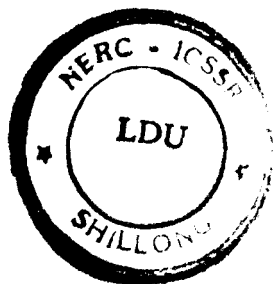


THE BORIS



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DISTRICT RESEARCH OFFICER.

**RESEARCH DEPARTMENT
ARUNACHAL PRADESH
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1 st. Edition

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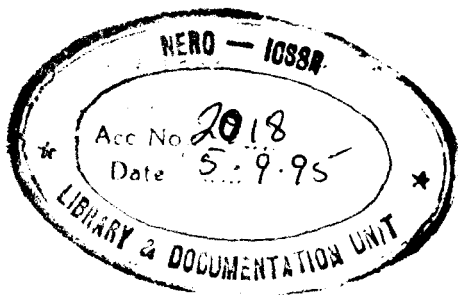
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CHAPTER ONE

Land and the People

Boris constitute a small group of people inhabiting the upper central region of Siang District of Arunachal Pradesh. The area, the Boris are occupying, goes by the name of Bori Area and comprises whole of the central portion of the Siyom Valley and a major portion of the Sike Valley between Mega in the south and Gasheng in the north. Of the nine villages over which the Bori population is spread, Dupu, Yio, Bogu, and Mega are situated on the left bank of Siyom : Dupu and Yio above the confluence of Siyom and Sike, while Bogu and Mega below it. Pame is also situated below the confluence but on the right bank of Siyom. Payum, Gasheng and Gatte are located along the right bank of Sike and Gameng on its left bank.

The area extends over 695 square kilometers. Comparatively it forms a small fraction, about 2.9 percent of the 12800 square kilometers area of the district. The population represents approximately 4.3 percent of the entire population of the district which is 42250 excluding Pasighat.

Country.

The entire Bori area is a rugged terrain with steep hills and deep gorges all over. In the east

this area is flanked by the great Luyor Range, dividing it from the territory inhabited by the Ashings from Tuting to Bomdo along the right bank of river Siang—the Brahmaputra. In the west, rises to a height of over 3700 meters, the snow-capped masive pyramidal peak of the Pari mountains, on the base girdle of which are situated the villages of Payum, Yio and Dupu. Farther in its shade stands the Gorot peak. These mountains standing farther to the west and northwest meet the Tungkhar Range across which is the Bokar area. There is no beaten path over these mountains, but when the snow melts, there are tracks through the high passes which were earlier used as trade routes for barter trade . The Tungkhar and Luyor ranges running upwards converge and meet in the north and stand like huge walls of a triangle. At the base, circumventing the Pari mountains in the south across the Syiom to the west is the Yapik area of the Pailibos. In the south lie lower ridges shared by the Gallongs and the Miniyongs on both sides of the Siyom. The altitude varies from over 950 meters to 1550 meters above the sea level.

Mega is the first Bori village adjoining the Miniyong area on the left bank of Siyom. From Mega to Bogu, the second Bori village on the route going upwards, the terrain is most hazardous. The entire track of nearly 15 kilometers is rocky. At the end of every tiresome steep climb, there is an equally tough descent followed by another sharper climb. Without recourse to ladders, it is not possible to cover all the distance. Bogu is the highest Bori village perched at an altitude of over 1250 meters above the sea level. Beyond Bogu towards Gameng, the track passes through jungles over

steep hills of the same type. It continues to remain unchanged beyond Gameng to Gasheng. Rocky beds of rivers and streams with steep banks and treacherous tracks are encountered throughout. The track between Gasheng and Gatte or Pange, the last Bori village in the north, provides a little relief but otherwise from north downwards to Payyum and other villages of the area, there are the same high hills, narrow ridges, rocky beds and jungles.

Left alone the hurdles and hazards of the track, the nature is beautiful and bountiful all over. Near a place called Tareng across the Siyom, the 50 meters fall is of enchanting beauty. The natural panorama all over the area upto the snow peaked Pari mountains is charmingly beautiful. During sunshine it is beyond expression to admire and describe the fantastic arc of golden light visible from Bogu across the snow-capped mountains from Pari right upto Tuting.

Neighbours.

The geographical position of the area has placed the Boris in the centre of all the tribes of the district. They have the Ashings in the east inhabiting all along the right bank of Siang from Tuting to Bomdo and on the other side are the Tangams and the Shimongs. They are approachable by one of the routes from Along to Tuting passing through the Bori area across the Luyor Range. In the north and northwest are the Bokars across the Tungkhar Range. The track to Bokar area lies from the south and south-west through the Yapik area of the Pailibos in the west. In the south are the Gallongs along the right bank of

Siyom and to the southeast are the Miniyongs along the left bank.

Topography.

Physical features throughout the district are very much homogeneous. The whole of Bori area is a mountainous tract covered with dense forests and interspersed by a large number of rivers, streams and rivulets which carve out deep valleys as they flow downwards. Besides the Siyom, one of the major tributaries of the river Siang, the other rivers are Sike, Siniyot-Parge, Siniyot-Yio, Gameng-Siyak and the Mebung which flow full throughout the year. There are a number of streams both big and small, commonly known as Pame-Sirre, Sibot, Hiyak, Silli, Yabung, Bogu-Sirrut Reak and Serang. Boris do not use boats, which obviously, would not be serviceable against swift currents and falls. They have been using rafts to cross streams at places where suspension bridges have not been provided. They made log bridges, rope bridges and suspension bridges with logs, bamboo and cane to cross the rivers where rafts were not safe and useful. In this way they linked their villages with one another through foot-tracks and paths over the unkind surface of hills covered with thick jungles. In addition to these tracks for local traffic, they made great trade routes which they maintained carefully within their jurisdiction to carry on trade with their neighbours.

Climate.

The climate of Siang district is different in different regions. This phenomenon is due to the

existence of narrow valleys, deep gorges and high ranges. It will be wrong to predict the climate from the simple fact that Siang is situated in the monsoon regions of the heaviest rainfall in the world. Other factors, winds and their direction and intensity, high percentage of humidity, varied temperatures, forest growth and altitude affect it. It rains all the year round, yet the rainy season is reckoned from March to September. The rains, however, do not abruptly come to an end with September going away but usually drag on to the middle of October. July and August are months of the heaviest rainfall and September is of lesser rain. But sometimes August goes almost dry and heavy rains are witnessed during September. Winter sets in after middle of October and the months of December, January and half of February are known for thick fog, mist and severe cold. Strong winds blowing southward over the snow-covered mountains add to the fury of the biting cold. Intensity of cold decreases after February and in April despite light rains, the weather gets sufficiently hot and humid. The climate is, therefore, hot humid in the months of short summer and very cold during the long winter with excessive rains throughout the year.

Flora and Fauna.

Out of the total area of the region, 50 per cent approximately is under forests, that is, over 74000 acres are covered with jungles, from grass, shrubs and creepers to diverse varieties of stunted and tall trees. The species of vegetation in the lower ranges are markedly different from those obtaining in the upper and higher ranges. It may,

perhaps, be attributed to variation in soil composition, altitude and relative climatic conditions.

(1) **Flora.** There are mainly three types of forests all over the district; namely, (1) Tropical evergreen forests below an altitude of 250 meters to 950 meters; (2) Sub-tropical evergreen forests between altitudes of 950 meters to 1550 meters, forming the central belt and (3) Sub-temperate mixed forests on upper slopes of ranges between altitudes of 1500 meters and above. All these types have been observed in the Bori area with an almost similar type of growth. In addition to these predominant types, temperate forests lie on yet higher slopes of Pari and Luyor Ranges. On careful observation it appears that many species peculiar to tropical or sub-tropical belts are growing along with the species peculiar to temperate belt irrespective of the altitude. This area abounds in a large variety of orchids, many species of algae, fungi, lichens, mosses, ferns, climbers and grasses.

In addition to these, there is no dearth of common kinds of trees and plants which have been providing them with essential requirements of life and living. There are four known and useful varieties of cane. The thick coarse variety is commonly used, whilst other types are used in making ropes, strings, baskets and fishing traps and still of finer quality is used for making fancy articles like hats, belts and bags. Similarly there are many varieties of bamboo which also are used for various purposes. Those with bigger dimensions are used for making water jars, containers for preparing and storing beer, drinking and eating utensils and for building walls of their houses. A wellknown shrub

(*Cephalostachyum fuchsianum*) which has soft stems looking like polished wood is used for making tobacco pipes. Another common shrub (*C. lacryona-Jebi*) bears seeds which are used like imitation for fancy necklaces. The variety of palm known as Toke-Pat (*Livistona-jenkinsiana*) is used extensively for thatching.

Every slope is covered with cluster after cluster of wild banana plantain, the fruit of which, barring a few types, is eaten. It tastes quite sweet but has lot of hard stony seeds. Jack fruit (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), lemon (*Citrus medica limonum*) and cinnamon (*Cinnamomum zelanicum*) are useful trees and supply their needs of vegetables and spices occasionally for taste. Wild mango trees have also been seen, here and there, and bear very small and sour fruit. The ground layer of the vegetation is covered with herbaceous growth, grasses, varieties of ferns, mosses and wild potatoes. Set amidst these, the blossoming rhododendrons present the most infatuating panorama. This under-growth conceals countless varieties of shrubs and plants, of which the fruits, leaves, shoots, and roots are taken as food supplements. Other trees of economic value are quite abundant. For instance, the walnut (*Juglans regia-linnahor*, (*Mesua ferrea*)) borpot (*Atlanthus crandis-prain*) holok (*Terminalia myriocarp*) oak (*Quereus*), khuker, sam and other trees, Boris are aware of the utility of these trees. Sometimes, they make charcoal from the less useful wood.

(ii) **Fauna** The jungles contain wild animals in an abundant measure. Every village maintains a forest reserve for hunting. It is estimated that these reserves cover an area of nearly 6000 acres. Wild animals of the mammal species are of both types, carnivorous and herbivorous.

Though snow-leopard, tiger and panther are rarely found, Himalayan bear, siben and wild boar are much in evidence. In upper northern reaches takin and musk-deer are also found, Bar king deer, common deer, wild goat, monkeys, langurs, wild cat, porcupine are quite common. Squirrels, rats, mice and shrews are in abundance.

Amongst the reptiles, the wall-lizard (*hemidactylus*), calotus (*calotus versicolor*), cobra, Himalayan brown-viper or pit-viper, rat-snake (*Zaminis*) and python are commonly found. There are some non-poisonous kinds of snakes also. The area is full of leeches. There are larger ones of green and pink colour which in some parts live on trees and drop on animals or human beings as they pass underneath. Ordinary ones are of grey colour or stripped. These leeches are a great nuisance for every one including domestic animals.

Birds are common over a wide range and the kinds always seen include, barbet, babbler, bulbul, cuckoo, crow, dove, ducks, bee-eater, eagle, flower-pecker, fork-tails, fly-catcher, wild fowl, gretit, hornbill, kite, laughing thrush, magpie (green), minivet, martin munia, owl, parrot, pigeon, pipit, partridge, parakeet, pheasant, redstart, raven, rosefinch, sunbird, sparrow, shirks, snipe, sand-piper, swallow, siva, trogen, treepie, warbler and sultantit.

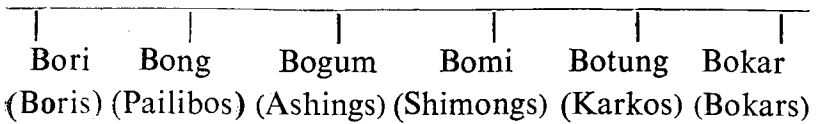
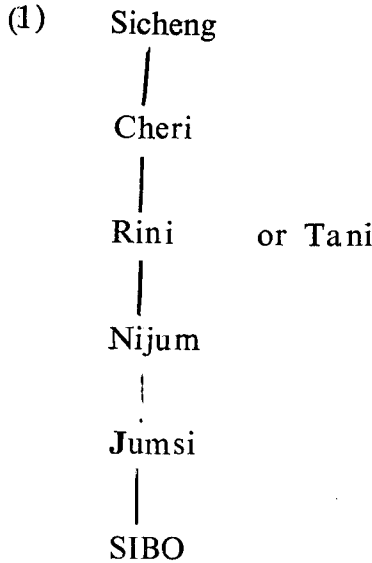
Rivers and streams yield large quantities of mahseer, eel, catfish mud-fishes and hill carp. Besides frogs, shrimps, crabs, snails, water insects are in abundance. Bees, butterflies, ants, moths, wasps, cockroaches, bats, crickets, beetles and divers flying insects are seen throughout.

Origin.

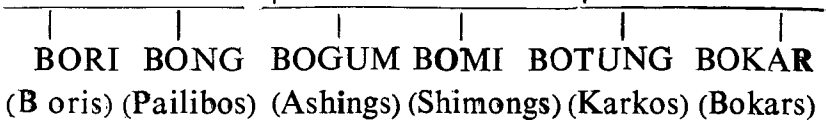
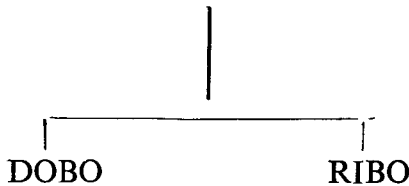
Regarding their origin the Boris do not seem to be certain enough to adduce a single universally acceptable version. It therefore, becomes difficult to trace their origin and the reasons why they go by the name 'Bori'. The people themselves have not been able to offer any logical explanation. Some simply say that as they have been occupying the area known as Bori area, they are Boris, whilst other maintain that the area is named Bori area as Boris have been inhabiting it. It is, consequently, difficult to establish exclusively whether the people have derived their name from the area or the area itself has been named after them.

There are however, two popular versions of their mythological origin. When narrating the genealogy a section attributes the beginning to Sicheng (the Earth) and the other starts from Pedong (the Rain), notwithstanding the fact that rain itself according to them is the product of the union of Earth and Sky (Taleng). According to the latter, Pedong's son Dobo or Ribo is the ancestor of the various tribes of the Adis, whilst those believing in the other version maintain that they have descended from Sicheng through a common ancestor in Sibor.

THE BORIS



(II) PEDONG



This pedigree lends the Boris the belief that the first syllable i.e. "Bo" as a prefix to the names of these tribes signifies descent from an ancestor whose name ended in "BO" like DOBO, RIBO or SIBO. They also believe consequently that this common ancestor is without doubt the sole precursor of the tribes like Bokars, Pailibos, Ashings, Shimongs, Karkos and even Minyongs because the Boris address them with names actually beginning with the prefix 'BO' based on their own version of their origin ; viz,

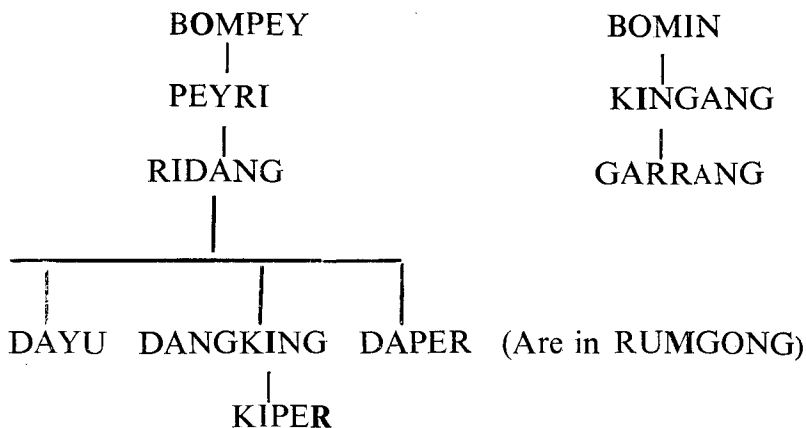
Pailibos	as	BONG
Ashings	as	BOGUM
Shimongs	as	BOMI
Karkos	as	BOTUNG
Bokars	as	BOKAR

For the Miniyongs they have no term of address beginning with 'BO' but they address them as TAKO.'

Leaving aside this genealogical assertion based on mythological concepts, the Bori population with respect to different clans inhabiting the different villages seems to comprise of migrations, prominently from the groups inhabiting the right bank of Siang, which at present are known as Ashings, Karkos and Miniyongs. It appears possible that some of them, driven by economic or historical or natural forces went down along the right bank of Siang upto its confluence with Siyom. At that stage finding it difficult to cross the mighty river and also finding the terrain to the north absolutely inaccessible, ultimately crossed the river Siyom at some convenient place near about the present site of Along, took a turn and again

went up along the river Siyom and then Sike. Other waves of migrants pushed from their homeland under similar circumstances either joined them or even pushed them farther until insurmountable limitations and natural barriers permitted no more movement and they settled down in the areas now occupied by various tribes. They might have succeeded in driving out those who happened to be there when they had arrived.

Although there are a number of legendary tales purporting to mean that migration in the very distant times took place from the north to the south and southeast, yet the difficulty to identify the places left behind does not help in placing the time and the reasons for such a migrations. However the Adis migrations of recent past can be easily discribed as intance. On the other hand the resident of Payum tell the story which strengthens the viewpoint of migration along the banks of Siang, Siyom and Sike. According to this legend, the ancestors of the present day inhabitants of Payum originally came from HASHING (Ashing) side in Tuting area along the river Siang. From Hashing they came to Tuting village and settled there. Later on, leaving about half of their kinsmen in Tuting and some others in Bomdo, they came to BOMO (BOMDO-TOTO). This explains the presence of PAYING-PANI people in Bomdo and in Tuting and the PAYING in Payum. Dispersions continued and they say that one MINGANG went through the Miniyong Area (KOMSING-RASI, RASING) and crossed a big stream called PAYAPIGO between the MINIYONG Area and DO-SING. From RASING he went to RUNGONG where there was one MINGANG-BOMIN. His descendants are BOMIN and BOMPEY.



In Rumgong Area there is a big stream known as SIRIT RIBUNG after crossing which these descendants came to PEYING-ROING or ROING and from there they crossed another river TOTE-PIGU and reached the banks of the river Sipu near Along. In this area they found a kinsman named TAGE. TAGE or PAGE and PAYA were two brothers. From Sipu they came to the plain ground SIRRUNG -RUNYAK - PABA - RUIING near KAMBANG. From Runyak, BOMIN came to TUMBIN or BARRI-LOTE on to BEGGING (Yio) and from BEGGING to the present place of Payum. Payum was previously known as MON-GUN or PAYUM-MONGUN. Since the people now inhabiting there are called PAYING, the place came to be called PAYA-PAYUM or Payum. They scattered all over the area later on.

The present population is divided into some distinct groups. For instance, people of Gatte and Gasheng constitute one group, those of Gameng, Bogu and Pame another group; those living in Payum form the third group alongwith the separate unit of Bodungs and those in Yio

and Mega constitute the fourth group. But for all practical purposes, all the groups trace their migrations from the Tuting area and maintain socially as well as politically an indivisible identity.

Migration of Yayeng people of Gameng and Bogu.

A long time ago the ancestors of 'Yayeng' people were in Hangong (Angong) area in Janbo. They migrated from Janbo (Jenbo) to Ramsing where descendants of 'Yabu' the elder brother of Yayeng's ancestor lived. At Ramsing, Yabu and Yayeng did a puja. They sacrificed two mithuns by the names, Sobo Enno Rengong and Sobo Kidu. But Yayeng used a round cane in the making of the wooden scaffold (Eso-sokang) platform for sacrificing mithun. Yabu asked Yayeng as to why he was doing it because it was not in their tradition and custom to use that type of cane during puja. Both of them quarrelled and so Yayeng in anger went to Nyi-Ying Kebe and made his house there. Yayeng fought with Nibo Tage, Padungs, Pasings. He killed Nibo Tage and fled away to Kongking-Ruying near Kambang. Kongking Ruying is sometimes referred as Kongki-yayeng. From there he came to Gombo Me-ying down the present village of Bogu. From Gombo Me-Ying he came to Gameng. While at Gameng, the Yayeng people fought with Pasing-piyeng and they were made to flee to Tuting side. Some descendants of Yayeng are settled in Bogu. Once a hurricane reduced the Bango and some houses in Bogu to pieces, so they decided that half of them should go to Gameng and the other half to stay on in Bogu.

To the northeast of Gameng, there was formerly a village of Pango people (Pango Kidang). Yayeng people fought with them and made them flee to establish their new village at Pango. Pajo village was situated at the present site of Gameng and there lived Pajo people who were also driven away.

Migration of Pame and Bogu Pasor from Kongkir (Karko) to the Bori Area.

Abo Doyang was in Karko (Kongkir). His grandson, Kika migrated from Kongkir to Riga and from Riga to Paro Delong and from Paro Delong to Kaying (Ooying) on to Kangkir Ruying (Kambang). From Kangkir Ruying he went to Lingu Lingkar (Gameng side) and then further on to Dupu Poyur (between Yio and Dupu), and from there to the present site of Dupu. Gonji, Kika's descendant through his great grandson, Dongon, went for hunting to Yorshi Adi, west of present site of Pame village and located the present site of village Pame for settlement.

After Kika's migration from Kongkir and further migration of his descendants, those through his son Kakon remained settled in Kaying, Yosing, Bone and Mori, whilst those through his son Kanning are in Bogne.

Migration of Yaying people o Bogu village.

The ancestors of Yaying were in DIDUMS ERANG above Tuting. From there they came to Tuting proper. Their ancestor Lumir migrated from Tuting to Paling and from Paling to Patu (between Pangkang and Riga) and then to Mosing

(between Ngurang and Bori area and from there to Mega village From Mega he went to Nyumping-Nyurang between the present village of Mega and Bogu and lastly came to Monnir near Yio. Their ancestor Mirri son of Lumir married a girl by the name of Padi of the then Padu community of Gasheng. Towards the payment of the bride-price he arranged it by selling Monnir including Monnir-Kotir above Bille to the people of Yio. They stayed on in Kotir-Gombo-Meying down the present village of Bogu. The site of Bogu at that time was known as Gombo-Rayi. The Yaying ancestors did not like the name Gombo Rayi so they twisted the word Gombo to Bogu.

Migrations to Gasheng and Gatte.

Gami, the ancestor of Pabins used to live at Gatte. Once he was in Payum and performed a big mithun sacrifice. Before the sacrifice Eso-Moli-Sinam was being witnessed. (Eso-Moli-Sinam is the custom to tie two mithuns from the horns with a rope and allow these to drag each other). One mithun ran away to Patte and the other to Payyeng. He went to secure the help of the Payum people for help but they told him (Gami, that he was one different from them in their village and for that reason they would not help him in searching the mithuns. They demanded Gami's ear-rings studded with costly beads (Niyuru - Turbum) as remuneration for searching the mithuns. Gami agreed and they managed to find one. Gami give one ear-ring each to the two persons who found the mithuns. He completed the sacrifice. After five days he went out

for hunting with a dog along with the Payum people. He killed one white wild boar (Sirre). Payum people complained why he killed it. They asked one Racha - Chalung - Lungti (or Racha - Chalun - Lunti) to forcibly take Gami's hunt. He took away the boar's head to customarily perform the propitiation rite after the hunt. Gami, on his part took a few hair of the boar and threw them on the floor near the hearth. He prayed to the presiding spirit of the jungle game (Doje-Yapon) to punish the Payum people for seizing his hunted animal. Whilst Payum people were celebrating the hunt by performing 'Raniyo-Popu' a beautiful slave girl fell down while preparing (beer) apong and died.

The death of the slave girl was a loss to Racha - Chalung - Lungti, who next day told the people that he had been unnecessarily dragged into the hunt affair for forcibly taking Gami's hunt and for the fault of Payum people he had been punished. Later on, being jealous of Gami's immense properties, the Payum people started quarrelling with him. Gami realised that he would not be allowed to remain in Payum.

He called a Pangu ancestor, Merdi by name, from Karo and one Yao-Burring from Yio. All three went for a hunt and Gami again killed a wild boar near Pedding, down the present Gatte. The three men went to Pedding and ate the game. They discovered the present site of Gatte to be the proper place for their habitation. They made the Karo-Dirrot track. The Kurak since then is owned by Gatte people and has not been given away to anybody.

The three men on their way to Dechong Kungu-Litong (Litak) were following some Padu-Passings people. The Passings objected as to why they were being followed and started fighting with them. Burring told Padus that he had given his big metal bowl (Sobu-Dangking) to the people of Dibey-Singkar for fighting against them (Padus) and they were expected to arrive without delay. It was the time when Pangus were also fighting against Padus, who realising their critical position to fight against odds from two sides left the Gasheng area. Since then the present people have been in Gasheng-Gatte. They got these villages without acutally fighting for them.

Boris do not differ so much from the other tribes as far as physique and physical features are concerned. They possess a stout fleshy body broad features with a big flat nose and the cheeks imparting a round to oval composite facial appearance. They have black hair, a tuft flowing on the back. The women too possess thick black flowing hair trimmed on the forehead. They have predominantly browinsh eyes. Men have very scanty hair growth on their faces. Bori women may be described as quite vivacious possessing delicate supple physique, Their stature varies from the medium to tall, men being taller than women. Children are always quite attractive and pleasing. Even in old age, the hair do not turn grey. No bald person has been noticed in the entire area. They appear to be restless but have never been found to be ill-mannered or aggressive.

Communications.

Bori area and its adjacent territory are the most difficult part of the Siang district as far as communications are concerned. It needs clambering over rocks in the beds of Siyom and Sike walking over cliffs by using ladders to scale the mounts. Apparently the inaccessible terrain makes it impossible to use animal transport. Consequently the only mode of travel in the area is to go on foot. There are narrow foot paths over which these people have been treading to communicate with other villages of their territory. They have never neglected these tracks and paths as far as the maintenance was concerned. All tracks leading to the water point or the bank of a river upto the range of a kilometer or so are very well maintained. They are aware that the maintenance of vital means of inter-communication is the collective responsibility of each village upto the point the tracks lie within the jurisdiction of their village.

Trade Routes.

Trade has remained the only medium of exchange of certain commodities produced in the area with certain other articles available in other areas to supplement the requirements of the people concerned. The people, therefore, explored the regions in finding out other people who might be deficient in the articles which they could spare to be exchanged with such commodities which could be available from them. This exploration led to the building of important trade routes in the long past.

Boris could not be an exception as they needed quite a number of things which they could not produce themselves or secure locally. There are some important routes which the Boris have been using for barter trade with their near and distant neighbours. Pari mountains and other high ranges remain covered with snow during the winter months, but they had discovered routes over and across these mountains and used them in accordance with their needs.

(1) Gasheng - Miging - Tuting route was used for trading with the upper Ashings, Tangams and Shimongs.

(2) Tumbin - Kaying - Keak route was used for trading with the Gallongs.

(3) Gameng - Lising route was used for trade with the Miniyongs.

(4) Along the left bank of Syiom they reached the Miniyong area through Mega via Bogne.

(5) Traders are known to have gone far to the south right upto Bame, Basar, Liromoba and still farther to Gusar in the Daporijo area for trade with the Gallongs.

Population

At the time of census of 1961, the population was recorded as 1 8 3 5, including the Yapis and Yamirs of Ric and Dupu villages. During the course of this study, on physical verification, the population of the Bori tribe has been found to be 1 6 7 0 excluding the Yapis and Yamirs of the above named two villages. Subsequent births and deaths are bound to affect it again. The two villa-

ges of Paum and Paying do not exist now, reducing the number of Bori villages from eleven to nine, without affecting the numbers of the Boris because the entire residents of these two villages moved to Gasheng and Gatte. The following table gives the village-wise break up as found during the study :

Sl N.	Name of the Village	Number of Households	Number of Families	Population		
				Males	Females	Total
1.	Mega	24	27	65	67	132
2.	Pame	7	7	22	30	52
3.	Bogu	23	39	93	94	187
4.	Yio	47	51	114	110	224
5.	Dupu	14	22	53	66	110
6.	payum	46	57	118	128	246
7.	Gatte	49	49	88	93	181
8.	Gasheng	47	79	161	175	336
9.	Gameng	24	42	96	97	193
Total		281	373	810	860	1670

A feature of the population is that the females outnumber the males, though the difference is not very conspicuous.

Language

Most of the tribes in Arunachal Pradesh speak dialects belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family. Adi dialect of Siang district belongs to one of them, predominantly and Bori dialect is one of its dialectical variation. It bears greater simi-

larity and semblance to the Miniyong dialect. A few sentences and phrases from the booklet entitled "Phrases and Words in the Border Languages of the Northeast Frontier Agency" issued by the Philological Section of the Research Department support this presumption.

English	Bori	Miniyong.
Bring me food ?	- Ngom do-nam Ko Bi langka	- Ngom do-nam Ko Bi- langka
I am your friend.	- Ngo Nok Ajon- e	- Ngo Nok angon- ng-e
I am hurt.	- Ngo Tare-ko gedu	- Ngo tere gedu
Where is your gam ?	- No-luk gam-e yo-ko-lo-la ?	- No-luk game-e ingoko-lo-la ?
Do you understand me ?	- No Ngok agom- cen-du-di ?	No Ngok agom ken-dudi ?

A notable feature of the Bori dialect is that the language spoken by the two villages of Gasheng and Gatte is different from that spoken by all the other villages

The Gallongs drop the 'ng' suffix from all the words ending in 'ng' but the Boris like the Miniyongs retain it.

For instance:-

For the Gallong apo the Boris have apong.

For " isi " ising

For " Alo , Along

For , ponu " ponung.

Therefore like the Miniyongs the BORIS permit the nasal 'ng' at the end of the word.

In conjugation of a verb, the form in different tenses changes systematically and not at random. Such as, Gidung (to go) Pardung (to read), Dodung (to eat), Agomludung (to speak) are of one group. Edun (to marry), Eke (to kill), Nimlanam (to marry) belong to the category of irregular verbs. Besides, the use of prepositions and adverbs is also systematic and there are fixed personal pronouns, that is, ngo-I, ngolu- we, No-you (singular), Nolu-You (plural), Bi-He or She Bulu- They.

In name respects, Bori dialect resembles the Miniyong dialect and is not complicated like the Gallong. It is not difficult to learn.