

Limited and Limitless: A Study of Cultural Liminality in Mamang Dai's *The Black Hill*

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Abstract

Mamang Dai's *The Black Hill* is a brilliant melange of the border and beyond spatial consciousness, detected in the segregated lives of the Abor and Mishmi tribal communities, wavering between Tibet and India. The indigenous natives of Arunachal Pradesh are vulnerably transcended by the borderland politics between the center and the margin and the inter-tribal disputes between the hills and the plains. Dai's narrative emerging in the diplomatic period, between the years 1847 to 1855, intensively seizes the fluidities and deliverance of the three central characters of the novel Gimur, Kajinsha, and Father Krick. With the arrival of the British authorities in the tranquil land of the tribes, the structural routines of the aboriginal societies get heckled and gather some quintessential cultural hybrid spaces mixing the East and the West cultural consciousness. Envisioning the typical cultural patterns and traditional folkloric practices among the indigenous communities, this paper is an earnest attempt to draw attention to the cultural liminality analysed in the subdued characters of *The Black Hill*.

Keywords: Abor tribes; Cultural spaces; Liminality; Mamang Dai; Mishmi tribes.

Introduction: Belonging to Pasighat, East Siang district of Arunachal Pradesh, author Mamang Dai memorably captures the marginalized essence of the routinized life and the ritualistic cultural practices of the hidden and silent legends of her land. The aesthetic indigenous communities are geographically situated far from the Centre's 'panopticon' vigilance but intensely closest to Centre's choice of annihilation. Dai is immensely honoured in Indian literature and has been awarded the prestigious *Padma Shree Award* in 2011 by the government of India and the *Verrier Elwin Award* in 2003 by the state government of Arunachal Pradesh. She also

makes her dignified possession of the esteemed *Sahitya Akademi Award* in 2017, for epistemic historiography and ethnographic crafting, of her novel *The Black Hill* in 2014. Dai is a brilliant and bright citizen of the state to crack the IAS exam and to serve the state as a civilian for a limited period of time. But she is so passionate about journalism and writing that she gives up the idea of being a government officer and instead chooses to write about the people of her clans and to culminate their tribal culture throughout the world. In one of her interviews with Dr. Jaydeep Sarangi, Dai connects the importance of oral traditions in the daily life of the tribes and its significance in shaping the unique identification of the natives:

Certainly I am influenced by the oral narratives. Knowing the stories gives me a sense of identity. It inspires my writing- after all it is a world of myth, memory, and imagination. Oral narratives are generally perceived as a simple recounting of tales for a young audience but I think their significance lies in the symbols embedded in the stories about the sanctity of life, about what makes us human. (2)

Literature Review: Mamang Dai's *The Black Hill* has been discussed variously by different reserachers. In 2021, a Mphil thesis has been written on the same text *The Black Hill* titled as 'Cultural Transformation: A Study of Change and Continuity in Mamang Dai's The Legends of Pensam and The Black Hill', discussing the cultural transformation of the society in the wake of modernization and colonial imperialism. (Khaund 5) Again in the same year, there is another research paper titled 'Mamang Dai's The Black Hill an Eco-critical and Socio-cultural Perspective' where the writer has analysed the eco-critical perspectives of the indigenous tribes and their pure intentions to save nature from getting degraded by man's cruel deeds. The paper further states the problem of mainland India's indifferent and ignoring attitude towards these tribal societies in North East India. (Santhiswari et al. 119) In 2019 a paper titled 'Retelling History: Mamang Dai's The Black Hill as a Native Spirit' has been written capturing the tribal ethos dealing with the theory of historicism. (Lakshmi and Nataranjan 339) Again in the same year P. Chakraborty writes "'The Hidden Valleys of My Home": Home, Identity, and Environmental Justice in the Select Works of Mamang Dai' focussing on the concept of identity in relation to nature. G. Basumatary in her paper 'Mamang Dai's The Black Hill: A New Historical Reading' expounds how the tool of orality becomes a process of historiographic recording for the tribes. (Basumatary 161) Therefore, after going through all these research works it has been observed that very few works till date have dealt with the cultural liminal aspect in the characters

of *The Black Hill* in details. The Adi and Mishmi tribal communities have given birth to a unique form of daily routine and ritualistic performances after getting socially alienated from the mainland communities. And these tribes have even intentionally kept the social alienation alive to design their individualized cultural pattern. So, this paper is an attempt to trace the cultural liminal spaces as figured out in the narrative and its characters.

Research Methodology

The methodology used in the present paper is 'textual analysis', following interpretive and analytical reading, primarily based on the close view of the novel *The Black Hill*. The main aim is to draw the cultural transitions and transformations with a motif of deep understanding of the author's intentions and strategies towards the Abor and Mishmi tribal communities as highlighted in the text.

Results and Discussions

Whether it is under the Center or under the brutal colonial regime, the tribal societies are never paid proper attention and always marginalized by the authoritative power of the so called superiors. So, getting separated from the mainlanders or facing extreme difficulty with adopting the mainland cultures, these aboriginal tribes have got connected to their own ancestral roots and the natural resources around, shaping their own unique identity in the form of oral folklore. Thus, this paper aims to discuss the cultural transitions and socio-cultural spaces of the indigenous societies.

Liminality: The eccentric idea of liminality in Dai's *The Black Hill* is manifested with the author's complex exercise of describing the structure of the novel, "I thought I had the middle, beginning and end; but most of it was in-between, a striving for kinship with the past, if only in passing in between the pages of a book". (Dai 295) The concept of 'liminality' derived from the Latin word "limen" meaning 'threshold', has traced its root from French, Dutch and German ethnographer Arnold van Gennep's research documented book *Le Rites De Passage* in 1909, translated in English as *The Rites of Passage* in 1960. Van Gennep pointed out that the activities of an individual's life crisis must be analysed in terms of order and content categorized as the *rites of passage*, which can be further divided into three phases: *rites of separation*, *transition* and *rites of incorporation*. Critic Arpad Szokolczai finds liminality as not only the founding terms of modern anthropology but also the first word of philosophy. The Latin "limit"

is equivalent to the Greek *peras*, so liminality in the sense of “removing the limit”. (Horvath et. al 11) Turner introduces the concept of ‘liminoid’ as an independent domain of creative activity. The liminoid is an individualized structure of routines and it is removed from the rite de passage structure. As Turner writes that the solitary artist “is privileged to make free with his social heritage”. (*Liminal to Liminoid* 84) Turner finds the liminal period exactly at a place in which all gradations between the instructors or neophytes are “tend to be eliminated”, (*The Forest* 99) or a period of complete neutrality between superordinations and subordination. Jasper Balduk in his Master thesis, *On liminality Conceptualizing ‘in between-ness’*, examines liminality as the threshold that “stands for neutral territory”, (vi) and exemplifies forests or deserts as a liminal zone that diffuses and erases all barriers between the center and the periphery. Bjorn Thomassen in his book, *Liminality and the Modern: Living Through the In-Between*, elucidates liminality as the in-between passages which holds typically “unsettling situation” on one hand and a peculiar potential of “unlimited freedom” (1) on the other hand. In his book *The Location of Culture*, Homi K. Bhabha defines ‘beyond’ as a new horizon between beginnings and endings, “where space and time cross to produce complex figures of difference and identity, past and present”. (2) Catherine Bell finds ritualization as a form of protest against the dominated structures allocated in a social order.

Rituals are set to free the marginalized societies from the center channelized authorities and to practice the chance to shape one’s own identity. Paula Townsend analyses the complexities of gender relations within the limited space of home. Traditional ideologies view home as the public sphere for men and the private realm for women. Daphine Spain in her paper “Gendered Spaces and Women’s Status” explores how the second sex have lesser access to knowledge spaces compared to male and how spatial engagements in the socio-cultural structures are associated with gender stratification. She focuses on the fact how men and women work spaces are always differentiated in the patriarchal paradigmatic patterns where men have less restrictions in their working area compared to women, who are mostly subjected to stay in fixed spaces as scheduled in the social structures. Edward T. Hall in his book *The Silent Language* explains the conception how every individual in this world has a fixed territory and it leads to the mode of communication. Horvath et. al emphasizes on the theory of transition and transformation by stating that liminality arrests the in-between situations and conditions characterized by the dislocation of established structures, the reversal of hierarchies, and the uncertainty about the continuity of customary activities and future outcomes. “Lived experience transform human beings- and the larger social

circles in which they partake- cognitively, emotionally, and morally, and therefore significantly contributes to the transmission of ideas and formation of structures". (2)

Cultural Liminal Spaces in the novel: *The Black Hill* captures the story of the unstable indigenous tribes placed in the fringes of the borderlands, between Tibet and India at a blooming time period, from 1847 to 1855. The novel is developed concerning three particular events: the East India Company's construction of roads and railways in Assam, the Societies of Foreign Missions Paris having a mission of spreading Christianity throughout the world and China never wanting European Catholicism to establish in their nation. These causes are even leading to a violent inter-tribal war between the Abor and the Mishmi clans prevalent in the bounded area of Tibet and India due to the Western countries' constant torture to enter the territory of the tribes.

Mamang Dai's narrative begins at the "interstitial passage" (Bhabha 6) when the narrator claims to open a book from the past, which is contradicting with the present growing a liminal space, "A closed book is opening. Someone is speaking to me from the past and the words are clear as day: A man, a woman and a priest. This is their story." (x) So, this makes an explicit declaration of the three central protagonists Gimur a vigorous woman, Kajinsha a valiant man, and Father Krick a virtuous priest. In this context, author Kailash Kumar finds that the novel describe past events that has its own logic of cause and effect. The theory of transformation also finds a recognition in the 'Prologue' of the novel with the line, "They wanted to exchange their old selves for a new life", (x) as the process of transformation arises with occurrence of major events like war between the tribal societies and revolution with the tribal unity after Kajinsha's death, and the process of transition is detected with the changes observed in every individuals involved in the situation. Dai's documentation on the available history of the Abor and Mishmee communities throngs her to "re-imagine the past memory of the tribal society." (Lakshmi and Natarajan 340) *The Black Hill* explores the story of the pre-independent Indian society capturing an encounter of the dominating foreigners and the fierce resistance of the tribes to protect their territory against the British.

Nicolas Michel Krick belongs to Lorraine France, who has been out, for a spiritual voyage from Paris to India. It is obtained that Krick has been in constant shift from one place to another fitting van Gennepe's rites of passage. Initially his journey begins at Portsmouth in an English vessel for Madras, then to Calcutta, and ultimately to Gowahattee. As China op-

posed to permit the entry of Britishers in their land, the only option left for Father Krick to reach his aim of building a Church in Tibet is to use the "land of 'savage mountaineers'", (42) through the Eastern Himalayan ranges. During his journey to the unknown lands of India, Krick faces Thomassen's condensed and mixed emotions, "In his heart he carried a deep desire to love and serve in God's name, but there was no answer." (40) On successfully crossing the equator, the captain and crew accompanying Krick in his journey over the seas performs "the riotous Neptuneus Rex rituals for dominion", (39) in the ancient naval tradition. This recalls Bell's theory of ritualization in which rituals indicate a language and an identity dictating one's own culture. Krick also prays for a "safe passage" (39) for his entry to Assam and it indicates that he is at the threshold to set his re-integration for his mission in Tibet, getting separated from the inhabitants of France. Throughout his journey Krick has suffered many obstacles and a medley of feelings mixed with "hope" and "fear", fixing himself always in a transitional position, as author mentions, "He was returning from death's door. It was like learning to walk again." (207) Krick encounters a series of transformations in his expedition and passages for Tibet.

While staying in Sommeu, Krick and his partner Augustine Bourry creates a neutral liminal zone same as the villagers, eradicating the boundaries between instructors and neophytes, "They came in the evening after work in the fields and the two priests provided ointments and simple remedies for stomach ailments, flu, skin allergies." (231) Nurturing medicinal plants is a popular culture in Arunachal Pradesh and is massively practiced by the native population as Khongsai et. al write, "The people of Arunachal Pradesh find their way of survival by using locally available medicinal plants". (Khongsai et. al 542) The state produces 500 species of medicinal plants and the local tribes are self contained in ritualistically performing them. Krick makes an effort of seeking his solitude liminoid space with the implementation of playing flute and invoking "notes of music" in his life. Krick's journey in the novel symbolizes a cultural integration. The priest's encounter with the natives develops an "assimilation of culture and sharing of cultural values" (Khaund 6) spotting an unique cultural globalization merging all the cultures and people in a hybrid space. These words are very much relevant to Krick's cultural adoption of folk food system especially in the village of Sommeu, when he is going through his toughest days without proper availability of food and on finding out "a chunk of meat encrusted with charcoal and ash", (136) he simply abandons the idea of searching for a spoon and figures out his hands as a better option to "lick the fat off his fingers". (136) Krick's transcends in a cultural

hybrid space by transforming himself away from the western practice of using spoon to using his own hands for meat consumption as followed in the indigenous culinary style.

Bhabha designates that the borderland has the capacity of reproducing its own unique culture and representations of identity. The Abor tribes occupying the Mebo village are all tattooed, "they had marks on their faces, on their brow and chin", (89) and the Kmaans from the Suddya village, are observed puffing long pipes, starting from children to old women of the villages, everyone is traced with a pipe in their mouth, which draws a form of indigenous socio-cultural practice. Gimur experiences a metamorphosed state in her external appearances when she shifts from Mebo to Dau Valley after her marriage with Kajinsha, "her hair, once worn straight and short just above the ear lobes, was now long and dressed in the style of the Kmaan women," (102) she even adapts the practice of puffing smoking pipes. Dai makes a special announcement with the words of Kajinsha, about the tribal communities', constant acceptance of the oral world which shapes oneness and uniform recognition between all the clans adjusted in the borderland space:

'Tell them about us,' Kajinsha had said to her that night in the jail. 'Tell them we were good. Tell them we also had some things to say. But we cannot read and write. So we tell stories.' Stories...words...I too have words... What have they done, these words that fill the air? I breathe in, I breathe out- breathe words. Words are extra... (288)

Even though literacy is very far from their accessible reach but their tool of protest and actions are dictated with the commands of oral tales. The oral traditions are like a signature identity for the aboriginal natives whose all actions, duties and daily life time-table is dependent on the words as recorded by their ancestors in the collective memory of the society and which is passed on from generation after generation through verbal communication. Mamang Dai, in an article scribbled her thoughts about her own state, "Arunachal is still 'one of the last frontiers of the world' where indigenous faith and practice still survive in an almost original form as handed down by ancestors." The practice of folklore among the tribes are also liminal in the sense that the stories are passed on from one person to another and the tradition is followed with equal importance from first generation of the tribes to the last generation and it has no ending and therefore, it is successfully falling under van Gennep's theory of liminality, who analyses that liminality has no full stop, it is one, without an end.

Gimur transcends her existence in the thirdspace between the pillars of Firstspace perspective that is focused on the “real” material world and a Secondspace perspective through “imagined representations of spatiality” (Soja 6). In her dreams, Gimur could hear words of her shamn friend Nago chanting, “‘Water! Water, sorrow and death!’ The whole world was spinning”, (238) the conceptualized image in her mind which clearly reflected her observation beyond the visible space, but the image that later turns into a reality. She has interpreted death in her own home and her own husband Kajinsha’s, which occurs in her life within a gap of few days, when Kajinsha is killed by the British sepoy in the Debroogurh jail.

The death ritual makes a sequence of major impacts in Kajinsha’s life. When Kajinsha was a little child, his father attempted to give him a secured and stable existence away from war, “You are my son and I will let no harm come to you. One day you will marry and bear sons and daughters far away from here”, (8) but that stability was never possible in his life as while fighting for their territory, Kajinsha’s father got fatally wounded and faces an untimely demise. After that, Kajinsha had to take the responsibility of becoming the Mishmee Chief and that event brings continuous movements in his life, shifting from one place to another, in order to safeguard their peaceful territory from the hands of the British. On exercising the duty of a chief, Kajinsha is falsely accused of killing the French priest and his death brings a big misfortune in his life, as Dai writes, “life had been irrevocably changed with the coming of death. Everything in his life now was between him and the dead priest”. (259) The death of the priest forces Kajinsha to encounter his own death and this death is the threshold of various new beginnings of “war and turmoil”, (287) in the indigenous societies living in the borderlands of Assam and Tibet. Kajinsha’s death makes a solitary union between the clans provoking military operations and prepares the ground for the Anglo-Abor war.

In the magnum opus *The Black Hill*, Kajinsha is always detected, as moving from one position to another or between fixed and floating worlds. Apart from his death, he has been undergoing a sequence of rites of passages, from his childhood till marriage. Unfortunately his marital life is never under the social recognition just as critic van Gennep’s life. The first marriage with Auli is processed for a territorial pact, who is quite elder to him and the next marriage with Gimur occurs under inter-tribal category which is never culturally acceptable among the clans. Thus, by marrying Gimur although he wants to stabilize his life or achieve the stage of re-integration, as Dai describes, “He would live and die where his house stood on the black hill, where his life was his own and where a man could fall

asleep at night without guilt or fear." (115) Kajinsha exasperates himself with another unpleasant incident of his life, the night that he consummates with Auli's sister Chommu, interfering his mind with critic Sudipta Kaviraj's distinction between "permissions and prohibitions". (2) At one level, he plans to make a favourable permanent encampment with Gimur, where he feels fervent affection for her, "deep in his heart he had been saving some words for Gimur about how they, the two of them, should be happy together again like before." (127) But at another level, he can't fully eliminate the regrettable night of passion that he makes with Chommu, "the half-remembered night when he thought his senses had been stolen, and the one thing he had saved in his heart- that he was so happy to be back home with her (Gimur) again." (131) Thus, Kajinsha becomes a suitable example of Kaviraj, as he experiences the desires which control men and the controls which make this society.

Gimur's life is wavered between the two enormous events of her life, her pre-ganacy and her marriage with Kajinsha. According to Van Gennep pregnancy is a negative rite that leads to transition and the marriage rite leads to the stage of incorporation that involves many other series of rites of passage intact to it. Gimur and Kajinsha's inter-tribal marriage is unacceptable in both Abor and Mishmee communities and thus it was socially unrecognizable interrupting an in-between emotions of uncertainty and joy between both the lovers. Her pregnancy intrigued her to kill the baby or to run away from her village, as Gimur says, "There are two ways to deal with this. It was either war or abduction." (46) After her marriage, Gimur and Kajinsha performs a ritual in their home in order to begin their life with tranquility, "a pole tied with special leaves arched across the entry to their house", (102) symbolizing the house undergoing taboos under the instructions of the village kambring who could communicate with the spirits.

Considering certain geographical areas of Arunachal Pradesh under a cultural liminal angle, it is observed that the location of Mebo village (the place where Abor tribal communities usually resides) acts as an interstitial passage that comprises both past and present events together, as the author writes, "it was a place of nostalgia". (26) The mountains of mica ore in the Eastern Himalayas becomes a diffused zone between the civilized and the uncivilized as both the foreigners and the natives are equally interested and mesmerized by its beauty and it can be equated with the concept of *Limes*. Jasper Balduk compares liminality with *Limes* where the "road maps did not distinguish 'Roman' from 'foreign' territories", (52) and this rarely makes a social differentiation between the civilians and

the barbarians. Kajinsha elaborates the geographical territory of Suddya, as a cultural space of exclusion or semi-inclusion which can hardly distinguish between the worlds of civilians and barbarians, "Suddya! It was a place that everyone talked about...It was the stronghold of the British, but it was also the place that tribal chiefs along the frontier condescended to visit sometimes, to trade and to talk to the white sahibs about territory and slaves". (64) In one of the interviews, talking on Arunachal Pradesh's choice for territorial politics of the nation-state, Dai expressed her desire to possess a "tri-junction along the international borders with China, Tibet and Myanmar", (Sarangi 5) the junction that can be limited as sanctuaries for Himalayan flora and fauna and mutually shared zones of tranquility or a location that can be identified as a new geographical realm exchanging unique news, data and ideas. Through Dai's words an essence of thirdspace is figured out. Sujata Miri in the similar context of territorial peace says that none of the communities in Northeastern region of India conceived of a law of peace which would apply to any other community but themselves. If ever there comes a situation like war, it is always fought, between the parameters of certain restricted rules and regulations without breaking the disciplinary norms. And in such a conflict the focus of the respective communities is mainly on the "preservation of one's own territory rather than extension of it". (Vohra 46) Thus, territorial peace is considered a mandatory choice among the natives and local communities of Northeast India.

The novel portrays two explicit dimensions of Lefebvre's *spaces of representation* or *lived spaces*, by the symbolic message, it conveyed through the narrative text. The Abor men are visible assembling in "the barrack style longhouse" (19) known as the 'moshup' for important administrative discussions related to the village. And the young unmarried girls of the village are observed "every evening to socialize and chat" (27) in the girls' dormitory building named as the 'rasheng'. Thus, Edward T. Hall's 'organism's territory', where every living being has a physical boundary that separates itself from the external environment is getting a clear impression in the organizational development of moshup and rasheng. But, apart from fixed space identification, one more interesting note of social space based on gender stratification is expressed in Dai's narrative through the use moshup, which is specifically designated for men's intellectual discussions, restricting women's participation in administrative discussions but allowing women to enter the space for serving kitchen related purposes, like Gimur is delivering "meat and rice beer to the moshup", (27) but she is barred to take part in the village management decisions. Again in Zumsha's house, the share of activities is assigned differently

for different genders. The women “were all busy preparing meat and rice beer while the men drank rice beer and smoke their pipes”. (73) The share of responsibilities in the public and private space is also very much gender-based among the indigenous natives. Gimur is working in the fields, feeding pigs and chicken and working in the kitchen, whereas Kajinsha is away for long journeys looking after the protection of territory, planting aconite, mishmee tita and other medicinal plants and keeping a track of the trade activities. Thus, there is a big difference between the work space of Gimur and Kajinsha. On one hand, Gimur’s daily space activity is limited to fields, kitchen and rasheng and on the other hand, Kajinsha’s daily work space is limitless starting from trade activities to journeys on village administrative purposes.

The concept of ‘beyond’ makes a stark impact in Mamang Dai’s novel as Bhabha describes beyond as a new mark of progress and a new beginning or the initiation of a new thought. The concept thirdspace is represented in the role of the shamans who could perceive things beyond the level of common people’s visualizing capacity and the shaman’s words are heard only when he delivers the message of the evil spirits to the villagers or indicates the symptoms of future happenings to the natives, “The shaman was the catcher of dreams. Only he could read the dreams and tell stories to reveal something to us about our lives and feelings.” (67) Father Krick questions the direct existence of the thirdspace arising between man’s beliefs and logical reasons or inscribing a cultural hybridity when the difference of logic and man’s faith is entertained, “it was a man’s obligation to pay heed to and respect the unknown and unseen. It was a tradition rooted in faith. Where, then, was reason? Perhaps there was a place here...where reason and faith were not in opposition but seemed to combine.” (186) Auli’s existence is also detected in the presence of thirdspace, as Gimur describes, “in her lucid moments Auli too said she could ‘see’ things that no one had interpreted yet.” (171) Thirdspace is described as a creative recombination and extension, one that builds on a Firstspace perspective that is focussed on the real material world and a Secondspace perspective that interprets the reality through imagined representations of spatiality. The shaman or the miris of the land of the tribes is the “voice of collective memory, drawing an evolutionary landscape” (Dai, *The Inheritance* 6) through which the socio-cultural, ideological and spiritual aspirations of the indigenous communities are universally expressed.

Conclusion: Arunachal Pradesh is situated at a peripheral land, connected to the rest of India with a narrow Siliguri corridor known as the Chicken Neck. The area is mostly ignored by the Centre in terms of develop-

ment and progress but often utilized for the purpose of importing bamboo and other medicinal products. This insider/outsider politics has led to a spatial differentiation between the indigenous population and the people from the mainland societies. The spatial gap has compelled the indigenous natives to accept alienation and adapt an eco-spiritualistic way of life as per the resources and materials accessible to them. The tribes have bonded with the nature considering it as their guardian and have created folklore tales related to it. The oral perspectives of their lives are openly reflected in Dai's narration, when Kajinsha claims "We read the land. The land is our book", (140) paving a ritualistic practice of connecting their life with the land and emerging a protest against the strangers, who try to conquer the territory of these brave autochthons. These folkloric oral representations and cultural ritualistic performances initiated by the shamans and the rhapsodists of the land have helped to shape a unique identity of the natives. The Abor tribal community of Arunachal Pradesh believe anything coming from the root of nature is sacred and pure, their spiritual mentality is adhered to the fact that it is not Man who is the center of the universe but it is only Nature who is the center of the universe, "the Adis (Abors) believe in the intrinsic worth of all beings- both human and non-human, which exist on earth, as reflected in the Adi philosophy of Donyi-Polo", (Singha 1) and it is the Adis who were the first community in the state to begin and institutionalize their unique individual religion with a reformist movement called Donyi-Poloism.

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