

**REPRESENTATION AND RETRIEVAL OF COMMUNITY: A CRITICAL STUDY
OF MAMANG DAI'S *THE LEGENDS OF PENSAM***

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Abstract

Community is a ubiquitous and powerful feature of everyday life as it is found in lots of different social settings. The true essence of community has its root in the pre-modern world which is based on natural will of its members as they feel a sense of bonding and belonging with each other. But with the passage of time the original community became extinct. Particularly in modern society the concept of community has been slighted by the onslaught of modernity. But the tribal communities even in the postmodern world maintain the true sense of community. The strong community consciousness in the Northeast Indian writers leads them to restore their communities. Mamang Dai uses community as an 'orienting device' to retrieve the roots of her community in her writing. She presents the Adi community of Arunachal Pradesh and preserves the traditional lores to support and represent her community. In The Legend of Pensam tradition, myth, oral narratives, customs, and rituals of the tribes are treated to form and preserve the communal identity of the Adi.

Keywords: community consciousness, traditional lore, 'orienting device', communal identity, Adi tribal community

Community is transcendent. Community is founded on human kind conceived in its totality. Community is wholesome. Community is a warm summer's day. Community is gentle tranquility itself. Community is morally improving. Community is the family. Community is the home. Community is domesticated. It feels good to be in a community. Community, above all, is bigger than individuals – we are something much more than individuals when we are part of community. And this is how things ought to be.” (21)

The term community comes from the Latin term 'communitas' meaning the same and the term 'communitas' itself is derived from 'communis' which is the combination of two Latin words i.e 'com' means together and 'munis' means to serve. So its etymological meaning denotes that a community is a group of people living or working together. In a community the people feel some kind of bonding with each other and lead their life helping each other and solving problems together. No one can operate his life without being in community. Socrates had said about the person who is devoid of his fellow beings and is not dependent on

community or society is either Beast or God (Aristotle 6). Man as a living being has not lived alone since the beginning of their origin. He felt some kind of bonding with the people of his group for the basic requirements of his existence. With the people of his close proximity he develops relation on the basis of contact and shares his feelings, choices and needs with them. It is quite natural that the people who live in a particular locality or area for a longer period of time establish common ideas, customs, feelings, traditions etc. Thus the common social life of the people in a particular area gives rise to the community. So the idea of community is primitive. Though the idea of community lies in the trajectory of the historical consciousness of the human condition, there is no agreed definition of exactly what are constituent parts of community.

The term is often used as a substitute for locality, but at the same time community exists well beyond physical places. Community is formed on the basis of common emotions and personal interests which the persons share with each other. StivenBrint defines community as “aggregates of people who share common activities and/or beliefs and who are bound together principally by relations of affect, loyalty, common values, and/or personal concern (i.e interest in the personalities and life events of one another)” (8). Community is marked by social relations and some kind of bond such as location, interest, background, identity, situations or experiences are shared by the members in a community. Robert Stebbins writes – “Community is a social group with a common territorial base; those in the group share interest and have a sense of belonging to the group” (534). The idea of community is pre-modern and it acts as a strong ontology, guided by its own telos. Community is not a description of reality, but an analytical device to understand reality. As a concept of pre-modern society community served as the foundation of human existence and shows that men and women’s individual being in the world is absolutely predetermined. In the pre-modern world community determined the identity of its members as in any historical epoch we are identified with ourselves and with the social group into which we are born.

The idea of community got its broader sense in the hands of the sociologists in nineteenth century. They used community as a product of the ideological conflict between tradition and modernity. This tendency got its expression for the first time in the work of the German sociologist Ferdinand Tonnies. He peers into the depth of the study of community and proposed modern society was in transition from village to urban setting. He coined two terms--- *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* which are translated as community and society. According to him community is regulated by a natural will as it is characterized by intimate and personal social relations of family and kinship. On the other hand, society is based on rational will as it is marked by impersonal and contractual relations of a more calculating kind. The other sociologists of this century also contributed much to the development of the notion of community. Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emily Durkheim investigated how the emergence of industrialization transforms the social traditional communities. Durkheim explored modern social relations in organizations such as the church and care institutions. He

argues that community through its complex interactions with religion makes a bonding mechanism which set the norms of behavioural interactions and unity in its members. Weber also examined religion but he is noted for showing the entrenchment of internal communities in the large bureaucracies. Marx concentrated on the emergence of capitalism and showed how the traditional communities are transformed by social divisions. So the notion of community owes much to the ideas of its founding fathers.

In the twentieth century a group of desperate and unconnected scholars inaugurated the conceptualist revolution regarding the term community. They studied the term in their own ways and made it universal. This kind of study arguably started with the political scientist Benedict Anderson when in 1983 he published his book *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. In the text Anderson marked that “all the communities larger than primordial villages of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined” (6). He used the term community in a larger sense and mentioned nation as a community. According to him nations are socially constructed and the nation state has the ability to manage an outsize form of belonging. A nation is “an imagined political community – and imagined both inherently limited and sovereign” (6). He also pointed out that a nation is “imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” (6) Thus community is product of feeling based on imagination. Another writer Phillip E. Wegner in his book *Imaginary Communities* designates community as a fantastical projection or utopian concept. In 1985, Anthony P. Cohen in his *The Symbolic Construction of Community* argues that the reality of community lies in its members’ perception of the vitality of its culture. He says, “People construct community symbolically, making it a resource and repository of meaning, and a referent of their identity” (118). He says that community gets its existence through its symbolical constituents such as, imagery, boundary marking process, customs, habits, rituals etc.

In modern day all communities are hermeneutic communities. The hermeneutical approach of community provides modern authors the basis for new ways of making meaning for community through interpretation. Because of its conceptual interpretation, the term hovered between imagination and reality. It turns out to be an extreme form of dialectics. Nowadays community is used in two ways. The social theorists and empirical researchers use community as an orienting device as they set out to revivify community studies. And in the public sphere community is used as an appropriating device as the idea of community is prevailed everywhere. These two trends create problem and have turned community as the vague and imprecisely drawn concepts in the social sciences. Today it has turned out to be a matter of everything and nothing. Community fails to be an apposite concept to serve as the foundation of human existence as the modern life is marked by freedom. In modern life men and women are individual first and foremost and their lives are governed by their own choices. Dean MacCannell pointed out that the sociological concept of community has turned

out to be a useless phenomenon to the public sphere as the intention of the public policy is marked by ambition:

to get every thought and action into a balance sheet, to extent commercial values into every space of human relationship, the central problem...will be to create ersatz 'communities' to manufacture and even to sell a sense of community, leaving no free grounds for the formation of relations outside the corporation. The complexity of this feat of social engineering – that is; the construction of believable sense of community where no community exists – should not be underestimated, nor should the drive to accomplish this feat be underestimated. (89)

The Polish philosopher and sociologist Zygmunt Bauman argues that communities today are subsided by 'social networks'. In opposition to the past or pre-modern structured and rule bounded guiding communities, the network communities are devoid of its power to guide, correct, monitor of its members. As a result, the members of network communities are individually ascribed and individually focused. People in postmodern era embrace community lightly because they think that in reality there is no solid ground for the conditions of community to be realized. According to Bauman communities are based on the mutually and reciprocal relationships without any commitments and lifetime guarantees. Bauman describes such communities as 'numb or dead'.

In modern and postmodern society community has become a nostalgic experience which evokes the feeling of something 'once upon a time'. But Robert A. Nisbet suggested though the idea of community has become a part of nostalgia, nonetheless it has deep roots in the nineteenth and twentieth century thought. Even today community acts as a way of knowing one another and living together that "encompasses all forms of relationship which are characterized by a high degree of personal intimacy, emotion, depth, moral commitment, social cohesion and continuity in time" (47). In Nisbet's view the notion of community is embedded in our awareness of the world. He defines community in accordance with the concurrently collective and universal context of human being in the world. According to him community is:

founded on [humankind] conceived in [its] wholeness rather than in one or another of the roles, taken separately that [men and women] may hold in social order. It draws its psychological strength from levels of motivation deeper than those of mere volition or interest, and it achieves its fulfillment in a submergence of individual will that is not possible in unions of mere convenience or rational assent. Community is a fusion of feeling and thought, of tradition and commitment, of membership and volition. It may be found in or be given symbolic expression by locality, religion, nation, race, occupation or crusade. Its archetype is the family, and in almost every type of genuine community, the nomenclature of family is prominent. Fundamental to the strength of the bond of community is the real or imagined antithesis formed in the same social setting by the non-communal relations of competition or conflict,

utility or contractual assent. These by their relative impersonality and anonymity, highlight the close personal ties of community. (47-48)

So the concept of community, regulated by and founded on its true principles is present even in modern and postmodern world. The true type of community is found today in the tribal areas. A tribe is defined as the aggregate of people existing outside of or before the development of states. "Tribal people are those which have followed ways of life for many generations that are largely sufficient, and are clearly different from the mainstream and different society." (Corry 22) This definition is perfectly applicable on the regions of northeast India where different ethnic groups and tribal groups inhabit. A large part of tribal population belongs to northeast India which comprises eight states – Arunachal Pradesh, Assam, Manipur, Meghalaya, Mizoram, Nagaland, Sikkim and Tripura. Every state has different kind of tribal people who have their own traditional culture and tribal language. The presence of different kinds of tribal groups and their life style has made northeast India one of the most culturally diverse regions of the world.

The communities of the tribes are pre-modern. Their ways of life are marked by the ancient principles and they are devoid of the touch of modernity. They generally take up residence in a common territory or geographical areas. In tribal areas each community has its different name through which it makes distinct identity from other communities. There are more than two hundred fascinated tribes in northeast India. Every state has different kinds of tribes. There are sixteen tribes in Nagaland such as Angami, Ao, Chakesand, Rengma, Sangtam etc. This is also true in case of Arunachal Pradesh where twenty-six tribal communities inhabit like, Adi, Aka, Mishmi, Abor, Galong etc. Thus each state has different kind of tribal communities. The tribal people have their own gods and the communities have belief in spirits, magic and witchcraft. The custom of marrying only within the limits of their own community or tribe is to be found in their community. All tribes have their political organization which is led by the councils of elders. Actually they maintain such communities which have true sense of belonging, we-feeling and bonding which was prevailed in the pre-modern community.

The northeast writers try their best to represent the diversity of the tribal communities in their writings. Among them the most recent voice, Mamang Dai deals with the communities of Arunachal Pradesh in her books. Her nonfiction *Arunachal Pradesh: The Hidden Land* documented the culture and tradition of her land. In the novel *The Dark Hill* Dai represents the Abor and Mishmi tribal communities, their life style, their culture and their ways of life. The most interesting fact is that in the postmodern world of popular culture Mamang Dai deals with such communities in which the members perform the traditional culture of their own which is marked by the notion of pre-modern community. Thus the tribal communities represented by Dai revivify the true concept of community.

This paper attempts to show how the concept of community is prevailed throughout the book *The Legends of Pensam*. The short stories in the book treat the community of the

Adis who are the most popular group of indigenous people inhabiting the Siang Valley of Arunachal Pradesh. Mamang Dai herself belongs to Adi tribe and is adept in speaking Adi language. As a member of Adi community she has great concern for her culture which is constructed and regulated by the members of her community. In an interview with AnanyaGuha, she says:

I am tribal, and the geography, landscape, our myths, stories all have shaped my thoughts. I feel fortunate that I never forgot my mother tongue – Adi; one could easily have lost it during the years in school, being away, etc; as o many tribal children don't speak their mother tongue these days. I have learnt a lot travelling through different parts of the state, from talking with miri---shaman healers as mythology and spiritual belief is an area of interest for me. I am particularly influenced by our oral narratives dealing with creation myth. (Dai 2013)

She sees the lives of Adi from her intuitive experience and rediscovers and represents the traces of cultural ethos on which the singular existence of a tribal community is based.

In her book *The Legends of Pensam* Mamand Dai is in search of her roots and documents the tribal lores to preserve them as she admits in an interview:

Ours is an oral tradition you know, I was trying to meet people and collect and record these oral narratives, you know the small histories which were getting lost and when you talk to people even small things can trigger these memories off.

The oral tradition maintains myths, legends, rituals, beliefs, traditions which are the guiding principles of the life of Adi community. The term 'Adi' in vernacular language denotes something ancient and the territory of Adi community belongs to the Pensam which is the middle place between myth and reality. In the life of the Adis mysterious things happen constantly which are undefineable and out of reason:

In our language, the language of the Adis, the word 'pensam' means 'in-between'. It suggests the middle, or middle ground, but it may also be interpreted as the hidden spaces of the heart where a secret garden grows. It is the small world where anything can happen and everything can be lived;

The book opens with the mysterious birth of Hoxo who fell from the sky. Hoxo's father, Lutor dies mysteriously in a hunting accident. Strange events occur in their life constantly. "In these small clearings in the middle of the forest, people have premonitions. Women dream dreams. Babies are born who grow up unnaturally fast, like deer or lion cubs. Infant mortality is high. Old women still braid threads of vine and pray for safe passage" (Dai 10). Kalen also dies mysteriously in a hunting accident. When other members and Bodak crossed the bridge with the dead body, the bridge broke down and they fell into the stream. In such strange condition their life was devastated: "In the midst of injury and death, newly-weds fought, stormed out of their homes, deserted the children and hurled abuse at one another, as if the business of living and loving was a temporary arrangement" (Dai 15). A strange event also happened in Mona's life that her daughter Adela refused to speak. Adela behaved

strangely. "Mona crouched down beside her and tried to get her to utter a word, and the girl stared back at her for a long minute and then turned away as if she had never seen Mona before in her life" (Dai 18). Togum's son also rears up a strange fever. The members of the Adis community are always ready to accept such incidents as Hoxo's utters: "Somethings are beyond recall, and such things happen all the time. It is better to be ready" (Dai 19).

Richter remarks that "myth gives an idea of deep belief of the community" (813). Myths as stories have come down to the Adi people from generations and have become part of their consciousness. It plays a vital role in the community of Adis to shape their culture. Claude Levi Strauss postulates that myth act as an inherent principle of community to form its institutions (1...). Northrop Fry is on the same view that myth and story are the basis on which any territory either community or society is based. For Fry, the story, and not the argument, is at the center of literature and society. The base of society is mythical and narrative and not ideological and dialectical. Dai also represents the Adi community in her writing through myth. In the book *The Legends of Pensam* every legend is a kind of myth. The people knew the story of Biribik, the water serpent which had a head with horns. "No one; for generations now, remembered the name of the first person who had seen it, but the event was fixed in their collective memory" (Pensam9). The myth related to Biribik is that something ominous will occur in the life of the person who gets its vision. The hunting accident bears the myth of supernatural beings called the miti-mili. The miti-milis made the mysterious si-ye powder which was used to ferment rice into beer. Before their disappearance they gave this sacred powder to mankind and the responsibility to handle it was give to the women. The women made the si-ye cake. But the cakes were strictly forbidden before the hunt or journey. Sometimes the men forget the rules regarding the si-ye cakes and died mysteriously in hunting. Pinyar, the widow said, "It makes men hallucinate just like the miti-mili race. But sometimes some households forget to observe the rules, and our men die in the forest" (Pensam29). She also uttered, "There is a bad spirit lurking in the si-ye that makes men go mad...That is why we sprinkle si-ye on the eyelids of those who die an unnatural death, so that their spirit will not return on some restless search" (Dai 29.)The rhapsodist also creates myth regarding the origin of the Adis:

In the beginning there was only Keyum. Nothingness. It was neither darkness nor light,

nor had it any colour, shape or movement. Keyum is the remote past, way beyond the reach of our senses. It is the place of ancient things from where no answer is received. Out of this place of great stillness, the first flicker of thought began to shine like a light in the soul of man. It became a shimmering trail, took shape and expanded and became the Pathway. Out of this nebulous zone, a spark was born that was the light of imagination. The spark grew into a shining stream that was the consciousness of man, and from this all the stories of the world and all its creatures came into being.

The Adis maintain their tradition from generation to generation and the rituals, customs and belief of the community have roots in their tradition. Every ritual is performed by the members with great reverence and responsibility. In every winter the members from the villages set out on a journey to the snow-mountains to harvest a precious aconitum root. "No one remembers for how long this annual trek has been a ritual" (Dai 58). But they performed it as their predecessors performed. Being blind and senseless in cold they had to visit the Dimi-tayang, "the lonely spirit who stirs up the lake waters and clutches trespassing men in an embrace of ice" (Dai 59). They convinced the jealous spirits circling them and promised them to visit again bearing more gifts. When something ominous happens in their life they call miri or shaman to perform rituals. The performance of different rituals to appease the spirits is an integral part of the culture of Adis community. In the story titled "the silence of Adela and Kepi" Togum goes out in search of a shaman who could care Kepi from strange disease. Eventually Hoxo comes and performs the 'snake ritual' to exorcise the spirit of snake from Kepi. The shamans and rhapsodists are the guardians of all the cultural components of Adis community. The role of ponung dancers and the shaman in preserving the culture is reinforced in the following lines:

The dancers sigh and wipe their eyes. The fire burns brightly and the shaman is a shadow man leaping up larger than life. He has sung of the beginning of the world; of the sword of five me that ignited the bonfire of the villages. He has sung the story of his brother, the one who killed a man and became a martyr; the story of the hawk woman who defied a community to live in a house by the river. These are the stories, rhapsodies of time and destiny that he must guard." (Dai 55)

Dai also describes the rituals associated with agrarian life. In the story titled "On the Stage" the ritual that follows after the completion of annual fencing is described as follows:

Traditionally, the evening after the fence was ready, the party of young men returned home dancing. Dressed in the costumes of warriors they leapt high into the air, slashing and whirling with swords in mock fights. According to the old timers this tapu dance had originated as a performance to drive away the spirit of fear that sometimes preyed on men. At such times friends and elders gathered and put on their war dress. They fastened tufts of the thorn-wood stem on their shields and spears and made frightening sounds and gestures to scare off the invisible enemy . . . The mendanced until daybreak and this would be repeated for three nights. On the last night they would dance into all the houses and would be welcomed with food and drink.(Dai 183)

There are so many rituals relating to their funeral ceremony also in their community. When someone died, "a small shack that marked the grave a fire would be kept burning all day and night for up to a year as a ritual of cleansing and farewell"(Dai 142).

The narratives in *The Legends of Pensam* focus light on the customs and practices of Adi community. The elders of the clans maintain the rules and regulations in accordance with

their customs. For example, when Hoxo's father is killed by his friend in a hunting accident, the narrator recounts:

The punishment for killing a man is death, unless a meeting can be called immediately and the aggrieved party is convinced that the matter is negotiable. In this case the poor friend was banished to live like an animal in the forest for a whole month. His closest kin could take him cooked food but there were so many taboos on the type of food he could eat that it was simpler to let him fend for himself. No one opposed the exile, least of all the man whose fate it had been to mistake a man for prey. (Dai 11)

The customs also devastate the lives of the members of the community. Pinyar, the widow has to live in the forest leaving her village because "when a house catches fire, the luckless owner is banished to the outskirts of the village" (Dai 28). Dai also mentions the customs of fire watching in the story titled 'Rites of Love'. She explains:

In old days, fire watching had been a sacred duty. All young men were expected to give their time, taking turns to stay together in the bango, the boys' dormitory, and keep vigil through the night. The old men and women took up this duty during the day, when they also minded the young children while their parents were away in the fields. (Dai 121)

The community forms some kind of strong belief on the gods and spirits which contributes much to the formation of their culture. Mamang Dai herself had strong belief on gods and spirits. In the poem *The Balm of Time* she writes, "Yes I believe in gods, in the forest faith/of good and evil/spirits of the river/and the dream world/of the dawn." In the book *The Legend of Pensam* the Adi tribes believe in animism according to which both animated and unanimated objects are inhabited by spirits or souls. The spirits possessed their soul and made their life fear-ridden. The spirit also captured the soul of Kamur as he went hunting for his children and for his wife. People tried to understand the meaning of this kind of strange behavior. "They understood that it was a nebulous zone that divided the worlds of spirits and men---in fact, at one time men and spirits have been brothers. They knew that what was real could well be an illusion, and that reality might only be the context that people gave to a moment. But they were shaken" (Dai 31). The people investigate the strange case and discover that there had been signs. Before Kamur two men acted strangely in their territory and one of them took his own life. According to them the cause of Kamur's strange behavior was his presence under the aubergine tree which "bore small poisonous-looking flowers that grew into long, bloated fruit, menacing and shining" (Dai 31). The women were possessed by spirits in the winter season: "The year winter was long and cruel. Ghosts and spirits walked the riverbanks and watched jealously from the dwindling forests. They followed so closely it was impossible that someone should not succumb to their persistent presence" (Dai 84). The forest is considered as a benevolent spirit as it protects the tribe. "Like the majority of tribes inhabiting the central belt of Arunachal, the Adis practice an animistic faith that is woven

around forest ecology and co-existence with the natural world” (Dai xi). They have great reverence for Doyni-Polo, the sun and the moon, whose light as an invisible force guide the lives of the members of this community.

Myth, tradition, rituals, practice and beliefs in the life of the Adis not only serve as the constituent parts of the cultural aspects of the community but at the same time they also create ‘community consciousness’ in the members of the Adi. The community consciousness in the members are so strong that they do violent acts like murder to maintain their community system. In the story “travel the road” a furious Adi stuck the British political officer, Noel Williamson down in the village of Komsing. The exact reason behind the murder is obscure. But there are certain recorded evidences to prove that community consciousness led the angry Adi to murder the officer as the tribe did not want let any outsider interfere in his community:

the tribe feared that Williamson would bring troops to destroy its villages. Another version says that the white sahib had insulted a man who later followed him in Komsing and killed him. There are also accounts that tell of a scandal some years before this attack – a story of seduction and romance between a local woman and another white man course of the river. (Dai 48)

Community consciousness is reflected in an ideal way in the character of Nenem. For the sake of her community she sacrifices her love for David who was a British. Without caring for her happiness she takes the hand of Kao, a member of her own community. She remained devoted to her roots: “Together they would raise a family, guide their land and live among their people observing the ancient custom of their clan.” (Dai 120) Her community consciousness gets prevailed over her emotion: “This was her land. She had chosen it over love. She did not ask herself if she was happy” (Dai 115). In order to protect their territory from the ‘migluns’ the villagers send their sons to war which is evident in the following song sung by the villagers to bless their sons:

*“These were our arrows,
This, our poison.
This, the warrior’s art,
These our songs of love.”* (Dai 115)

Oral narratives carry the myths, tradition, rituals, practices, beliefs from generation to generation as well as keep the community consciousness revived. All stories are stories of connections and they unearth the forgotten connections between the clans:

There are many stories that link clans. Sometimes we forget how these connections were made, but everything is interconnected. Sometimes a connection is born in the middle of war. Sometimes it is through a woman, sometimes land, and sometimes it is through an object out of the past. (Dai 61)

Mamang Dai in *The Legends of Pensam* describes a way of life, a way of being and a world view which formed the very core of Adi identity. But the onslaught of modernity threatens their identity and community. "The roots of trees, clumps of bamboo, the hidden life forms in the ancient body of earth were being uprooted" (Dai 130). The spirits of their ancestors who lived in these high and secret places fell with the trees and they went away. "And everything changed since then. The canopy of shelter and tradition had fallen" (Dai 42). The villagers "were seized with a desire to learn new things" by the colonial force of the 'migluns'. But they are unable to cope up with new things as it is explicit in Kao's observation: "He saw the children changing and learning new things, and he smiled when he heard them speak in a new tongue while writing words in new scripts that no one in the village could read." (Dai 130) The members want their peaceful traditional community which now becomes a matter of nostalgia:

Once upon a time there had existed a green and virgin land under a gracious and just rule. The old chieftains received obeisance because they were akin to the gods. No one stole or killed and any man who could find his way into the compound of a chief's dwelling was automatically protected from all danger. In a dispute the chiefs would look up to the sky, consult the sacred fire, speak to the and there would be justice. Food was sown, harvested, stored and dispensed fairly. It was a clan. Fathers and sons followed in the footsteps of their ancestors. (Dai 42)

Dai presents the Adi community of Arunachal Pradesh and preserves the traditional lore to support and represent her community. At the same time, she shows that the tribal peoples have strong desire to preserve their ethnic identity. The unique life philosophy, myths, oral narratives and cultural practices of the Adi community reflect an attempt to resist the politics of appropriation and assimilation by alien forces. As a post-modern Indian writer Dai restores the true notion of community in her writing. She proves that community is ubiquitous and stable and has become a part of our doxa, unaffected by the drive of modernity. Like the social theorists and empirical researchers, she uses the term community as an orienting device in *The Legends of Pensam* to retrieve the true type of community.

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