

## Apatani Questionnaire:

### 1. Description

#### 1.1 Name(s) of society, language, and language family:

- Apatani. Also known as Apa, Their language belongs to the Sino-Tibetan family, Tibeto-Burman, Central Tibeto-Burman, Tani . They also use Assamese and Hindi. May be intelligible with Nyishi.(1) (4)

#### 1.2 ISO code: apt

#### 1.3 Location:

- Apatani plateau in the Lower Subansiri district of Arunachal Pradesh, India. (1)

#### 1.4 Brief history:

- Written records of the history of the Apatani tribe have never been discovered. Oral tradition reveals that throughout their history, the Apatani had a democratic system of running the society. The Tani call their village council the Bulyang.

One of their oral accounts speak of their migration from the extreme north of Subansiri and Siang areas following the rivers of Kurung and Kiimey. Those oral accounts usually have been transmitted in the form of folk tales such as the miji and migung. Frequently present day landmarks support the folk tales, marking the migratory paths of the Apatanis. At a small village of Yangte in Kurung Kumey district, for example, a stone stands beside the place Apatanis held a high jump competition on their way to the present habitat. The oral accounts often have validity, especially when corroborated with anthropological and scientific evidence.

The miji constitutes a collection of religious chants performed by priests who preside over the sacrifices of mithuns, cows, chickens and pigs during various rituals. A religious song, which may be sung from ten minutes to twelve hours, accompanies all those ritual performances. They describe the previous interactions with the spirits or gods, locally known as wui, the content of which explains the origin of the myths among others. On the other hand, the migung take a more realistic form, narrated in prose, relating the stories revealing the mythological origins of the Apatani people.

Those folk tales include legendary places, and also recent events, such as the downfall of a nineteenth-century never-do-well. In those two folk tales, both the ritual chants and the prose narrations speak of Abotani, reputedly the original ancestor of the Apatani and the other tribes in central Arunachal Pradesh. Those tribes encompass the Tani group, comprising of the Apatanis, Nyishis, Sulungs or Puroiks, Hill Miris, Tagins, Adis and Mishmis. (1)

#### 1.5 Influence of missionaries/schools/governments/powerful neighbors:

- The Apatani have incorporated many ways of the modern world, but the traditional culture and customs still retain their significance. Many of them are high-level government employees, doctors, and engineers and are working far away from their native villages around Ziro. (2)
- Scholars consider much of the information regarding the Apatani tribe in

books or on the Internet outdated, based on observations made by Professor Christopher von Furer-Haimendorf in the 1940s. The Apatani have shown an impressive rate of progress since their first contact with the modern world, sometimes dubbed "Japatani" by their neighboring tribes, presumably as an allusion to the fast-paced technological evolution of Japan.

- Still, their traditional culture and customs still retain an importance in their culture. Many serve as high-level Government employees, doctors and engineers, working far from their native villages around Ziro. Even so, they return to their villages during important festivals, notable Myoko in March and Murung in January every year. The Apatanis celebrate Dree, another important festival observed in the major towns in Arunachal Pradesh and in some cities outside the state. As in any other developing countries, teenagers have been influenced by the culture of modernization, but the traditional customs still continue. (1)
- Nevertheless, their rapid material, social, and educational development over the last 40 years has been phenomenal. Their educational progress, due to the strategically located high school near their region, has led them to positions of influence in Arunachal Pradesh. Today, Indian officials administer law and order in the Apatani villages; however, their culture has remained intact under the limited authority of the elders.(3)

#### 1.6 Ecology (natural environment):

- The Apatani inhabit a fertile valley in northern India, south of the Tibetan border. They are located in the states of Assam, Nagaland, and Arunachal Pradesh. Perhaps their most distinguishing feature is the ingenious care they have placed in transforming their entire valley into a veritable garden; every piece of land is beautifully used. Their rice fields, which are irrigated by a system of channels and ducts, produce a two-fold crop. Terraced rice fields are also located along the sides of the valleys. The terraces are all dug by hand, without the aid of animals or plows. The Apatani have been secluded from the outside world by both natural barriers and warrior neighbors. (3)
- The Apatani cultural landscape identified by the 'Wet-Rice Cultivation' system which combines rice, millet and fish cultivation in the form of 'sedentary agriculture' in the valley land which is about 1600 m asl within a restricted area is not only highly productive but also energy efficient. Rural forestry as part of their community natural resource management where they were found to maintain several natural resource plantations like bamboo forest, pine plantations, Castanopsis plantation and mixed broad-leaved forest not only signified a traditional institutional arrangement but also a very efficient and sustainable method. The self-managed system of folk medicine practiced by the Apatanis reflected their traditional management and sharing of natural resources and preliminary studies had documented the utilization of about 158 medicinal plant species as herbal remedies. The use of above-ground plant parts and particularly the leaves was found to be higher. The ethnobotanical knowledge system of the Apatanis could be considered to richly contribute

towards the development potential of herbal medicine. (6)

#### 1.7 Population size, mean village size, home range size, density

- 28,400 (2001 census). Ethnic population: 35,000 (4)
  
- The Apatani tribe prides itself in solidarity and unity. Their villages are divided into wards containing several clans. Clans range in size from 160 to 1,000 one-room houses, crowded eave to eave in long narrow lanes. The houses are situated at elevations reaching about 1,500 meters. The homes are built on wooden piles consisting mainly of bamboo. New roofs are made of thin planks rather than the traditional thatch.(3)

### 2. Economy

#### 2.1 Main carbohydrate staple(s):

- Their primary crops are rice, millet, and maize. After harvesting their crops, the farmers plant bamboo and pine for the future generations. (3)

#### 2.2 Main protein-lipid sources:

- During the Dree festival, a few rites are performed to worship and appease Gods and Goddesses, who protect the crops, and ensure well-being of man. These divinities include Tamu God, Metii God, Sky God, and Danyi Pilo. They are worshipped by offering sacrifices of fowls, dogs, pigs, chickens, eggs, mithuns, and cows. (5)

#### 2.3 Weapons: Bow and arrow, blowguns?:

- Although specializing in agriculture, the Apatani are also skilled craftsmen and merchants. They frequently trade rice with the neighboring tribes in exchange for animals, cotton, and iron. Apatani blacksmiths use the iron to make knives and spears, and the women spin the cotton to make their one-piece garments. (3)

#### 2.4 Food storage: N/A

#### 2.5 Sexual division of production:

- While the status of men has been considered higher than that of women (he acts as the head of family), the sexes share responsibilities in the house and the family. Apatani women carry out the household chores of gathering both wild and kitchen garden vegetables, cooking, fetching of water, pounding of rice, cleaning of houses, washing of clothes and utensils, nursing, looking after infants and children, preparation of the tsampa, ginning and spinning of cotton and other jobs associated with the household. In the field, the Apatani woman carries out the tasks that include gardening, seeding, transplanting of paddy and millet, padding, weeding of fields and other activities. At home, women control the internal family income. The man also has his part in the farming work.(1)

#### 2.6 Land tenure:

- Land is the source of life for the Apatani, giving them a sense of stability, solidarity, prestige, and value as a people. All of the cultivated land is privately owned property. All of the Apatani—except for slaves and a few

poor men—own their own land. Those who own little or no land earn a living by working for their more prosperous neighbors.(3)

- An Apatani may have one or more of these land types.
    - Balu (Kitchen garden)
    - Aji (Wet rice field)
    - Yorlu (Kitchen garden located away from the village)
    - Bije (Bamboo garden usually located near the village)
    - Saadi (Plot of woodland located away from the village mainly growing pine trees)
    - Morey (A large plot of woodland located farther away than a saadi)
- Hari, Bulla, Tajang, Diibo, Hong and Hija are the main villages of apatani people. (2)

2.7 Ceramics: N/A

2.8 Specified (prescribed or proscribed) sharing patterns:N/A

2.9 Food taboos: N/A

2.10 Canoes/watercraft? N/A

### 3. Anthropometry

3.1 Mean adult height (m and f):

- Short to medium height (5)

3.2 Mean adult weight (m and f):

- stout and well built(5)

### 4. Life History, mating, marriage

4.1 Age at menarche (f): N/A

4.2 Age at first birth (m and f): N/A

4.3 Completed family size (m and f):

- Average household has 5 people. (7)

4.4 Inter-birth-interval (f): N/A

4.5 Age first marriage (m and f):

- The customs of the marriage of the Apatanis have no age bar. (5)

4.6 Proportion of marriages ending in divorce: N/A

4.7 Percent marriages polygynous, percent males married polygynously:

- Apatanis practice monogamy in general but a man may polygamise when he has no male child or his wife is barren or he is of a well to-do-family

which can provide sufficient food and shelter or with the consent of his first wife. Polyandry system is totally unknown. The cross cousin marriage and ciciberism practices are not approved. (5)

4.8 Bride purchase (price), bride service, dowry?:

- The boy side should present a half grown mithun (Sido) to the parents of the girl. In return, the boy brings 70-100 baskets of rice from the brides parents known as Arirutu.(5)

4.9 Inheritance patterns:

- Patrilineal (7)

4.10 Parent-offspring interactions and conflict: N/A

4.11 Homosexual activities, social attitudes towards homosexuals: N/A

4.12 Pattern of exogamy (endogamy):

- Apatanis are divided into seventy-eight exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal clans. (7)

4.13 What is the belief of the role of males in conception; is paternity partible? Are these “other fathers” recognized?

- Apatanis approve the remarriage of both widows and widowers. (5)

4.14 What is the belief of the mother’s role in procreation exactly? (e.g., “receptacle in which fetus grows”) N/A

4.15 Is conception believed to be an incremental process (i.e., semen builds up over time)? N/A

4.16 Occurrence of sexual coercion, rape N/A

4.17 Preferential category for spouse (e.g., cross cousin)

- Marriage is socially approved within the seven villages according to the class and status. Apatanis approve the remarriage of both widows and widowers.(5)

4.18 Do females enjoy sexual freedoms?

- Promiscuous relationships are permitted from the time a child is eight years old until he reaches his late teens or early twenties. (3)

4.19 Evidence of giving gifts to extramarital partners or extramarital offspring N/A

4.20 If mother dies, whose raises children? N/A

4.21 Adult sex ratio: number of adult males divided by number of (reproductive) females N/A

4.22 Evidence for couvades N/A

4.23 Different distinctions for potential fathers (e.g., lesser/younger vs. major/older)

N/A

#### 4.24 Kin avoidance and respect?

- Whenever courting a man is expected to give chicken livers to his future father-in-law. He does however form bonds and relationships with them. (along with a nice marriage debt, which he must later pay back) (7)
- Apatanis also form four other kinds of ceremonial friendships, which are collectively known as alii kutin. In total, thirty-two people are involved, all of whom are maternal uncles, or their descendants, of husband and wife, their parents and grandparents. The first relation are four maternal uncles, two of the husband and two of the wife. These four are further divided into two koro (the more favored) and two korbu. One koro and one korbu are from the husband's side, and one of each from wife's side. The two koro receive a mithun's foreleg, while the two korbu receive either a cow's foreleg or a good piece of pork. These four maternal uncles also share the back of the pig sacrificed on the seventh day of a murung. The left side is divided between the wife's two maternal uncles and the right side between the husbands. The second relation in this collective group also comprises four maternal uncles, two of the wife's parents' uncles and two of the husband's parents' uncles, chosen from among those still living. Each of these maternal uncles receives the lower back of a sacrificial animal. The third relation is a further eight maternal uncles, this time of the grandparents of both the husband and wife, each of whom receives a choice piece of meat of the pig. The fourth relation (kulin) is sixteen descendants of these maternal uncles of the grandparents, eight on each side. These relations who are now forgotten or ignored, receive either a small piece of meat or amount of cash, typically 100-200 rupees. (7)

#### 4.24 Joking relationships? N/A

#### 4.25 Patterns of descent (e.g., bilateral, matrilineal) for certain rights, names or associations :

- Patrilineally (2)

#### 4.26 Incest avoidance rules N/A

#### 4.27 Is there a formal marriage ceremony?

- When a couple decides to wed, there is no bride price, no engagement, and no wedding feast; the two simply move into the home of one set of parents. (3)
- In the negotiations marriage, the boy side must test an omen from chicken liver secretly before taking any decision and carefully examining it. The chicken omen is tested whether she will agree and lead a fruitful life with children and prosperity. If the omen favour it, the two cousin brothers of the boy go to the house of the girl's parents taking the right omen and these two brothers are known as Gyunta. The right omen of the boy is carefully

scrutinized by the parents of the girl who also test an omen from chicken liver. If this omen is also right, the girl's parents arrange for a formal engagement.

After the preparation of rice beer and meat, the girl's parents inform the parents of the boy for engagement. On this occasion, the boy along with his Gyunta go to her house and the boy give a Tibetan sword known as Chiri to the parents of the girl. This kind of betrothal is like promising that she is his legal wife from that day. The girl's side also betroths a locally produced cloth known as Mabo-pulye to the boy along with a dainty meal and rice beer. After these formalities, if both the parents wish they may decide for the exchange of rice and mithun for more or less religious importance, which is known as the Rutu Pini. The boy side should present a half grown mithun (Sido) to the parents of the girl. In return, the boy brings 70-100 baskets of rice from the brides parents known as Arirutu.

Next day, there is an occasion known as Pyali Banii. On this occasion, the sisters of the bride bring small baskets containing varieties of rice for the bride and groom. If the groom's parents wish, some small rites are performed in the house of the groom and this performance is called Amohini. During that ceremony, pig and many other fowls are sacrificed to God and Goddesses who bring life and prosperity to the bride-groom.(5)

4.28 In what way(s) does one get a name, change their name, and obtain another name?

- You obtain your name based on what clan you are in. (7)

4.29 Is marriage usually (or preferred to be) within community or outside community? (m/f difference?)

- The Apatani are allowed to marry outside their clans, and have complete freedom of choice for their partners. However, marriage between aristocrats and commoners is forbidden. (3)

4.30 Are marriages arranged? Who arranges (e.g., parents, close kin)?

- The marriage in the Apatani society also may be arranged either by negotiations or by elopement or by capturing. The boy side must test an omen from chicken liver secretly before taking any decision (5)

4.31 Evidence for conflict of interest over who marries who: N/A

Warfare/homicide

4.14 Percent adult (male) deaths due to warfare: N/A

4.15 Outgroup vs ingroup cause of violent death: N/A

4.16 Reported causes of in-group and out-group killing: N/A

4.17 Number, diversity and relationship with neighboring societies (external relations): N/A

4.18 Cannibalism? N/A

## 5. Socio-Political organization and interaction

### 5.1 Mean local residential (village) group size:

- Clans range in size from 160 to 1,000 one-room houses, crowded eave to eave in long narrow lanes. (3)

### 5.2 Mobility pattern: (seasonality): N/A

### 5.3 Political system: (chiefs, clans etc, wealth or status classes):

- The Apatani have always had an orderly society. Within their village government, there were never any chiefs or headmen. Rather, the council of elders acted in accordance with public opinion. (3)

### 5.4 Post marital residence:

- When a couple decides to wed, there is no bride price, no engagement, and no wedding feast; the two simply move into the home of one set of parents. (3)

### 5.5 Territoriality? (defined boundaries, active defense): N/A

### 5.6 Social interaction divisions? (age and sex): N/A

### 5.7 Special friendships/joking relationships:

- Buniin: Non-kin bonding between two men, established between two men with little fanfare except the exchange of pieces of pork, but the bonds are permanent and devolve to their sons when they die. Most Apatani men have 3 to 7 of these friends, who come from another clan, but never more than one clan.
- Gyotti: The same as a buniin except that the men must come from another village and clan, not just clan. Also involves exchanges of meat and money.
- Pinyang: Man only has one such friend. Must be from a different clan yet the same village as his partner. Pinyang is primary recipient, given the head of the largest or best mithun, which, after boiling off the meat, he gives back to sponsor to hang on his interior house wall.

### 5.8 Village and house organization:

- The houses are situated at elevations reaching about 1,500 meters. The homes are built on wooden piles consisting mainly of bamboo. New roofs are made of thin planks rather than the traditional thatch. (3)
- Apatani houses are similar to other houses in central Arunachal Pradesh. Raised slightly more than one metre above the ground on thick hardwood (now concrete) posts, bamboo porches and floors. Since the turn of the new century, galvanized, corrugated iron sheets have replaced thatch and bamboo as the roof. Wooden or concrete steps lead up to the front porch, which, along with the back porch, nearly equals the interior floor space of the house. Going through the wooden door, most Apatani houses have a sort of ante-

chamber that is both a chicken coop and a storage space for large items, such as baskets and firewood. Further inside, the right hand side is often partitioned into two or three rooms, one or two for sleeping and one for latrine, which also feeds the pigs below. The main interior space is traditionally divided into front and rear, each with a hearth, and each with gender and ritual associations. The front hearth (ago) is where the women cook and congregate. The rear hearth (ura) is where the men sit and talk, and where most rituals are conducted inside the house. (7)

5.9 Specialized village structures (mens' houses): N/A

5.10 Sleep in hammocks or on ground or elsewhere? N/A

5.11 Social organization, clans, moieties, lineages, etc:

- Apatanis are divided into seventy-eight exogamous, patrilineal and patrilocal clans, although this number changes over time. Some clans have died out in recent memory, while others have split into exogamous sub-clans, primarily in order to increase the number of eligible marriage partners. This alone makes clan the primary identity marker in the Apatani society. (7)
- Clan provides first name and determines marriage partners. (7)

5.12 Trade:

- Although specializing in agriculture, the Apatani are also skilled craftsmen and merchants. They frequently trade rice with the neighboring tribes in exchange for animals, cotton, and iron. Apatani blacksmiths use the iron to make knives and spears, and the women spin the cotton to make their one-piece garments. (3)
- Bulyang is the traditional council of the Apatanis. There are three categories of Bulyang: Akha Bulyang, Yapa Bulyang, and Ajang Bulyang. The institution still exists, but its functions have been diluted by other similar institutions like Gaon Buras and Panchayati Raj. Bulyang did play a vital role in maintaining neutrality in war and pacified between two hostile camps by wearing 'Aji Yatii' instead of shield or armour in the battle ground. (2)

5.13 Indications of social hierarchies?

- Among the Apatani, there are two distinct social classes: the aristocrats, who own most of the land and hold political power; and the commoners, who are the descendants of slaves. (3)

6. Ritual/Ceremony/Religion (RCR)

6.0 Time allocation to RCR: N/A

6.1 Specialization (shamans and medicine):

- Nyibu (shamans): Local ritual specialists. Leaders of the Murung festival. Chanting is a big part of what they do.

6.2 Stimulants:

- Most of the Apatani practice traditional ethnic religions. They generally

believe that they are surrounded by invisible beings, which are capable of affecting their welfare. They believe that they must please the spirits of the earth and sky in order to have bountiful harvests. (3)

6.3 Passage rituals (birth, death, puberty, seasonal):

6.4 Other rituals:

- Murung (Individual family festival) celebrated every January for abundance and richness of wealth. (5)
- Murung is a big part of Apatani life, much of clan honor and family tradition surrounds it. It is an honor to their religion and to their people, with a focus on fertility. It is a three week long festival that is primarily intended to bring prosperity and success, and is always called 'tiigo.' There are many different forms in which this ritual takes place:
  - ◆ Padu: takes 6-8 hours, sacrifice 1 mithun calf or 1 cow calf, and requires one nyibu
  - ◆ Subu taniin: 8-10 hours, sacrifice 1 adult mithun and 1 mithun calf (or adult cow), requires 1 nyibu
  - ◆ Ronser: 12-14 hours, sacrifice 1 adult cow 1 mithun calf and one pig, requires 1 nyibu
  - ◆ Takun Putu: 12-14 hours, sacrifice 2-4 adult mithuns and 2-4 adult cows, requires 1-2 nyibu
  - ◆ Rontii: 12-14 hours, sacrifice 4 (or more) adult mithuns and 4 adult cows and 1 pig, requires 2 nyibu.(7)
- Myokoh (Community festival) for the general well being of the whole Apatani society celebrated every March and lasts for the whole month. (5)
- Dree (series of agricultural rites and festivals) for ensuring of bumper yield of crops in the year. (5)

6.5 Myths (Creation):

- The sun rises and the emergence of the earth and sky follows. Then the greening of the earth happens. Bamboo expand to call ancestors and spirits to feast. Water and fish are created. Then the humans were created. (7)
- (very paraphrased, original text still only exists in chant)

6.6 Cultural material (art, music, games): N/A

6.7 Sex differences in RCR: N/A

6.8 Missionary effect:

- Most of the Apatani in India have never heard a clear presentation of the Gospel. At the present time, there is only one missions agency targeting this

people group. Only portions of the Bible have been translated into Apatani, and very few other Christian resources are available in their native language. (3)

- Currently about 1,000 Apatanis declare themselves Christians, the result of the missionary work by Mizos in recent years. The more orthodox Apatanis consider Christians socially inferior. (1)

6.9 RCR revival: N/A

6.10 Death and afterlife beliefs:

- They also believe that after death all men will go to the "underworld" and being re-living their lives. (3)
- Apatanis classify spirits in two loose categories: tiigo and cicig. Broadly speaking, tiigo spirits bring prosperity and health, as well as protection against misfortune, while cicig spirits cause accidents illness and death. Receive sacrifices to appease them or honor them. Do not have souls (7)
- Ancestors (kalo) exist alongside spirits in Apatani cosmology, and the distinction is sometimes unclear. Ancestors do not receive sacrificial shares and are visible. Have souls as well. (7)
- The soul of a dead person is lead to the underworld, where it assumes a normal life as if on earth. This is known as Neli, however you only go to Neli if you die of natural causes. If men die prematurely or accidentally or commit suicide you go to Tali Myoko, described as 'up', which is the equivalent of hell. Libung Myoko is the equivalent of this for women. (7)

6.11 Taboo of naming dead people? N/A

6.12 Is there teknonymy? N/A

6.13 Briefly describe religion (animism, ancestor worship, deism, magic, totems etc.)

- Most Apatanis are loyal followers of the Donyi-Polo faith, who pray to the Sun (Ayo Donyi) and the Moon (Atoh Polo). When a misfortune occurs, they believe that it is caused by certain evil spirits, and thus they make appeasement by sacrificing chickens, cows and other domestic animals. (2)
- Most of the Apatani practice traditional ethnic religions. They generally believe that they are surrounded by invisible beings, which are capable of affecting their welfare. They believe that they must please the spirits of the earth and sky in order to have bountiful harvests. (3)
- Most Apatanis loyally follow of the Danyi-Piilo faith, praying to the Sun (Ayo Danyii) and the Moon (Atoh Piilo). All Apatani and other tribes in the surrounding regions revere Abotani as the founder of their people. When a misfortune occurs, they believe certain spirits cause them, and thus they make appeasement sacrifices of chickens, cows and other domestic animals. They celebrate Myoko, the festival of friendship and prosperity, in a grand manner lasting an entire month in March each year. Dree, celebrated in July represents the main agricultural festival of the Apatanis. Currently about 1,000 Apatanis declare themselves Christians, the result of

the missionary work by Mizos in recent years. The more orthodox Apatanis consider Christians socially inferior. The ongoing conversion in Ziro has led to the formation of a self-preservation organization among the older generation Apatanis, known as Danyii Piillo Meder Nello. That organization, located at Hari Lemba, Ziro, stands to give a properly organized form to the traditional beliefs and values, and to protect the locals against unquestioned and thoughtless conversion to foreign religions. (1)

## 7. Adornment

### 7.1 Body paint:

- The Apatanis used to practice facial tattooing and modification until the 1970s. The females used to have two sets of tattoos: one running from the forehead to the tip of the nose, and another set on the chin. The males used to have a less elaborate tattoo on the chin in the shape of a "T". The females were the only one practicing facial modification with the use of nose plugs, called yaping hurlo in the local language. (2)

### 7.2 Piercings: N/A

### 7.3 Haircut:

- Traditionally, the men tie their hair in a knot just above the forehead (locally called piiding) using a brass rod (piiding khotu) measuring 12 inches, placed horizontally. The women bundle up their tresses, which are rolled into a ball (dilling) on the top of the head. A brass skewer (ading akh) may then be inserted horizontally. (2)

### 7.4 Scarification: N/A

### 7.5 Adornment (beads, feathers, lip plates, etc.):

- Tattooing and the stuffing of large nose plugs (Yaping hullo), once popular among the women, has gradually declined in recent years. That practice reportedly started because the women wanted to look unattractive to males from neighboring tribes. Apatani women have been considered the most beautiful among the Arunachal tribes. Younger members of that community have that traditional practice altogether. (1)
- Strips of fine cane belt painted in red (yari) and bent into the shape of a horse-collar with an elongated end were also worn. These strips of cane are loosely fastened together, with the loop of the horse-collar being tied round the waist. (2)
- The dress of the Apatanis is elaborate and colorful, yet simple in style. Jilañ, the traditional dress of the priests has recently been made into a five rupee. (1)

### 7.6 Ceremonial/Ritual adornment: N/A

### 7.7 Sex differences in adornment:

- The women bundle up their tresses, rolled into a ball (Dilling) on the top of the head. They occasionally insert a brass skewer (Ading Akh) horizontally. The men tie their hair in a knot just above the forehead (locally called as piiding) using a brass rod (Piiding Khotu) measuring twelve inches, placed horizontally. They wear strips of fine cane belt painted in red (Yari), and

bent into the shape of a horse-collar with an elongated end. Those strips of cane are loosely fastened together, with the loop of the horse-collar being tied round the waist. (1)

7.8 Missionary effect: N/A

7.9 Cultural revival in adornment: N/A

8. Kinship systems

8.1 Sibling classification system:

- The Apatanis treat the wife of the elder brother as a second mother and the wife of the younger brother as own sister. (5)

8.2 Sororate, levirate: N/A

8.3 Other notable kinship typology, especially cross-cousin (MBD/FZD) typology (Crow/Hawaiian/Omaha etc.):N/A

9. Other interesting cultural features (list them):

Numbered references

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