and Nongspung. But in the same C.D. Block we also have clans which are distributed only in 1 or in 2 of the selected villages. These clans are

NONGSTOIN C. D. BLOCK DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS IN SELECTED VILLAGES

2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 KM.

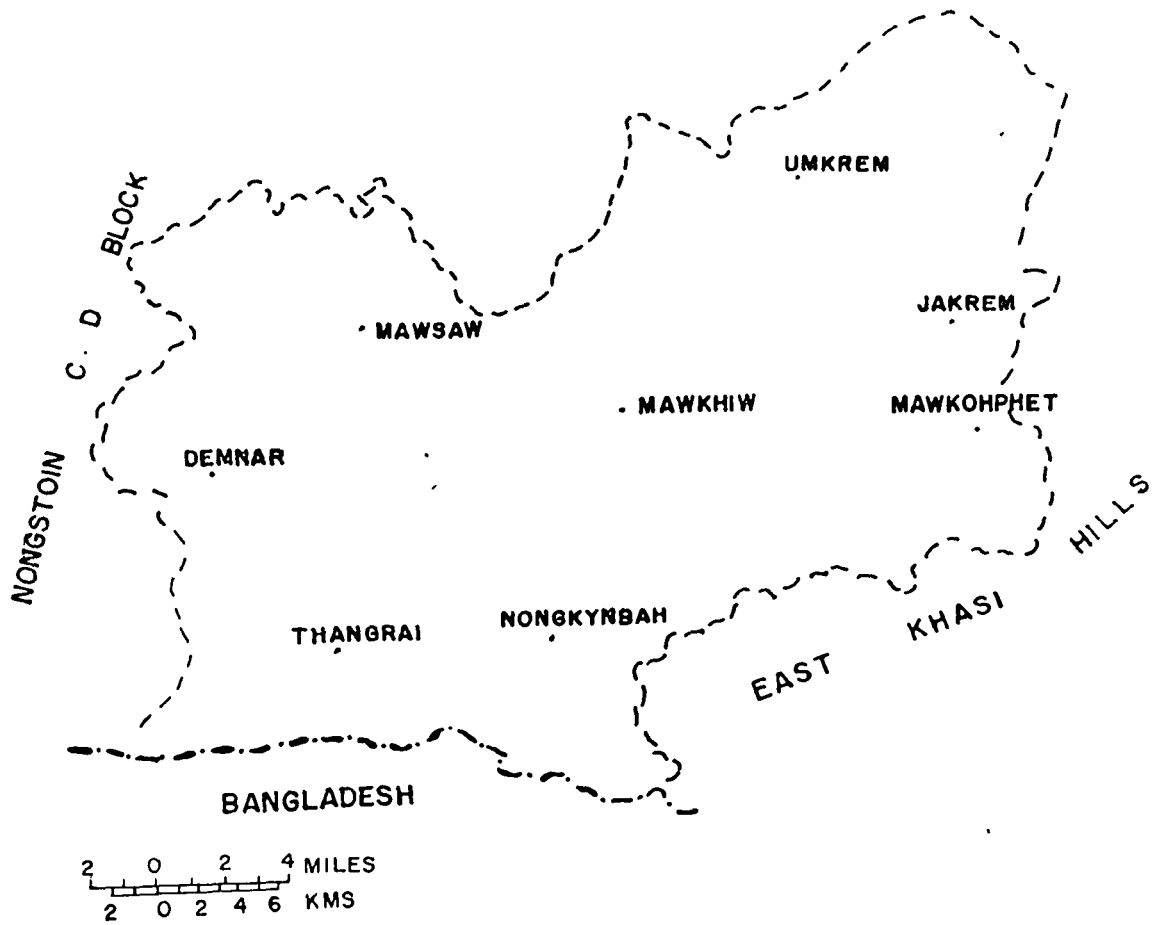



Nongdom, Thabah, Marwein, Kynshi, Nongphud, Marbaniang, Langrin, Jyrwa, Pariong, Dew saw, Sangoi, Syiem, Nonglang, Lyngdoh and Nongshlong (see Map 25).

The relative significance of the clans in the selected villages are shown in the following table.

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
1.	Lyngkhoi	6
2.	Nongsiej	6
3.	Myrthong	5
4.	Mawlieh	4
5.	Syiemiong	4
6.	Wanniang	3
7.	Thongni	3
8.	Shangdiar	3
9.	Iawphniaw	3
10.	Syiemlieh	3
11.	Puwein	3
12.	Nongphud	2
13.	Langrin	2
14.	Pariong	2
15.	Dew saw	2
16.	Lyngdoh	2
17.	Nongshlong	2
18.	Nongdom	1
19.	Thabah	1
20.	Marwein	1
21.	Kynshi	1

MAWKYRWAT C. D. BLOCK
LOCATION OF VILLAGES



MAP 26

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
22.	Marbaniang	1
23.	Jyrwa	1
24.	Shangoi	1
25.	Syiem	1
26.	Nonglang	1
27.	Diengdoh	1
28.	Kharbani	1
29.	Nongrum	1
30.	Mawlam	1
31.	Nongsiang	1
32.	Marngar	1
33.	Dkhar	1
34.	Paliar	1

Mawkyrwat Community Development Block

In the Mawkyrwat C.D. Block there are 181 villages and out of these the following 8 villages have been selected and mapped (Map 26).

- 1) Jakrem
- 2) Thangrai
- 3) Mawsaw
- 4) Nongkynbah
- 5) Demnar

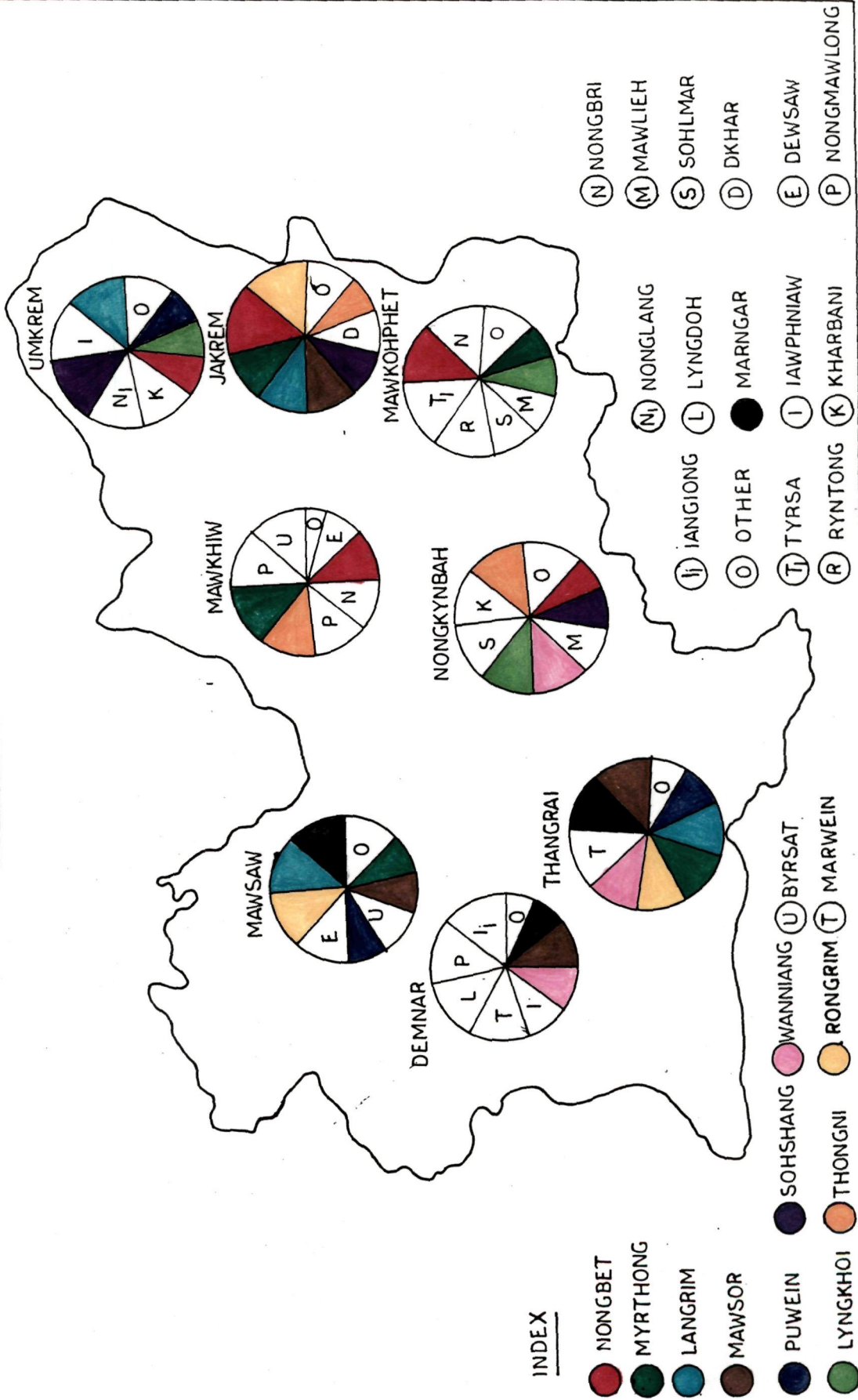
- 6) Mawkhiew
- 7) Mawkohpet
- 8) Umkrem

In these selected villages, Khasi people belonging to 33 different clans are found. However, the population of 7 of these clans is quite insignificant and that is why while calculating the data they have not been considered but out of the remaining 26 clans, they have been considered.

Nongbet and Myrthong clans are found in 5 (out of the 8 selected villages). Nongbet clan is found in villages Jakrem, Nongkynbah, Mawkhiew, Mawkohphet and Umkrem, and Myrthong clan in Jakrem, Thanrai, Mawsaw, Mawkhiew and Mawkohphet. There are 2 clans namely, Langrin and Mawsor which are found in 4 villages. Langrin clan is found in Jakrem, Thangrai, Mawsaw and Umkrem, and Mawsor clan in Jakrem, Thangrai, Mawsaw and Demnar. There are also clans Puwein, Lyngkhei, Sohshang, Thongni, Wanniang, Rongrin and Marngar which are found in 3 of the selected villages each. People belonging to Puwein clan are found in Thangrai, Mawsaw and Umkrem, Lyngkhei clan in Nongkynbah, Mawkohphet and Umkrem, Sohshang clan in Jakrem, Nongkynbah and Umkrem. Thongni clan is found in villages Jakrem, Nongkynbah and Mawkhiew. Wanniang clan in Thangrai, Nongkynbah and Demnar.

MAWKYRWAT C. D. BLOCK
 DISTRIBUTION OF CLANS
 IN SELECTED VILLAGES

2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 KM.



Rongrin clan in Jakrem, Thangrai and Mawsaw and clan Marngar is found in Thangrai, Mawsaw and Demnar. But there are also clans in the Mawkyrwat C.D. Block which are distributed only in 1 or in 2 of the selected villages. These clans are Iawphniaw, Kharbani, Nonglang, Nongbri, Tynsa, Mawlieh, Sohlmar, Ryntong, Dkhar, Dewsaw, Nongmawlong, Bynsat, Marwein, Lyngdoh and Iangiong (see Map 27).

The relative significance of these clans in the selected villages are shown in the following table.

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
1.	Myrthong	5
2.	Nongbet	5
3.	Langrin	4
4.	Mawsor	4
5.	Puwein	3
6.	Lyngkhai	3
7.	Sohshang	3
8.	Thongni	3
9.	Wanniang	3
10.	Rongrin	3
11.	Marngar	3
12.	Iawphniaw	2
13.	Kharbani	2
14.	Nongbri	2
15.	Mawlieh	2

Sl. No.	Name of the clans	Number of villages
16.	Sohlmar	2
17.	Dkhar	2
18.	Dewsaw	2
19.	Nongmawlong	2
20.	Bynsat	2
21.	Marwein	2
22.	Nonglang	1
23.	Tynsa	1
24.	Ryntong	1
25.	Lyngdoh	1
26.	Iangiong	1
27.	Wahlang	1
28.	Syiem	1
29.	Syiemiong	1
30.	Nongsiej	1
31.	Jyrwa	1
32.	Sangoi	1
33.	Marngar	1

On the basis of the distribution pattern of Khasi clans in the selected villages of the Khasi Hills, following observations may be made.

1) There are some clans which are found in both East and West Khasi Hills. Though, it will not be correct

to make a final judgement on the basis of sample survey of this kind, however, it is not unjustified to come to the conclusion that these clans are among the most important clan of Khasis. There are 14 clans which were found distributed throughout the region, are Nongrum, Nongbri, Lyngdoh, Marbaniang, Dkhar, Syiem, Diengdoh, Rani, Thabah, Syiemlieh, Kharsyntiew, Wahlang, Nongbet and Syiemiong. The Nongrum clan is found in 8 of the 12 C.D. Blocks, surveyed (7 in East Khasi Hills and 1 in the West Khasi Hills). In these C.D. Blocks they are found in 16 out of the 96 villages surveyed (13 in the East Khasi Hills and 3 in the West Khasi Hills). The Nongbri clan is found in 7 C.D. Blocks (5 in East and 2 in West), and in 11 villages (7 in East and 4 in West).. Lyngdoh clan is also found in 7 C.D. Blocks (4 in East and 3 in West) and in 11 villages (3 in East and 8 in West) and in 11 villages (6 in East and 5 in West). The Thabah clan is found in 4 C.D. Block (3 in East and 1 in West) and in 9 villages (6 in East and 3 in West). Clan Syiemlieh is found in 3 C.D. Blocks (1 in East and 2 in West) and in 9 villages (3 in East and 6 in West). Kharsyntiew clan is found in C.D. Blocks (2 in East and 1 in West) and in 7 villages (3 in East anf 4 in West). Wahlang clan is also found in 3 C.D. Blocks (2 in East and 1 in West) and in 5 villages (2 in East and 3 in West). Nongbet clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks (1 in East and 1

in West) and found in 5 villages (1 in the East and 4 in the West). These are the clans which are found mainly in the East and West Khasi Hills.

2) There are certain clans which were not found in any of the villages of West Khasi Hills, however, they are quite important in East Khasi Hills. The clans which have been found in 3 or more C.D. Blocks of East Khasi Hills are as follows, Nongkhlaw, Kharbuli, Kharpran, Pyngrope, Swer, Sohtun, Kharpuri, Kharmalki, Khyriem, Kharumnuid, Kharmuti, Mallai, Mynsong, Mukhim, Wankhar, Marboh and Warkhyllaw. The Nongkhlaw clan is found in 5 out of the 9 C.D. Blocks in East Khasi Hills. There they are found in 14 villages out of 72 villages surveyed. Sohtun clan is also found in 5 C.D. Blocks and they are found in 9 villages and Kharbuli clan is found in 5 C.D. Blocks and in 11 villages. The clan Kharpran is found in 4 C.D. Blocks and in 6 villages clan Pyngrope is found in 4 C.D. Blocks and in 8 villages. Swer have been found in 4 C.D. Blocks and in 13 villages. But there are clans which are found only in 3 C.D. Blocks. The clan Kharpuri is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 5 villages, clan Kharsati is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 6 villages, Khyriem clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 4 villages, Kharumnuid clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 10 villages, Kharmuti clan is found

in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 3 villages. Mallai clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 8 villages. Mynsong clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 4 villages. Mukhim clan is found in C.D. Blocks and in 9 villages. Wankhar clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 6 villages, clan Warkhyllaw is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 8 villages and Marboh clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 6 villages.

3) The important clans of West Khasi Hills which were found in 2 C.D. Blocks out of the 3 surveyed, are 11. The important clans are: Lyngkhoi, Pariong, Kharbani, Myrthong, Mawlieh, Marwein, Puwein, Thongni, Iawphniaw, Dewsaw and Wanniang. The Lyngkhoi clan is found in all the 3 C.D. Blocks surveyed in the West Khasi Hills. This clan is found in 15 villages out of the 24 villages surveyed. Pariong clan is also found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 15 villages in West Khasi Hills. The Kharbani clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and they are found in 7 villages, Myrthong clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and in 9 villages. Clan Mawlieh is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and distributed in 7 villages. Marwein is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and in 2 villages. Clan Puwein is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and in 7 villages. Thongni clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and in 7 villages. The clan Iawphniaw is found in 2 C.D. Blocks

and distributed in 8 villages. Dewsaw clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and found distributed in 5 villages and Wanni-ang clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and distributed in 7 villages.

4) Apart from the above important clans of East or both East and West Khasi Hills there are certain less important clans found only in 1 or 2 C.D. Blocks of East Khasi Hills. These clans are Basaiawmoit, Bamon, Basan, Buhphang, Chyne, Dohling, Dohkrud, Hynniewta, Jana, Klein, Khyndeit, Kharnaior, Kharthangmaw, Kharmulieh, Kshiar, Kharkrang, Khongwir, Khongjoh, Kharsohnoh, Kharbyngar, Kharjana, Khapew, Kurkalang, Khasen, Kharkongor, Kharkamni, Kharlor, Kharbuki, Kharsohntun, Khar-iir, Kharsawian, Khar-malki, Khar-rngi, Kharmujai, Kharsunai, Kharbon, Khongshai, Khongwet, Khongti, Kynshah, Khylllep, Kharshandy, Kharhujon, Kharbihkhiew, Khongsdir, Khongtim, Khongkrom, Khongjawer, Khonglam, Khongthoh, Khongjee, Khongkhlad, Khongkai, Khong-malai, Khongsip, Khongdup, Lapang, Langni, Langstieh, Laloo, Lamare, Langknang, Lyngwa, Lyngdoh-sla, Lawai, Lyngskhor, Lynrah, Lyndem, Laso, Makri, Mawkhroh, Maiong, Mawphniang, Mynsing, Mawrie, Mylliem, Myrshiang, Majaw, Mawthoh, Mylliem-ngap, Mawa, Malngiang, Manar, Mallai Sohmat, Muthoh, Mawpling, Mawbon, Masyntong, Massar, Nongmalieh, Nongkhud, Nongshli, Nongum, Namshieh, Nongbsap, Nongpiur, Nongrang,

Nongpluh, Nongdhar, Nongspung, Nongtalang, Nongjri, Nongreng, Nonglyer, Pathaw, Phangsho, Phira, Pahsyntiew, Ramdeh, Ronglang, Rympeit, Rynshon, Rangdong, Rongshon, Rongpeit, Rynjah, Ranglang, Rynga, Reinborn, Rumnong, Rapsang, Syl-liang, Sumer, Suiam, Surong, Sunn, Synrem, Synnah, Sawian, Swett, Sawkmie, Saibon, Syndor, Suting, Sohshang, Tado, Thangkhiew, Thawmuit, Pding, Pariong, Tangsong, Tongper, Warshabong, Warjri, War, Warlapih, Wanshong and Wanswett.

5) Similarly, in the West Khasi Hills, there are clans which are found and distributed only in 1 C.D. Block out of the 3 surveyed. These are Bynsat, Kynsen, Kharmaw-long, Lyngdoh-Mawlong, Langrin, Mawnai, Mawblei, Mawpni, Mawtyllup, Mairang, Mawsor, Marngar, Nongmawlong, Nongdom, Nongkhud, Nongshlong, Ryntathiang, Shangdiar and Sohmat.

CHAPTER V

**SUMMARY OF FINDINGS
AND CONCLUSIONS**

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND CONCLUSIONS

In this study an attempt had been made to understand and analyse the Evolution and Distributional Pattern of Khasi clans. This had been done by studying various aspects of the physical setting of their homeland - the Khasi hills. Their origin and the possible processes of their migration to the Khasi hills had also been discussed. In this study an attempt had been made to observe some of the salient features of their culture. The possible bases of the formation of the Khasi clans had also been speculated and analysed. Finally, an attempt had also been made to observe and explain the present distribution of the Khasi clans by selecting about 100 villages from the region. On the basis of this analysis the following conclusion emerges.

1) Physiographically although part of Meghalaya Plateau, the Khasi hills have a highly dissected terrain and have many broken hills. The physical barrier of Moheskhola Adaguri range separates Khasi Hills from Garo Hills. Whereas there is no physical barrier between Khasi Hills and Jaintia Hills. The Northern undulating hills which are locally known as 'Ri Bhoi' region, slopes down towards

the Brahmaputra valley. The Central Upland Zone locally known as 'Ri Lum' is separated by fault line from the northern part. It is an irregular plateau on the higher elevation comprised of metamorphic rocks and small river basin. The southern part of the region which is locally known as 'Ri War', formed by a narrow belt full of oblong and sturdy ridges abruptly terminating at the Surma Valley forming a series of mounted valleys and deep gorges.

2) Central Upland Zone of form the watershed between the tributaries of Brahmaputra and Surma rivers. The rivers of the north drain the northern half of the hills to Brahmaputra river system. The Southern half of the hills is drained by the rivers of Surma river system. There are many rapids and waterfalls around the Shillong indicating the constant upliftment of the region. Many rivers have their source in this area.

3) The Khasi hills have a temperate climate. Except the border areas on the North and South which have a comparatively warmer weather. The Central part of the region receives the highest rainfall average being 700 inches. The rainfall although sufficient, throughout is very high in the 'Ri War' region and comparatively less in 'Ri Lum' and 'Ri Bhoi' region in the same order. Temperature in the Khasi Hills are mainly governed by the altitude -

thus the Central Upland Zone is the coolest area of the Khasi hills.

4) The Khasi hills being a region of undulating slopes dissected ridges and deep gorges have limited flat land, in the broad river valleys. However, the soil which are found in this region are quite fertile and may help in the growth of various crops in this region depending upon the altitude and angle of slopes.

5) Natural vegetation growth is rich in the Khasi hills. Numerous trees are found in the hills and plains. Forest cover are of tropical and evergreen types. Various trees such as sal, teak which are found in the northern part of the region. Pine trees are wide spread in the Central tableland. A few open tracts in the 'Ri Lum' forms pastures and grasslands.

6) Khasi hills has a rich deposits of minerals resources but due to lack of proper survey and means of communication they have not been properly tapped. The principal mineral found in this region are coal, limestone, siliminite, gypsum, comendum, glass sand etc. These minerals are found in the areas of Cherrapunjee, Shella, Laitlyngkot, Mawphlang and Laitryngew. Siliminite deposit is found in huge amount in Sonapahar in the West-Khasi hills district.

102413



7) The Khasis are perhaps the first community which occupied the North East region and in particular the Khasi hills. However, before their arrival to Khasi hills, they might have first settled in the adjoining plains of Brahmaputra. The Khasi living in different parts of Khasi hills acquired different names e.g., the Lyngams, the Bhois, the Wars and the Khyriams. These subgroups of the Khasis have their distinct culture and dialects distinguishing them from each other.

8) However, on the basis of the physical appearance, it may be said that Khasis resembles some communities of Burma and South East Asia. Their material culture like Neoliths, Megaliths and Iron smelting in many ways is similar to those of Malay Peninsula and Chota Nagpur plateau region of Central India. Megaliths similar to those of Khasi are found in Torjan of Indonesia and Burma. Khasi system of iron smelting was found to be similar to that of some tribes of Central India and Mon and Khmer areas of Burma and Cambodia.

9) While discussing the problems of language, it has been found that the Khasis speak a dialect of the Monkhmer linguistic group. It has also been found that Khasi language has many similarities with the other language of Monkhmer linguistic group of Austric Family.

10) The Khasis had their own traditional religion 'Seng Khasi'. But however, it has been found that due to the impact of the activities of the Missionaries, majority of the Khasi have accepted Christianity as their religion and it gives rise to various cultural changes in the society.

11) On the question of inheritance and descent, it has been found that Khasi female inherits most of the ancestral property of the family. Even among the daughters the youngest or Khadduh inherits and gets largest share of the property. Similarly with the descent it has been found that Matrilineal descent is followed where descent is from the female side. This system of culture is also found with the people of Cambodia, Mois of Loas and parts of Thailand.

12) While analysing the institution of marriage among the Khasis it was found that marriage cannot take place between the persons of the same clan or even among the related clans (both, either of mother or father). So it was found that marriage has a vital factor in the forming of new clans.

13) While identifying the areas of migration, it was found that the Khasi migrated from South East Asia

and Central India. The similarities of their culture, language, indicates that the Khasi migrated from these regions. It has been found that they were the first community to settle in the North Eastern Region and in Khasi Hills in particular.

14) While analysing the possible basis of formation of Khasi clans it has been found that factors like marriage, migration, physical setting, change of religion and legends were responsible for the formation of different clans. In this regard it has observed that many clans were formed as a matrimonial alliances between Khasi males and non-Khasi females. Many of the clans starting with the word Khar are said to have formed due to this type of marriage. The formation of several new clans can be attributed to the physical setting of the area which they occupied during the later phase of their settlement. Some of the clans formed on this basis are Nongrum, Nongneng and Nongpdeng. Various new clans were formed due to constant movement of Khasis within the Khasi Hills as evident from presence of clans like Thangkhiew and Thabah. On the basis of the profession or occupation originated clans like Syiem, Syiemlieh and Syiemiong as they became the ruling clan of Khasis. Lyngdoh title has also been formed on the same basis as Lyngdoh are Priests. However, Lyngdoh have their

own separate original clans. Some clans have also been formed on the basis of the change of religion among Khasis as they accepted Christianity and started same. Numerous clans have their origin in the mythology legends. Some of these clans are Shrieh, Tham, Diengdoh and Thangkhiew.

15) While discussing the role and significant of Khasi clans it was found that clan identity of individual plays a decisive role in the event of marriage. Marriage is prohibited among two persons if there is any relation among the clans of their parents. The existence of various clan durbars do indicate a significant role of clans in the Khasi society. However, only relatively important clans have their own durbars, where generally matters of the welfare of the clansmen are discussed. It has been found that certain clans had even been responsible in the establishment of various syiemship in Khasi hills.

16) There are some clans which are found in both East and West Khasi Hills. Though, it will not be correct to make a final judgement on the basis of sample survey of this kind, however, it is not unjustified to come to the conclusion that these clans are among the most important clan of Khasis. There are 14 clans which were found distributed throughout the region. The Nongrum clan is found in 8 of the 12 C.D. Blocks, surveyed (7 in East

Khasi Hills and 1 in the West Khasi Hills). In these C.D. Blocks they are found in 16 out of the 96 villages surveyed (13 in the East Khasi Hills and 3 in the West Khasi Hills). The Nongbri clan is found in 7 C.D. Blocks (5 in East and 2 in West), and in 11 villages (7 in East and 4 in West). Lyngdoh clan is also found in 7 C.D. Blocks (4 in East and 3 in West) and in 11 villages (3 in East and 8 in West) and in 11 villages (6 in East and 5 in West). The Thabah clan is found in 4 C.D. Block (3 in East and 1 in West) and in 9 villages (6 in East and 3 in West). Clan Syiemlieh is found in 3 C.D. Block (1 in East and 2 in West) and in 9 villages (3 in East and 6 in West). Kharsyntiew clan is found in C.D. Blocks (2 in East and 1 in West) and in 7 villages (3 in East and 4 in West). Wahlang clan is also found in 3 C.D. Blocks (2 in East and 1 in West) and in 5 villages (2 in East and 3 in West). Nongbet clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks (1 in East and 1 in West) and found in 5 villages (1 in the East and 4 in the West). These are the clans which are found mainly in the East and West Khasi Hills.

17) There are certain clans which were not found in any of the villages of West Khasi Hills, however, they are quite important in East Khasi Hills. There are 17 clans which were found in 3 or more C.D. Blocks of East

Khasi Hills. The Nongkhlaw clan is found in 5 out of the 9 C.D. Blocks in East Khasi Hills. There they are found in 14 villages out of 72 villages surveyed. Sohtun clan is also found in 5 C.D. Blocks and they are found in 9 villages and Kharbuli clan is found in 5 C.D. Blocks and in 11 villages. The clan Kharpran is found in 4 C.D. Blocks and in 6 villages. Clan Pyngrope is found in 4 C.D. Blocks and in 8 villages. Swers have been found in 4 C.D. Blocks and in 13 villages. But there are clans which are found only in 3 C.D. Blocks. The clan Kharpun is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 5 villages, Clan Kharsati is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 6 villages, Khyriem clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 4 villages, Kharumnuid clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 10 villages, Kharmuti clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 3 villages. Mallai clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 8 villages. Mynsong clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 4 villages. Mukhim clan is found in C.D. Blocks and in 9 villages. Wankhar clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 6 villages, Clan Warkhyllaw is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 8 villages and Marboh clan is found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 6 villages.

18) The important clans of West Khasi Hills were found in 2 C.D. Blocks out of the 3 surveyed, are 11.

The important clans are: Lyngkhoi, Pariong, Kharbani, Myrthong, Mawlieh, Marwein, Puwein, Thongni, Iawphniaw, Dewsaw and Wanniang. The Lyngkhoi clan is found in all the 3 C.D. Blocks surveyed in the West Khasi Hills. This clan is found in 15 villages out of the 24 villages surveyed. Pariong clan is also found in 3 C.D. Blocks and in 15 villages in West Khasi Hills. The Kharbani clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and they are found in 7 villages, Myrthong clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and in 9 villages. Clan Mawlieh is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and distributed in 7 villages. Marwein clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and in 2 villages. Clan Puwein is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and in 7 villages. Thongni clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and in 7 villages. The Clan Iawphniaw is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and distributed in 8 villages. Dewsaw clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and found distributed in 5 villages and Wanniang clan is found in 2 C.D. Blocks and distributed in 7 villages. Apart from these important clans of East or both East and West Khasi Hills there are certain less important clans found only in 1 or 2 C.D. Blocks of East Khasi Hills. Similarly, in the West Khasi Hills, there are clans which are found and distributed only in 1 C.D. Block out of the 3 surveyed.

One may conclude from the study that physical set-

ting of the region had determined not only the level of economic development but had a great impact on the process of cultural evolution. It is not difficult to visualize that physical setting of the region allowed only particular type of economic development as the technology used in area remained quite primitive in nature. By using primitive technology it was not possible for the Khasis to change the physical environment according to their needs, wishes and requirement that they had to adjust according to the physical environment in the condition of socio-cultural and economic relative isolation. However, the physical condition of the region are not as rugged as that of some mountainous areas of N.E. Region. So at least there was always a possibility for the people living in this region to interact among themselves. The possibility of movement of Khasis within the region gave use to opening up of new areas for the purpose of agriculture and settlement. It is therefore not difficult to observe that Khasis as a cultural group are more similar to one another, than most of the tribal communities of the region who are living in areas of isolation.

These cultural similarities however, had been limited by the differences in the natural environment within the Khasi Hills. For example, altitudinal variations,

have been responsible in giving rise to difference in agricultural pattern and productivity. It gave rise to the development of various Khasi customs, tradition and institution.

The formation of the Khasi clans was mainly due to the influence and impact on culture. Religion, marriage, inheritance, clan durbars and syiemship had a great impact on the formation of the Khasi clans. Due to their migration from other region their influence on the socio-economic factor has also influenced the formation of large number of Khasi clans.

The formation of Khasi clans is closely linked with the distributional pattern. Khasi clans are distributed all over the region as migration from one region to another was possible as many areas were suitable for some types of agriculture. These regions were settled by people belonging to different clans and in this process even some new clans were formed. Trade link with other communities, was also a reason for the vast distribution of Khasi clans.

In the end it may be desirable to say that this study had its obvious shortcoming as only about hundred villages were selected and on the basis of these villages any generalization will have its own limitation. It may

be suggested that for a better understanding of the problem of formation and distribution of Khasi clans, data for all the villages should be collected. This may even throw some light on various aspects of evolution of Khasi clans and their utility in the changing Khasi polity, economy and society.

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