

THESIS ON
THREE TRIBES OF NILAMBUR VALLEY :
**A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Economy,
Society and Culture**

Submitted to the
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in
ANTHROPOLOGY

by
Seetha Kakkoth

Guide and Supervisor
Dr. N. Viswanathan Nair
Director
Kerala Institute for Research, Training and Development Studies of
Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes (KIRTADS)
Centre for Anthropological Studies
Kozhikode, Kerala

JANUARY 2001

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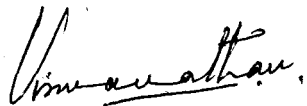
KERALA INSTITUTE FOR RESEARCH,
TRAINING AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES
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GOVERNMENT OF KERALA
KOZHIKODE-17

r. N. VISWANATHAN NAIR
DIRECTOR

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that this thesis titled 'Three Tribes of Nilambur Valley : A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Economy, Society and Culture'; is an authentic record of the work carried out by Smt. Seetha Kakkoth as a full-time doctoral research student from 8-2-1993 to 17-1-1995 and as a part-time doctoral research student from 18-1-1995 to 20-1-2001 under my guidance and supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Anthropology of the University of Calicut. No part of this thesis has been presented before for any other degree. I also certify that Smt. Seetha Kakkoth has passed the Ph.D preliminary qualifying examination.

Kozhikode-17,
20-1-2001


Dr. N. VISWANATHAN NAIR

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DECLARATION

I, Seetha Kakkoth, do hereby declare that this thesis titled, Three Tribes of Nilambur Valley : A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Economy, Society and Culture' has not been submitted by me for the award of any Degree, Diploma or Title before.

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SEETHA KAKKOTH

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I have received help from the officials of Integrated Tribal Development Department (ITDP), Nilambur; Nilambur South and North Forest Division offices; and Nilambur Pattikavarga Vikasana Society. Teachers of various schools in Nilambur Taluk, and Doctors of local Primary Health Centres (PHCs) and Taluk Hospital Nilambur were very much enthusiastic in giving information about the tribal communities. I am grateful to each one of them especially to Sri. Kutty Hassan, Tribal Extension Officer, ITDP, Nilambur.

Finally, I owe my special and sincere thanks to the tribal communities under study, who were very much co-operative in in-depth data collection throughout the study period. I do hope this study will be helpful in interpreting their problems in its proper perspective so that Governmental action would be taken to mitigate their problems. Considering this as an obligation, I dedicate this thesis to the tribal communities under study.

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CHAPTER - I

INTRODUCTION

Background

Studies on diminutive hunter-gatherer tribal population in the eco-cultural context can give an insight into the origin and spread of early human societies. During the pre-historic period, the cultural transformations from food-gatherer hunter to tillers and herders were a slow process. Among the present day hunter-gatherer societies there occur rapid transitions. True food gatherer-hunter tribes are no more in existence. The fast transformation that took place in human life during the last ten thousand years on earth had been aptly summarised by George Peter Murdock. He writes:

“Ten thousand years ago, the entire population of the earth subsisted by hunting and gathering, as their ancestors had done since the dawn of culture. By the time of Christ, eight thousand years later, tillers and herders had replaced them over atleast half of the earth. At the time of the discovery of the New World, only perhaps 15 percent of the earth’s surface was still occupied by hunters and gatherers, and this area has continued to decline at a progressive rate until the present day, when only a few isolated pockets survive” (1968: 13).

In Southern India, the Western Ghat region is one such pocket where food gatherer-hunter societies exist in forest environment. These diminutive tribal communities living in forest ecosystem with subsistence economy and pre-agricultural level of technology are considered as the surviving replica of primitive food gatherer-hunter societies. An example of one such community is the Cholanaicken of Nilambur Valley. Anthropologists are of the opinion that it is because of the bountiful nature of the Nilambur Valley, that the Cholanaicken pursue food gatherer-hunter life (S.C. Sinha:1976, P.R.G. Mathur:1977). Out of the three tribal communities under study, two, viz., Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken are diminutive food gatherer-hunter communities living in adjoining areas of the Cholanaicken habitat. The third one, Aranadan live in the fringes of the Nilambur forests and is the smallest tribal community under study. Except for the study on Cholanaicken (P.R.G. Mathur : 1977, P.K. Misra : 1977, Viswanathan : 1985, Ananda Bhanu : 1989), no serious work had been attempted on other tribal communities of the Nilambur Valley. Therefore, an in depth study on these three tribal communities can give a better understanding of early human life in the Western Ghat region of the Indian mainland.

Tribes in general were called forest dwellers or hill dwellers, as their habitat were in forested hill tracts. Their habitat no longer maintains pristine forest atmosphere. Plantation activities, construction of big dams, timber extraction, non-tribal settlements in forest land etc., have interfered with the tribal life in the forest ecosystem. The tribal populations, which lead an isolated life were suddenly exposed to the viles of the domineering culture and they confront severe ecological

pressures as well. The cultural scenario, which paved the way for the classification of tribal economy into categories such as 'hunter-gatherer', 'shifting cultivator', 'settled agriculturist', 'pastoralist' and 'agricultural labourer' has undergone tremendous changes.

The tribal populations' assimilation into the mainstream has been taking place throughout the historical period. The smaller tribal communities with primitive hunter-gatherer life were the major victims of cultural domineering. Tribal communities with larger population size and settled agriculturist life, could maintain their identity to a great extent because of their numerical strength and resultant adaptive ability. It is widely held that a tribal community's population growth takes place when it starts leading a settled agriculturist life (Nag:1980). The tribal communities are no more seen to have a prolonged food gatherer-hunter stage, but they are coerced and pushed to skip stages normally traversed by mankind. The plight of these tribal communities' requires in depth anthropological analyses so that action may be taken to mitigate their multi-fold turmoils. The results of planned change and the impact of culture contact with migrant settlers, who form the overwhelming majority in the area, require close scrutiny.

There are 427 tribal communities in India (Roy Burman : 1970). According to 1991 Census the total tribal population in the country is 67758380, which forms 8.01 percentage. There are 35 Scheduled Tribes in Kerala and their population according to 1991 Census is 320967. Though the tribal population of Kerala is proportionately small i.e., 1.1 per cent of the total population, it is constituted by a number of tribes.

Out of the 35 Scheduled Tribe communities, fourteen communities are having population below 2000. The diminutive size of certain Scheduled Tribes of Kerala causes anxiety about their survival capabilities.

The smallness of a tribal community is a major concern to anthropologists and administrators. 75 tribal groups/sections/communities have been categorised as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) by the Government of India in 1976, based on the criteria viz., pre-agricultural level of technology, less than two per cent literacy, small population size etc. These PTGs are seen distributed in 15 States/Union Territories. In Kerala there are five PTGs viz., (1) Koraga of Kasaragode district; (2) Cholanaicken of Nilambur Valley, Malappuram district; (3) Kurumbar of Attappady, Palakkad district; (4) Kadar of erstwhile Cochin area; and (5) Kattunayakan of Wayanad, Malappuram and Kozhikode Districts. These PTGs form only 5.3 per cent of the total Kerala Scheduled Tribes population. One of the tribal communities under study viz., Pathinaicken is considered to be an offshoot of the Kattunayakan, a PTG. The State Government have made recommendations to include the two other communities viz., Aranadan and Kattupaniyan in the list of PTGs in 1987, as they too satisfy the above criteria related to the PTGs. But the proposal was kept in pending. The reporting need to have made prior to 1977. The study on these tribal communities inhabiting the Nilambur forests is expected to give valuable information on the society and culture of primitive food gatherer-hunter communities of Indian mainland in general and that of the Western Ghat region in particular.

The Problem

The study is titled: '*Three Tribes of Nilambur Valley : A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Economy, Society and Culture.*' Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken are the three diminutive tribal communities selected for the study. They inhabit the forest areas of Nilambur Valley, Nilambur taluk, Malappuram district, Kerala State. This Valley is well known for its rich flora and fauna. These tribal communities subsist mainly on food gathering, small scale hunting, non-wood forest produces (n.w.f.p) collection and forest labour. The low level of technological development of these tribes is attributed to the bountifulness of the habitat. The cultural identity of these tribal communities in their respective ecological niches is centuries old. The study aims to depict the socio-economic and technological aspects of selected tribes in relation to the ecosystem of which they are a part.

Within the last fifty years, non-tribal population influx has been taking place in the region. Virgin forests have been cleared for the planting of teak and rubber. Several growth centres have sprung up near the forests owing to settler influx. Outbreaks of communicable diseases have been reported among the tribes of the area. These diminutive tribal groups inhabiting the Nilambur Valley, face a number of extraneous factors affecting their life, including ecological imbalances. Willy nilly, they are subjected to hasty transitions. In this context a situational analysis of these three small tribal communities is taken up in their eco-cultural context.

Tribal communities are encouraged to settle down in permanent locations through the implementation of various development schemes. During the last two decades or so, the development interventions in tribal cultures have acquired greater proportions. Non-wood forest products gathered by the tribes are transacted through tribal co-operative societies or non-tribal agents or sold directly to non-tribals. In health and education sectors, a series of development programmes has been carried out. The tribal communities' adaptive responses to these extraneous factors, and the resultant process of transformation, are indeed an interesting subject matter for study.

The tribal groups under discussion are diminutive in population size. The population of Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken are 254, 315 and 440 respectively (Survey; 1995). An anthropological analysis of the functioning of these three tribal groups, totalling 1009, in their respective ecological niches is attempted. The cultural and ecological consequences of the 'smallness' of the population and its socio-cultural and demographic dimensions are surveyed. The study also probes whether the population of these tribal communities has been diminishing or increasing in the recent past. The study tries to identify the factors causing the low population size. After gathering tribe-wise data, a cross cultural analysis is attempted.

Importance of the Study

Diminutive tribal communities' cultural identity and survival problems are mainly the subject matter of the present study. The study results can attract the attention of anthropologists, administrators and well-meaning public, to the various dimensions and issues involved. The concept of tribe-caste continuum is generally used for explaining tribal cultures' transformation process. The quantum leap to modernity is taking place quickly.

The Aranadan, the Kattupaniyan and the Pathinaicken of Nilambur Valley can be considered as typical examples of small tribal communities of the Indian Peninsular region. The study is expected to generate valuable information on diminutive tribal populations' cultural turmoils, adaptive mechanisms, settler influx and ecological trauma. The study results may provide better insight into the cultural distress felt within the society and a suitable strategy to mitigate or minimize the sufferings of the community may be suggested. It can provide valuable information to planners of tribal development and personnel involved in the implementation of schemes.

The study also permits analysis at intra-community and inter-community levels. Since the communities under study are from the same area, the cultural tenets of the communities assume greater importance and provide an experimental situation. The findings that emerge may thus have more universal applications.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of the study are:

- (1) To present a descriptive account of the interrelationship between ecology, economy, society and culture of the Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken Tribes of the Nilambur Valley.
- (2) To undertake an in depth study of the demographic characteristics and the various causes for the small population size of these communities.
- (3) To examine the developmental and survival issues of these tribal groups in the eco-cultural context .
- (4) To present a cross cultural analysis of the data gathered on these three communities and to arrive at valid conclusions.

Hypotheses

The study is descriptive in its approach. However, the following hypotheses are conceived in view of the scope of the study.

- (1) A major tribe section's or group's continued geographical isolation in a territory leads to the emergence of a new group with distinct cultural identity.
- (2) When there are more than one food gathering, hunting tribal communities to share the natural resources of a habitat,

the communities tend to specialise in different resources within the ecosystem.

- (3) Among the diminutive tribal groups, owing to the lack of socially accepted mates for marriages, exogamy or hitherto prohibited marriage relationships may occur.
- (4) When diminutive tribal communities come into continuous contact with the mainstream population, the tribal societies tend to develop conjugal relationship with the communities/castes with which they have a commonality.
- (5) Opening up of the so far isolated territories of diminutive tribal communities results in an overwhelming impact of the mainstream cultures upon them. In this process the tribal cultures tend to lose their identity.
- (6) As a result of exposure to mainstream technology and economic behaviour, the tribal societies are making a quantum leaps to modernity skipping all intermediary stages.

Methodology

Since the study covers three tribal communities, same tools and techniques were used for all the communities. The researcher could freely converse with these populations and a rapport was established from the beginning itself. A working relationship had been built up with the communities by actually involving oneself in their development

programmes. The tribal populations selected for the study are small in size. Hence total coverage is attempted. The population is distributed far and wide.

During the first phase, a detailed family survey was taken up. A household survey schedule was used for gathering name, age, sex, marital status, education, place of origin, birth, death and other demographic particulars. Since the members of the group under study are mostly illiterate and do not have any idea about their age, the populations' age determination was done by means of ascertaining the relative age of the members in the settlement. In each case major events in the settlement or outside, which were externally dated, were also taken into consideration to ascertain the age of the members. The survey was followed by ethnographic data collection using usual anthropological techniques. During the survey phase, key informants and social functionaries were identified.

The tribal societies' knowledge of the flora and fauna of the habitat has been collected. The researcher accompanied elders during their gathering pursuits to the forests and listed the edible roots, tubers and non-wood forest produces (n.w.f.p) collected in different seasons. Observations on the mode of using these items and also the transaction of various n.w.f.p gathered in different seasons with Tribal Co-operative Society of the area were made. An estimation of the quantum of n.w.f.p collected by each family was made. The economic behaviour of individuals during the transactions of produces with non-tribals was also viewed.

Case studies of inter-tribal marriages, tribe - non tribe marriages, familial problems, social reconciliation mechanism etc., were studied. The marital histories of selected men and women were also probed by case study method. The non-tribals living in the neighbourhood, Forest officials, Tribal Development Department personnel, Anganwadi teachers, tribal co-operative staff were interviewed to know more about the interaction pattern and acculturation. Observations were made regarding the change in food habits, dress, labour mobility and the religious life of these communities. Socio-cultural and technological changes were also noted. A separate schedule was used to study these changes.

Each member of the society was identified by preparing genealogical chart for the entire community. Upto two to three ascending and descending generations were identified and their marriage ties marked. Demographic particulars, annual fluctuation in mortality etc., were collected by gathering genealogical information on a retrospective basis i.e., reconstruction of the demographic history of the past. The last eight years' births and deaths in these communities were recorded by periodical visits with the co-operation of key informants. The rapport with the women within the reproductive age group enabled the researcher to gather data on pregnancy wastages, stillbirths and the other aspects of fertility history. The occurrences of diseases among the members during the period of the study were also recorded.

The data regarding the life and culture of the Aranadan, Pathinaicken and the Kattupaniyan were collected by using an interview

guide. The data thus collected were verified by using observation method and cross checking the same with the key informants in each group. The family and marriage life of these communities was probed in relation to the social organisation. The influences of small population size in mate selection, widow/widowers status, desertion, re-marriages etc., were gathered. Thus, data on all life affecting variables such as ecology, culture, family, marriage, conception and pregnancy, morbidity, education, acculturation, natural calamity and accident were collected from these communities with equal care using schedules.

Plan of the Thesis

The thesis has seven chapters. The first chapter is titled 'Introduction'. It covers background, definition of the problem, importance of the study, objectives, hypotheses and methodology. Review of literature dealing with small tribal communities' survival problems and transformation process is given in the second chapter. A brief description of the Nilambur Valley with its ecological features and population composition is presented in the third chapter. Chapters four, five and six deal with the qualitative and quantitative data gathered from Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken communities. The data mainly cover eco-demographic, socio-economic, politico-religious and developmental aspects. The last chapter summarises the cross cultural analysis of the data presented in earlier chapters in the context of the hypotheses outlined. This chapter also presents the conclusions arrived at in the light of the facts and results obtained from the field data. A selected bibliography is given at the end.

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CHAPTER- II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Studies on human ecology are voluminous. In this review, focus is given mainly to small tribal communities and related issues. Firstly, studies related to the distribution of food gatherer-hunter communities and ecological influences on such tribal communities are presented. Secondly, extraneous factors influencing the diminutive tribal groups' population composition and epidemiological factors affecting their health are given. Theoretical concepts which try to explain the patterns in tribal culture change in the Indian context are given at the end. Certain scanty literature available on the three tribal communities under study are presented in the beginning of the respective chapters dealing with each tribe.

Ecosystem and Cultural Speciation

Murdock (1968:14) enumerated the regions of the world where people with hunting and gathering economies survived, and amongst whom field research by anthropologists are still possible. He listed twenty-seven surviving groups of hunter-gatherers and their geographical distribution. His list includes five groups each in Africa and East-Asia, one in Oceania, nine in North America and seven in

South America. Among the Indian hunters of East Asia region (for him East Asia include India too), he had given the names of Chenchu (Furer-Haimendorf:1943), Korwa of Uttar Pradesh (Majumdar:1944) and Birhor (B.J. Williams:1968). In the above list of Indian hunter-gatherer groups, the names of eight Kerala tribes viz., Kadar, Malapandaram, Paliyan, Allar, Aranadan, Eravallar, Malavedan and Vettuvan also figure. The survey also shows the world's hunting and gathering people. The largest concentration is found in Aboriginal North America, but in the Indian context, most of the hunters and gatherers belong to the geographical territory of Kerala. The lists of Murdock consist of one of the selected tribes for the study, viz., the Aranadan, also finds a place. Perhaps Murdock couldn't have any literature on other two tribes under study viz., the Kattupaniyan and the Pathinaicken, as their distinct entity have been identified lately.

Hunter-gatherer tribes' population size, distribution and density within an area have been studied by Birdsell (1953), Elkin (1954), Dubois (1965) etc. Birdsell (1953) explains that there was a central tendency of the population size to be 500. He says that even this number is on the higher level. Hiatt (1965) observes that the Walbiri, numbered 1500 or so, were divided into four communities and there were dialectical differences among them. Each community lived separately, and there were contacts between them.

The cultural speciation of tribal sub-groups at the hunter-gatherer stage occurs when the main tribal groups increase to more than 500. A localised tribal group engenders dialectical variation due

to intensity in interaction within the group. Birdsell (1968) observes that in Australia, when tribal members expand to 1000 or more, dialect fragmentation regularly occurs. This data suggest the isolation by distance begins to produce recognizable dialect fragmentation when tribal size approaches 1000 persons and that the differentiating dialect subgroups range from about 250 to 375 in numbers. The cultural cohesion and isolation by distance tend to maintain the equilibrium numbers in a rigid manner. A human population reaches the culturally effective carrying capacity in a given environment within very short time period. The population density is determined by variations in biota, climate and the extractive efficiency of men who exploit the environment (Birdsell,1968:240).

The hypothesis of adaptation of man to the environment through socio-cultural institution and behaviour has been widely employed by Frake (1956), Fortier (1957), R. Harris (1962), Sahlin (1962), Steward (1965), M. Harris (1966), Howard (1966), Cohen (1968), Timothy (1973) etc. Timothy was of the opinion that primitive people are first-hand example of environmental adaptation (1973:26). He says that inheriting the legacies of cultures thousand years old, primitive societies still live in balance with environments usually judged too severe for civilized man. In the Artic, Eskimos and their ancestral culture adapted ingeniously with dog sleds, ice houses, snow goggle and other inventions that permitted survival. The Tasadays of Mindanao in the Philippines, with an economy of stone age, have been at home in jungle, penetrated by outsiders only in

1966. In the rocks and deserts of South Africa's Kalahari, still shunned by more complex societies, Bushman continues to exist in isolation (1973:44).

The population size as a critical factor in influencing marriage patterns has been dealt by Yengoyan (1968:198). After analysing Australian aborigines section systems and population density in different territory, he had concluded that tribes characterised by sub-sections possess the largest tribal areas and sizes, and the lowest population density. He has stated that it is highly improbable that tribal unit with exceedingly small and fragmented populations to conform to stated marriage rules. He suggested that the ability of local population to survive requires certain flexibility in local organisation. The sections, sub-sections and socially distant groups need spacial linkage for mutual interactional mobility.

Marshal Sahlins (1958:245) describes a situation where economic specialisation is inter-connected by some alignment - descend, age grade, resident - to every other types of socio-economic group. He has postulated that in an ecosystem development of a number of inter-locking groups is possible when each group is dedicated to exploit different resources as adaptation to selective pressures limiting surplus production. This statement is made in the context of different social groups' adaptation to atoll ecosystem. The present study provides an opportunity to verify the above postulation in a forest ecosystem. Studies focused on ecosystem and cultural speciation of tribal communities of India are found to be rare.

Diminutive Tribal Groups- Survival Issues

Contemporary food gatherer-hunter communities and their distribution in various continents, socio-cultural changes, transformation process and human rights in various nationalities have become a serious concern of UNO (1998). The modern man's quest for development has endangered the survival of the indigenous populations and it pushed them to the margins, and colonised them in reserve and small colonies. The construction of large irrigation and hydro-electric projects, commercial exploitation of forest resources for the establishment of wood-based and heavy industries, extraction of mineral wealth etc., resulted in the uprooting of millions of indigenous people throughout the world.

Prakash Reddy (1993:7-9) states that numerically large indigenous communities could resist encroachment by outsiders to an extent. The demographically small, fragile hunting and gathering communities were affected in a critical manner. He adds that many of these communities were not able to face the onslaught of civilized man on their culture and environment and in few cases they have been totally wiped out. According to Marshall Sahlins the hunter-gatherers were 'original affluent societies'. Praksah Reddy pointed out that from the original affluent status, due to ecological pressures, the hunter-gatherer in few cases, have been ravaged and reduced to beggary.

G.G. Ross (1960) studied Grotte Eyland people in 1941 numbering between 300 and 350, who were originally numbered over a thousand. He estimated that this tribe was living under traditional conditions and were having very high birth rate. A woman in her reproductive period may have atleast eighteen children. In their ecosystem there was an abundance of meat and vegetable foodstuffs and the population did not starve in spite of the women's fertility. He also examined closely how the population is maintained, irrespective of the extra ordinarily high birth rate. He found that only a fraction of the population reached the reproductive age owing to the very high death rate among the infants and small children. He estimated that atleast 60 per cent of the infants died before their first birthday and there occur correspondingly high death rate among young children.

The epidemiological factors affecting health and disease among the hunter-gatherers had been studied by Dunn (1968:221). He has reviewed the published records of a number of tribes' health status and disease prevalence. Among the variables contributing to mortality, predation and diseases due to parasitism are to some extent controllable and density-dependant, to some extent uncontrollable and density- independent. He observes that the disease variables regulate human population but its impact is constantly modified by socio-cultural and ecological factors. Accidents, predation and certain forms of social mortality may affect population size more profoundly than disease in certain settings (1968:223).

Dunn generalises that among hunter-gatherers patent malnutrition is rare, starvation occurs infrequently, chronic diseases especially those associated with oldage are relatively infrequent, accidental and traumatic death vary greatly, predation is a minor cause of death and; parasitic and infectious diseases rates vary with ecosystem diversity and complexity (1968:221-228). He has emphasised that evidence has been available to prove that 'social mortality' has been and is significant in the population equation for any hunting and gathering society. The early contact records on primitive tribes did prove that cannibalism, infanticide, sacrifice, geronticide, head hunting etc., have ceased to exist. But among the displaced and acculturated hunter-gathers' homicide, suicide and stress diseases are increasing (Doob:1965; Duguid:1963; Hughes:1965 and Polunin:1953)

The depopulation as a result of contracting of outside diseases from settlers colonising new territory were described by authors viz., W.H.R.Rivers (1922), J. W. Page (1938), Radcliffe-Brown (1948), Richard Lee (1968), Timothy (1973), Takakura (1977), Crosby (1986), Chopra (1988) etc. During 17th century Siberia was invaded by Russians and they brought pathogens of diseases like smallpox, measles, scarlet fever, typhus etc. Many of the tribal people practiced a kind of sexual hospitality with the strangers and along with breath-borne infections, venereal disease, sometimes called 'the Russian disease' by the indigenes; spread widely, killing some adults and many foetuses and babies, destroying fertility and sending population into steep decline (Crosby. 1986: 38)

In the beginning of the 18th century, Chechehets, were the numerically dominant people of Buenos Aires in South America. This tribe acquired small pox, the worst epidemic and perished. Crosby writes that even their language was gone (1986: 203-205). He noted that epidemic disease wiped out a large number of people in North America (1986:213).

Maori (Polynesians of New Zealand) were polygamous and practiced sexual hospitality. In 18th century, the invasion of Europeans caused the spread of various epidemics and venereal diseases. In 1769 the Maori population was 100000-200000. It was reduced to 56987 in 1927(Crosby, 1986:231). Rivers(1922) in his book, *Essays on the Depopulation of Melanesia* reported that the causes of depopulation of the Melanesians were the pulmonary diseases like pneumonia, influenza and tuberculosis (c.f. Coomar. P.C. and M.K. Raha, 1989:225).

Ainu live on Hokkaido, the northern most island of Archipelago. Their population size was reduced due to assimilation, acculturation and epidemic from the end of the 18th century onwards. Today most of the Ainu people are so mixed with Japanese population and Takakura doubts perhaps about a hundred 'pure' Ainu are left, but only in the sense that each retains pure Ainu blood. Literally every Ainu of today is diluted (1977:233).

Chopra's study on Australian Aborigines shows the role of the English men in destroying the very existence of the natives by killing,

poisoning, or by introducing diseases such as cholera, smallpox, venereal diseases etc. Due to the population pressure from the outsiders, the aboriginals experienced starvation due to non-availability of sufficient food from their forest based land and exiled from there. The food supplied by the white men made them sick and poorly nourished. Death and diseases were so severe that, the British Government handed over most of them to Christian missionaries for supervision and welfare works. But the Christian missionaries did not take much attention and interest in them. As a result in Tasmania they were completely vanished. The last pure Tasmanian died in 1876. But in the mainland they somehow survived. Today their population is about 1% of the total country's population, which is about 1.7 lakh (1988:19).

J. W. Page (1938) in his book, '*Primitive Races of Today*' reported that the Yahgans of Tierra del Fuego was reduced to 50 from 2500 within a period of sixty years. The reasons for their decline were drowning and diseases (c.f. Coomar. P.C. and M.K. Raha, 1989:224). In 1870, the native population of Polynesia was 6,90,000 but after sixty years in 1930, they were reduced to 200000. Similarly the Melanesians and Micronesians have also been decreased from 3000,000 to 2000,000 and from 273,000 to less than 90,000 respectively (1938: 127,137,263). W. H. R. Rives has described the rapid degeneration of native population in Sandwich Island and some areas in New Hebrides (1922:84,90,94). Evans (1937) in his book, '*The Negritos of Malaya*' pointed out that the Semang and the Pangan

of Sakai also faced depopulation due to some epidemic diseases (c.f. Coomar. P.C. and M.K. Raha, 1989:225).

In Indian context, studies on tribal cultural disintegration owing to domineering influence of mainstream populations, contract of diseases resulting in health problems hitherto unknown among tribal societies etc., are available. However, studies on demographic aspects of small tribal societies are sparse. The exceptions are the studies pertaining to the Andaman Tribals. Some of the anthropologists who dealt with the survival problems of Andaman tribals are W.H.R. Rivers(1922), Radcliffe-Brown(1948), Verma(1976), R.S. Mann (1976), Coomar and Raha (1989) and Frank. K. Myka (1993).

Radcliffe-Brown (1948:9) writes that the advent of British occupation of Andaman Islands in 1858 affected the life of the indigenous groups viz., Great Andamanese, Onge, Jarawa and Sentinelese. Frank Myka's shows that from 1901 to 1989, the populations of Great Andamanese, Onge, Jarawa and Sentinelese have been reduced from 625 to 28, 672 to 100, 585 to 200 and plus; and 385 to 100 and plus respectively (Frank Myka, 1993: 138).

Coomar and Raha reported that within a span of seventy years (1901-1971) the Great Andamanese had been diminished to 4.16% of their population as existed in 1901(1989:221). Rivers (1922) noted that pulmonary diseases like pneumonia, influenza and tuberculosis existed among Great Andamanese and Onge. Jain *et al* (1981)

conducted a medical survey among the Onge and reported some diseases like skin infection, malaria, vitamin-A deficiency, anemia etc., (c.f. Coomar. P.C. and M.K. Raha, 1989:221).

Coomar and Raha analyses that the poor health and reduction in reproductive power of Onge was due to the change from protein enriched forest food to carbohydrate rich food (1989:223). They also report that one of the reasons for the depopulation among the Onge is the incompatibility of marriageable age between husband and wife. The non-availability of spouses makes a young man to marry a woman in the menopause age or a young woman to marry an aged unproductive man. Due to this, young people cannot utilize their reproductive age (1989:221). The Onge are also facing decline due to disease, warfare and difficulty in obtaining food.

Decline of population among several tribal groups in India is noted by L.A.K. Iyer (1941), Majumdar (1944), Dunn (1968), T.B.Naik (1969), Mahapatra (1971), N. R. Chaudhary (1971), P. N. Pandit (1972), L. P. Vidyarthi (1971, 1976), P. K. Misra (1977) etc. L.A.K Iyer (1941) pointed out that the primitive tribes becomes extinct on account of their traditional moorings as well as the harmful effect of outside cultural contact.

Majumdar (1944) has stressed that the major threat invading the security of Indian tribal life is the occurrence of disease through alien culture contact against which the tribals posses no efficient

therapeutic recipes. He cited the decline of population of Todas of Nilgiris from 2,689 in 1881 to 640 in 1931. Social and cultural practices stirred up the spread of diseases and took a major toll on the tribal populations. According to him, the incidence of syphilis among the Khonds of Ganjam agency tracts in Orissa was very high mainly due to the social norms that made possible an indiscriminate mixing of sexes before marriages. Dunn (1968) made an interesting point that small groups of nomadic people living at low population densities would be much more resistant to epidemic disease than farming people who have high densities in village. While writing on Jenu Kurumbas, Misra noted that the hunters-gatherers have been pushed into unattractive environments, into land which are of no use to their neighbours, and which poses serious problems to their survival (Misra, P.K; 1977: 429).

Disease leading to population decline among the Toda of Nilgiri district in Tamil Nadu is noticed by Surjith Sinha and B.D. Sharma (1977:191). T. B. Naik's(1969) study on Binjhar noted the influence of regional Hindu culture on the Binjhar culture and recorded their decline of population from 60,000 to 49,000 in a decade.

Krishna Iyer (1941), writing on the tribes of South Kerala observes that the ecological conditions and alien culture contact considerably influenced the fertility rate of the people of the same tribe in different areas. He studied the fertility rate of same tribe at

different areas with different climatic conditions. He observed that the average rate of children per family of tribes living in high altitude with harsh climatic conditions and in forested area is considerably less than the size of the family of the same tribe living in lower valley with congenial climatic conditions. He has also pointed out that the primitive tribes became extinct on account of their extirpation from their traditional soil as well as from the obnoxious effects of outside cultural contact. According to Krishna Iyer all the primitive tribes of Travancore (Central and South Kerala) with the exception of Muthuvan, Mannan, Paliyar and Malai Pandaram are becoming extinct. The growth and decline of tribal population and its relation to ecosystem and alien culture contact is described in this work.

Similarly Nag (1980), holds that the population of most of the tribal communities of India is increasing and only that of the primitive communities declining. The tribes with a larger population base are settled agriculturists, while the primitives with a small population base are isolated or semi-nomadic, subsisting on food gathering and hunting. He maintains that no thorough investigation has been made to find out the actual cause of decline of population. He presumes that the decline of population is owing to food gathering hunting life, diseases, malnutrition and low fertility of women due to inbreeding. He contented that the demographic or cultural considerations account for the inbreeding. This study gives an insight to the inbreeding nature of tribal communities constrained by endogamy and small size.

The significant works of Luiz (1962), Surjith Sinha and B. D. Sharma (1977), Mathur (1977), Viswanathan (1985), Ananda Bhanu (1989) etc., give an insight into the small population size of certain tribal communities and their life and culture. The health problems of tribal communities viz., Paniyan, Adiyar, Kurumbar, Cholanaicken, Kanikkar, Kurichiyar, Mullukurumar are highlighted by Viswanathan (1985).

The deleterious impact of contact with non-tribals on Cholanaicken community has been outlined by Viswanathan (1985). The Cholanaicken were leading an isolated life in interior forests of Nilambur till 1970s. But there occurred large scale denudation forests for teak plantation activities and non-tribal forest labourers occupied the territories for years together. The spread of fever among the most isolated section i.e., the Cholanaicken of Karulai range during 1977-79, resulted in ten deaths. Absence of natural immunity against such fever caused deaths, whereas the not-so-isolated sections withstood the scourge. He also established that by taking spouses at times from the Pathinaicken, a tribe which live in the lower valley, enable the Cholanaicken to solve the shortage of females of marriageable age among them. This study shows that a small tribal community with strict tribal endogamy may face decline in population and can resolve the problem by taking spouses from another tribe. If the issue is not solved, the tribal community may face further decline in population size. Ananda Bhanu reported that matrimonial relationship between Cholanaicken men and Pathinaicken women are quite common (1985:36).

The growth of population size during the settling down process of a shifting cultivator tribe is presented by Viswanathan (1985:148). The Kurumbas of Attappady, a shifting cultivator tribe has shown considerable growth in spite of high infant mortality rate. The non-tribal migration to Attappady has made little impact on the land holding position of Kurumbar. The Kurumbar could produce sizable quantities of cereals and legumes and also vegetables in their fields. They also collect substantial quantity of non-wood forest produces to meet their other requirements. Though high infant mortality rate (IMR) prevails, the population continues to grow because of assured food supply.

The settled agricultural tribes are demographically stable because of their larger population base (Nag, 1980). The cases of Kanikkar, Kurichiar, Mullukurumar of Kerala (Viswanathan: 1985) illustrate this. Assured food supply, better sanitation and hygienic practices, higher literacy rate etc., attributed to their growth. This is irrespective of the acceptance of family planning measures by a majority of eligible couples (Viswanathan:1985, 1986).

Demographic aspects of Paniyan and Adiyar tribes of Wayanad subsisting on agricultural labour have been presented by Viswanathan (1985, 1986). He observes that premature deaths are caused by odema all over body suggestive of malnutrition, dysentery and fever. He argues that high percentages of population in the lower age group and the subsequent rapid fall in the successive age group indicate that

these populations have low life expectancy. He also pointed out that among these tribes the population growth is simultaneously arrested by disease afflictions, acceptances of family planning, and also by social mortality factors like divorces and widowhood.

Tribe and Culture Change

In India, the pioneering works of Majumdar (1937, 1947 and 1962), G.S. Ghurye (1940), Verrier Elwin (1939, 1942, 1943 and 1947), Haimendorf, (1942), S.C Dube (1951), Ehrenfels (1952), Dutta-Majumdar (1956), T.B. Naik (1957), Srivastava (1958), Edward Jay (1961), Surjith Sinha (1962), K.N. Sahay (1962), N.K. Das (1996), Samira Dasgupta (1996) etc., describe the changes in tribal cultures. They highlight that the contact with Hindu society for centuries resulted in the tribals aspiring to elevate their status by renunciation of certain tribal practices by adopting certain higher caste practices, creation of legend and myths of ancient Hindu tradition and the exercise of economic and political dominance for seeking recognition to a higher status.

D.N. Majumdar's study of the tribe Ho (1937) examines the ethnographic materials on the framework of functional approach to the dynamics of culture change. Impact of Hinduism on the tribals has been the major theme of G.S. Ghurye (1940). He observed that some of the tribal communities are Hinduised and have got assimilated as different castes in the caste system. Under the guidance of Herskovits (who proposed the concept of acculturation in 1936), Dutta-Majumdar

(1956) studied the acculturation process among the Santhals due to their contact with the Hindus, Muslims, Christians and British administration. Majumdar (1950) has developed the concept of man-area-resources and co-operation approach (MARC). This concept states that any change in any of the above factors effects a corresponding change which is determined by the direction of the resultant. Majumdar suggests that the roots of the culture change are to be traced to the factors resulting to the base of a culture.

The study of Kamars by S.C. Dube (1951) and Tharus by Srivastava (1958) also methodologically taken functional approach. Srivastava (1958) writes that due to the contact with outsiders, Tharus started wearing sacred thread and follow *rites of passage* in accordance with Hindu customs. Majumdar's (1962) study on Khasas deals with the impact of community development programmes in the traditional structure of the tribe. He also observes that due to the contact with Rajputs and Brahmins of the neighbouring plain areas, the Khasas started adopting Hindu surnames and declaring themselves as Rajputs and Brahmins respectively.

While writing the monographs on the Gonds and Bhumiya in Madhya Pradesh, Stephen Fuchs (1960) held that economic exploitation, loss of vitality, loss of land, loss of traditional forest privileges and inroad of new diseases are the factors responsible for the present plight of the aborigines in general. In his ethnographic work on Padam-Minyong, Sachin Roy (1960) examines the various contact situations of the hill tribe with the plain dwelling communities.

Surjith Sinha (1962) has put forward the concept of Tribal-Rajput continuum. He has discussed how the various tribes of Central India such as the Bhumij, the Munda and the Gond have been influenced by the formation of a State in their respective territory. Sahay (1962) has examined M.N. Srinivas's concept of sanskritisation on Oraon tribe to study their culture change. He observed that most of the Oraon have given up beef eating and started worshipping Hindu Gods and Goddesses under the influence of Brahmin priest. Sachchidanand (1964) has studied the culture change among the Munda and Oraon.

L.P. Vidyarthi (1968) identifies two sets of processes of tribal transition viz., traditional and modern. According to Vidyarthi, the traditional process is characterized by the impact of dominant regional society's tradition on the tribal groups such as the concept of hinduisation, sanskritisation, tribe-caste continuum, revitalisation, tribe-Rajput continuum, Bhagat movement etc. The modern process includes factors like Christianisation, urbanization, industrialisation, Community Development Programmes, the tribal development activities, modern education, communication and administration etc., comes under the second group. These factors cause different pattern of changes.

Roy Burman (1947) has examined the dimensions of transformation of tribal societies in India and observed that the sankritisation process was dominant till 1940, but it lost momentum afterwards. There occurred a reversal to the process and tribal

communities tried to retain and revive their tribal identity. He also added that the strength of tribalism is being felt among both non-Christian and Christian tribals. He also refers to several process of change viz., bi-sociation, transociation, polysociation, meta-sociation, paleo-sociation, neo-sociation and de-sociation.

The impact of tribal numerical dominance on other section of the population is studied by S.L. Kalia (1959) and B.R. Chauhan (1966). Kalia's research among the tribes of Bastar and Jaunsar refers to the process of adoption of tribal traits by the non-tribals of the region. Chauhan uses the term tribalization to indicate the falling of contemporary tribal societies by withdrawing from the mainstream of Indian civilisation under pressures from dominant groups.

Varma (1971) has done a comparative study of tribal demography among the plain dwelling Santhals and nomadic Birhor. According to him anthropo-demographic researches would provide a better understanding of tribal culture, the ecological adjustment as well as the changes under the process of modernization.

N.K. Bose's (1978) study on the Juang of Orissa and other tribes gives an insight into the changes that have occurred in the communities due to diffusion and borrowing culture traits. He observes that foreign contact may modify certain culture through economic influence alone. During such contact, the culture of the conquerors enjoys superior status over the vanquished culture.

Mandelbaum (1989) noted, how different communities sharing common environment have changed due to the contact with alien cultures. He took example from Nilgiri plateau. Earlier the Nilgiri Hill area was inhabited by four communities viz., Todas, Kotas, Kurumbas and Badagas. Todas were pastoralists, Kotas were artisans, musicians and cultivators, Kurumbas were sorcerers and Badagas were agriculturists. Each speaks different Dravidian languages. Together they formed a social system that was similar to, and yet very different from, the caste societies of the surrounding plains.

The colonial period began when British officials discovered the plateau and settled there in 1820s. Followed by the British, Indians from the surrounding plains immigrated to this area in search of work and land. This influx affected the older inhabitants in different ways. The Kurumbas in their remote hutments were little touched by it. Todas and Kotas adjusted to it but maintained their traditional culture with relatively little change for many decades. The Badagas flourished. Their population grew rapidly and agricultural productivity increased. A good number of Badagas took advantage of the educational opportunities offered by the missionaries and the Govt., and adapted to the new regime (Mandelbaum. 1989:2-3)

The study of culture change in Kerala was systematically initiated by A. Aiyappan (1960). He report that the tribal communities of Attappady valley, Palakkad district viz., Mudugar, Irular and

Kurumbar lived in friendly terms and till recently they had minimal contact with the people of plains, as there were no motorable roads to their valley. During recent years roads were constructed and clearing of forest land for wet cultivation and for plantations etc., gained momentum, the tribesmen were exposed to the full blast of the forces of changes. All along the roads can now be seen the settlements of the plainsmen, small traders and agents of planters and labourers from the plains, who outnumber the tribesmen.

Tribes Under Study

Small notes on Aranadan tribe were presented by Thurston (1909), Luiz (1962), L.A.K. Iyer (1969), Stephen Fuchs (1968), Viswanathan (1990), and Usha (1992). Luiz (1962) mentioned the low fecundity among the Aranadan. Viswanathan (1990) warn about the precarious condition of this diminutive community as a culturally viable group.

The term Pathinaicken has appeared in the writings of Mathur (1977), Viswanathan (1985) and Ananda Bhanu (1989). Mathur and Viswanathan were of the opinion that Pathinaicken and Cholanaicken are the sub-sections of the major tribe Kattunaicken (Mathur, 1977:143; Viswanathan, 1985:34). Ananda Bhanu (1989:32) holds that the Pathinaicken have similarities to the Kattunaicken in appearance. Being included under Kattunaicken, the term Pathinaicken has not yet appeared separately in Census reports.

Viswanathan (1990) identifies the Kattupaniyan as a sub-section of the major tribe Paniyan (1990:1). In his earlier article (1977) he has mentioned about the extraneous factors on the sudden decline of the health condition of the Paniyan population of Kodencherry, Kozhikode district, resulting in few deaths. He found that the anaemic condition was the result of food scarcity caused by the loss of labour opportunities because of settler antipathy towards tribal labour. He also argue that possible presence of sickle cell anaemia had aggravated the food scarcity and resulted in deaths. He had explained that among the Kattupaniyan, those who maintained the food gathering-hunting pursuits could survive, whereas the Paniyan who have lost such ties with nature and depend on the income derived from labour opportunities, suffered mostly.

The review focused mainly on small tribal population. It throws light on diminutive tribal cultures and their demographic transition. The extraneous factors deleterious to the cultural survival of small tribal groups are highlighted. The present study covers three distinct tribal communities inhabiting in the same geographical region but different in ecosystem. The verification of the observations of the above studies gives necessary background materials for approaching the problem with an anthropological insight. The review also permits analysis of tribal cultural speciation in an ecosystem. Therefore, the present study is an attempt to analyse the cultural variations and survival issues of diminutive tribal communities living in a geographical region and which makes the present study unique and significant in approach.

THESIS ON
THREE TRIBES OF NILAMBUR VALLEY :
**A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Economy,
Society and Culture**

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in
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CHAPTER-III

NILAMBUR VALLEY

The Nilambur Valley is coterminous with the Nilambur taluk, which has been formed in 1996. The tropical nature of the flora and fauna in the habitat, chronology of ecological disturbances, the composition of the rural masses in the immediate neighbouring areas of the selected tribes and the activities of the Forest and Tribal Development Departments are given in this chapter. An attempt is also made to present the eco-cultural setting of the Nilambur Valley to provide an understanding of the emergence of cultural identity of the tribal communities under study, individually and collectively.

Nilambur Valley- Location

Nilambur Valley is situated in Malappuram district of Kerala State. It is bounded on the north by the Sultan Bathery taluk of Wayanad district, on the south and west by Ernad taluk of Malappuram district and on the east by the Nilgiri district of Tamil Nadu. The Nilambur forests, which covers an area of 760.29sq.km, is administratively divided into Nilambur south forest division and Nilambur north forest division. The Nilambur south forest division has

an area of 366.17sq.km and has two forest ranges viz., Kalikavu (100.57sq.km) and Karulai ranges (265.608sq.km). The Nilambur north forest division (394.120sq.km) constitutes three ranges viz., Nilambur (140.877sq.km), Edavanna (97.958sq.km) and Vazhikkadavu ranges (155.285 sq.km). It was estimated in 1986 that out of the total 272453.60 acres in the Nilambur Valley, 166946.71 (27.25%) acres of land is considered as forest land (Kerala Forests and Forestry Handbook :1995). These forests are situated on the western slopes of the Western Ghats.

The eastern, northern and southern parts of the Nilambur forests are covered largely by semi-deciduous and wet evergreen forests. These forests are called New Amarambalam Reserve Forests, which is declared, as part of the Nilgiri Biosphere. The upper reaches of the Valley are covered by the wet evergreen forests and the lower slopes by semi-deciduous forests. The mountain ranges of the Western Ghat form the southern, northern and eastern boundaries of Nilambur and is covered by forests. These ranges form a gallery on three sides of the plains of the Valley. The forests of the lower slopes and the plains have been cleared for raising monoculture teak plantations managed by the Forest Department. In between the thickly populated rural villages and the evergreen forests, lie large tract of the teak plantations.

Topography and Climate

The Valley has an elevation ranging between 40m and 250m above MSL. Based on physical features, the Valley can be classified

into two distinct geographical units. The eastern high lands, which are mountainous regions, lay above 200m MSL; and the low lands with plain topography, situated at an altitude of 40m to 200m MSL.

The Valley has almost the same climatic conditions prevalent elsewhere in midland region of Kerala, viz., dry season from December to February, hot season from March to May, the south-west monsoon from June to September and north-east monsoon from October to November. The south-west monsoon is usually very heavy and brings the maximum rainfall. Nearly, 75 per cent of the annual rain is received during this season. The average annual rainfall is 2900 mm. The climate is generally hot and humid. The Valley is characterised by heavy rainfall, humid climate and moderate temperature. The temperature varies between 17°C and 37°C from winter to summer. The summer is not felt in the recess of forests.

Flora and Fauna

The Nilambur valley is rich with varied flora and fauna. The flora of this region is characteristically tropical due to heavy rainfall, moderate temperature and mountainous tracts. The Nilambur valley is well known for teak plantations. Nilambur forest timber has attracted Arabs and Europeans ever since the dawn of civilization. Trees of high commercial value like rosewood, choropin, mahogany and several species of cane, rattan, reed, creepers, lianas, ferns, orchids etc., are abundantly found in the forests of the Valley. Different varieties of bamboo species can be seen extensively in all parts of the forests. The

tribal communities under study subsist mainly on non-wood forest produces (n.w.f.p), that are available in the Nilambur forests. It is observed that during the last thirty years, large tracts of forest land were converted into teak and rubber plantations and this resulted in the upsetting of the ecological equilibrium. The plain land is covered with cash crops like rubber, paddy, arecanut, coconut, banana, pepper plantations etc. Rubber has become the major plantation crop of the area. Jack-fruit tree, arecanut and coconut trees are the major usufructs in the homestead plots of the people of the area.

The forests contain many species of snakes and birds. The area is an attractive place for bird watchers. Elephant, bison, bear, wild boar, deer, rabbit, porcupine, wild dog, panther etc., are commonly found. Primate species, viz., Nilgiri langur, *Macaca silensis*, Bonnet macaca, Slender loris etc. are also seen. Tribes living inside the forests catch these primates. Wild elephant herds roam the forests in all seasons. The Karulai range of the Nilambur forests is well known for the catching and the taming of elephants.

When compared to the forests of the Ghat sections, more edible roots, tubers, mushrooms, medicinal plants etc., are found in the semi deciduous forests. A number of roots and tubers is consumed by the tribal communities. It is widely held by anthropologists that this bountiful nature of the Nilambur forests ensures abundant food supply throughout the year to the tribes and thus the tribal communities remain fixated to the food gathering hunting stage.

Rivers

The rivulets originating from this Valley are numerous. These are tributaries of the river Chaliyar. This perennial river originates from the Illambaleri hills in Gudallur taluk of Nilgiri district in Tamil Nadu. Important tributaries of this river are Chalipuzha, Punnapuzha, Pandiyar, Karimpuzha, Vadapurampuzha, Iringipuzha and Iruthilpuzha. The river Chaliyar flows through Nilambur, Mambad, Edavanna, Areacode, Vazhakkad in Malappuram district and Feroke in Kozhikode district before it joins the Arabian sea, near Beypore. The Karimpuzha originates from Nilgiris at an altitude of 4200ft. It joins Chaliyar along with small rivulets viz., Panapuzha, Talipuzha and Cherupuzha at Nilambur.

The rivulets viz., Karimpuzha, Manjakallanpuzha, Cherupuzha, Talipuzha, Korapuzha and Punnapuzha have a significant role in the cultural uniqueness of the tribal communities of the Nilambur Valley. These rivulets originate ^ofrom the upper reaches of the ghat section and flows through the forests of the lower valley. These rivulets have much importance in the life of the tribal communities. While they roam in the forests for n.w.f.p collection and food gathering pursuits, they camp in the rock shelters found on the banks of these rivulets. The trekking trails in the forests are also located along the banks of these rivulets.

Nilambur in History

During the pre-British period, the Nilambur Valley was the domain of the Nilambur Kovilakom, a minor principality. History tells

that the Nilambur Kovilakom was established in 13th century, by *Thacharakavil Eradis*, who hailed from the Nediyrrippu area of Malappuram district (*Vikasana Rekha*, Nilambur Grama Panchayat: 1996). They were known after different honorific titles such as *Raja*, *Thirumulpadu*, *Thamban* etc. It is held that one of the *Thambans* viz., *Shakthan Thamban*, captured the forests from the tribal people and another *Thamban* viz., *Bhakthan Thamban* had brought the tribal deity viz., the *Vettakorumakan* from Nambolakotta to the Kovilakom temple. A festival, *Nilambur pattu*, which is held in January-February, is conducted by Nilambur Kovilakom at *Vettakorumakan* temple. The festival is related to ancient war and hunting. It attracts large number of devotees including tribal people such as Pathinaicken, Aranadan, Paniyan and Kuruman.

The Kovilakom brought people consisting of different communities from the neighbouring areas for the development of agriculture, trade etc. Earlier, the area under the Kovilakom had dense forests. But constant exploitation of forest timber resulted in deforestation. The forest resources, fertile soil suitable for cash crop plantations, coconut, arecanut gardens, bamboo etc., attracted large scale migration to the area, especially during the 1940s. The denuded area was later transacted to the migrant groups by the Kovilakom and their vassals for cultivation and plantation activities.

The British started the first ever teak plantation in the world at Nilambur in 1882. Earlier timber transport was through the course of the river Chaliyar. Kallai near Beypore in Kozhikode district was

considered as the largest timber yard in the world till 1960s largely due to Nilambur timber. Nilambur was connected to Shoranur by a meter gauge rail-road in 1927 by the British transport timber. Roads leading upto upper ghat forests were built by the British. During the British rule the Calicut-Ooty road, which cut across Nilambur Valley had much importance.

The Nilambur Kovilakom also played an important role in the socio-cultural development of the area. Earlier, educational facilities were not provided to the lower castes. In 1903, a primary school was started under the Kovilakom Management. This school is the present Govt. U.P. School, Nilambur. In 1940, the then Raja, Manavedan Senior, started Govt. Manavedan School. These schools are open to students of all communities. Important educational institutions in the area are Nilambur Mappilla Lower Primary School (1914), Veetikuth G.L.P School, Marthoma College etc. In 1936, a clinic was started in Nilambur for controlling malaria. Today this clinic has been transformed to Nilambur Taluk Govt. Hospital.

The Nilambur Valley also attracts scholars of different discipline. This area possesses the remnants of pre-historic life like umbrella stones, dolmens, rock-cut caves, sub-terranean passages, stone circles, *vattazuthu* inscriptions etc. Gold panning in river beds are a common seen in the Nilambur Valley. The abundantly rich flora and fauna attract scientists.

People

A profile of the immediate neighbourhood population of the Tribes under study is presented in this section. Nilambur Valley is thickly populated by a multi-religious, multi-ethnic population. Only the forest areas are devoid of teeming masses. The habitat of the Tribal communities under study, in the context of developmental administration, comes under Nilambur Block, which came into force in 1982. This Block area experienced heavy population growth since 1950. According to 1991 Census, the Nilambur Block had a total population of 227999 people, consisting of 136204 males and 141795 females. The density of population is 257 per Sq.Km. This block has recorded a population growth of 28.67% during 1981-91 (*Padhatbi Rekha*, Nilambur Block Panchayat :1996).

A major part of Nilambur Valley has already been occupied by non-tribal habitations. The area comprises of people belonging to Hindu, Muslim and Christian communities. Majority of them belong to the Muslim community, generally known as Mappilla. They are considered to be one of the earliest Muslim sections of India, who have embraced Islam from local population since the advent of Arab traders from the period of prophet Mohammed onwards in the Malabar coast. The Mappilla community enjoys a predominant position in the area as businessmen, plantation owners, forest coupe contractors etc. Majority of them are farmers and petty traders. The local political leadership is dominated by the Mappillas.

The Hindus come next in the order of majority. As mentioned earlier, during pre-British period, the Nilambur area was under the rule of Nilambur Kovilakom, a minor principality. Nair (traditional land owning caste, but lost its dominance); Thiyya (caste which enjoyed control over lower castes in the past - traditionally toddy tapers and cultivators); Asari, Kammala and Kollan (artisan castes); Kumbaran (pottery caste); Veluthedan and Mannan (washerman communities); Vilakkithala Nair and Kavuthiyyan (barber castes) etc., were found in the area. Among the settler population also these castes occupy a substantial component.

The Christians constitute a major section of the population in the Nilambur block. They are comparatively recent migrants to the area. In 1948, 280 acres of land in Pullencheri, Nilambur, owned by Nilambur Kovilakam was given to one Plavungal Acchan, who hailed from Travancore area, for the construction of Bathel colony. It is reported that this colony acted as the base camp for the Christian settlers in Nilambur region. In 1950s the areas like Palangara, Thalvalamunda, Vattapadam, Karulai, Akampadam etc., experienced large scale migration of people belonging to different Christian denominations, which include Syrian and Latin Catholics, Marthomite, Jacobite, C.S.I., Pentecostals etc. Most of them own sizeable land and do dry land cultivation such as rubber, pepper, tapioca, coconut, arecanut etc.

According to 1991 Census, the Nilambur Block has a Scheduled Castes population of 22258 with sex ratio 1062 females per 1000 males.

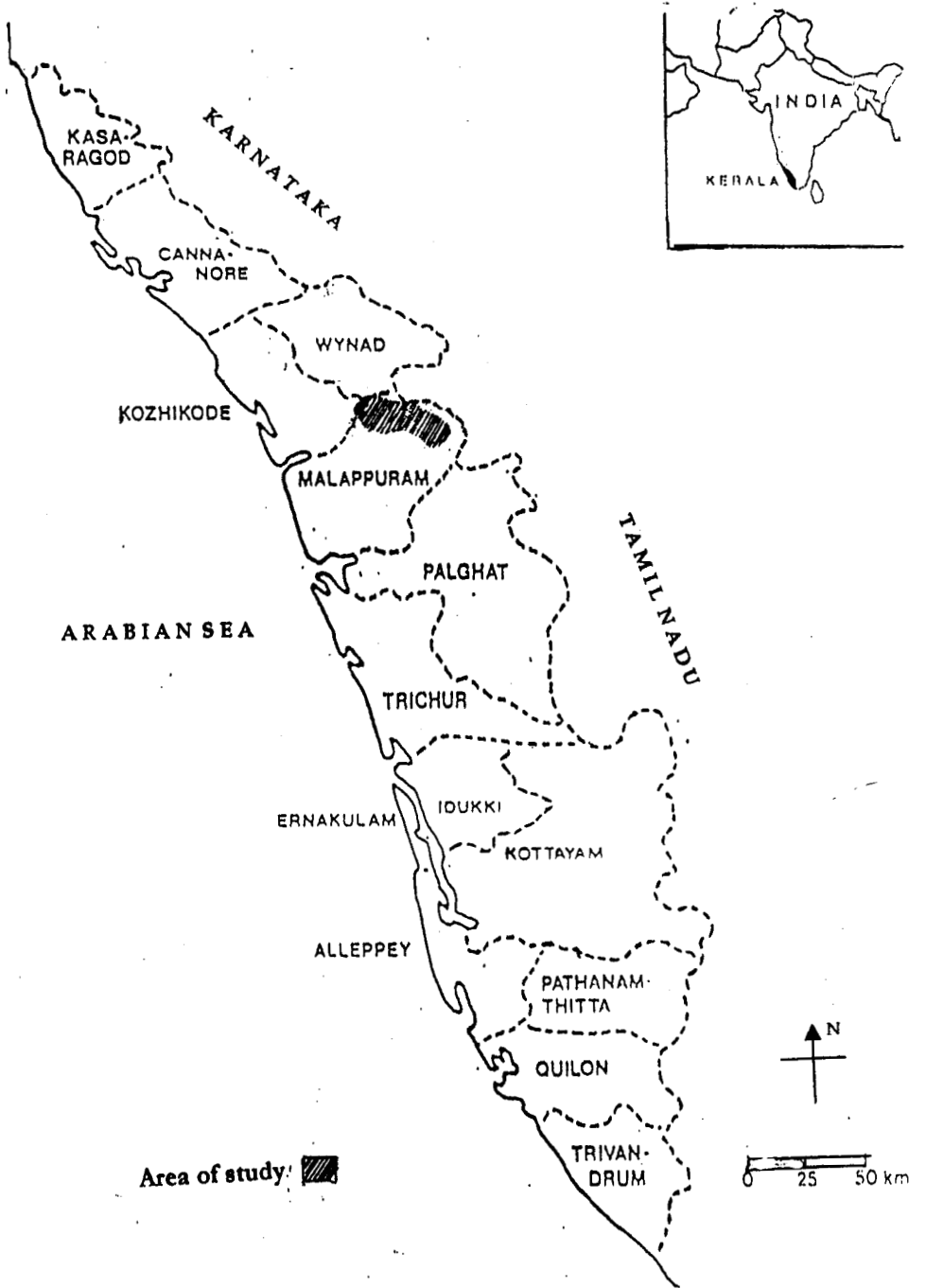
The main Scheduled Castes communities are, Pulayan or Cheramar, Paraiyan, Cheruman, Panan, Kalladi, Paravan, Mannan, Perumannan, Velan etc. The Scheduled Castes population form only 7.98 per cent of the total block population.

The Scheduled Tribe population of Nilambur Block is 7904 and sex ratio comes to 1032 females per 1000 males (1991 Census). The tribal population forms only 3 per cent of the total Nilambur Block population. A number of small tribal communities inhabit the Nilambur taluk and its forests. It is held by anthropologists that the Nilambur forest nurtures, the most primitive food-gatherer hunter tribe of Indian mainland viz., the Cholanaicken. The Valley is also inhabited by the tribal communities viz., Pathinaicken, Kattunaicken, Paniyan, Kattupaniyan, Aranadan, Kuruman, Allar, Malamuthan and Malai Panicker.

Habitat of the Three Tribes

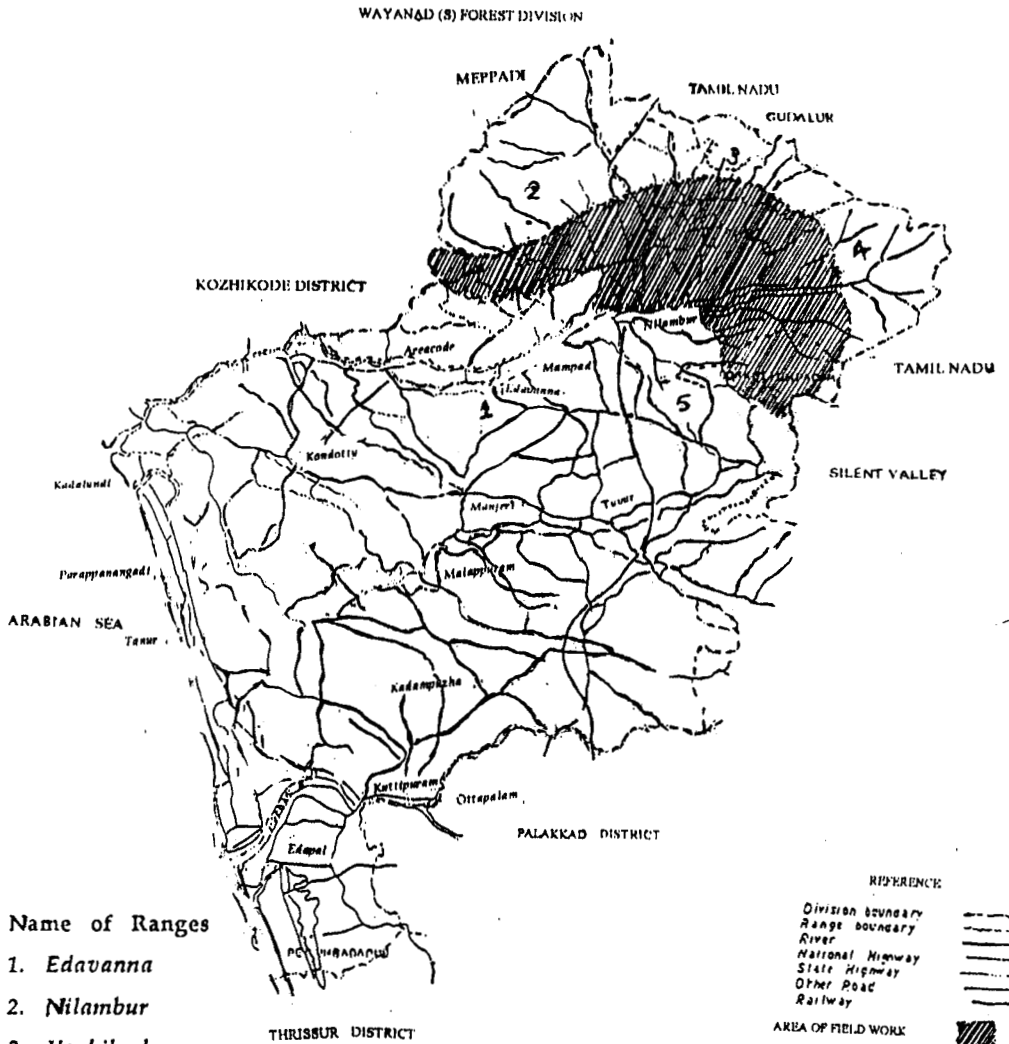
Of the three tribal communities under study, the Pathinaicken and the Aranadan settlements are located in the catchment areas of the river Karimpuzha, a major tributary of the river Chaliyar. The Kattupaniyan settlements are found on the banks of the Kuravanpuzha and Chalipuzha, which are minor tributaries of the river Chaliyar. The Aranadan and Pathinaicken are distributed in Kalikavu and Karulai ranges of the Nilambur south forest division and Vazhikadvau range of the Nilambur north forest division. But the Kattupaniyan inhabits the Edavanna range of Nilambur north forest division and Thamarassery range of Kozhikode district (Map 3-2).

3.1 Map of Kerala State showing the location of Malappuram district and the Area of study.



**3-2 MAP OF
MALAPPURAM DISTRICT SHOWING THE AREA OF FIELD WORK**

Scale 1: 600000



The Aranadan are seen in rural areas, which borders forests. These areas have an undulating topography. Compared to the Aranadan, the Pathinaicken population inhabits the area covered by semi-deciduous forests and teak plantations. The Cholanaicken lives in evergreen forests, 200m above MSL. The Kattupaniyan hamlets are located at an altitude, which varies between 400 to 800m above MSL in Edavanna range and 100 to 400m above MSL in Thamarassery range. Thus, these three groups live in different geographical settings.

Interaction with Non-Tribes

The non-tribal populations surge is also felt on the boundaries of Nilambur forests. The non-tribal population influences the tribal communities mainly in two ways. In different seasons the non-tribes enter into the forests for variety of purposes. Forestry operations like plantation works, bamboo cutting, rattan cutting, road construction or repair works etc., are some of these. These works are confined to the semi-deciduous forests of lower Valley, where the Aranadan and the Pathinaicken also roam. The Aranadan and Pathinaicken also constitute the work force of forest labour along with the non-tribes.

Another type of contact with non-tribes takes place when the tribal communities visit the neighbourhood market centres once in a week or so. The Aranadan and Pathinaicken visit growth centres viz., Karulai, Chungathara, Edakkara, Vazhikkadavu, Chokkad etc., which are 4 to 20 km away from their habitat. Similarly the Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli visit growth centre at Akampadam and the

Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara pay visits to the nearby market centres at Chembukadavu, Nellipoyil, Kodencherry etc. They buy dress materials, rice, provisions, iron implements, hook and line etc., when they visit growth centres. They are very particular in visiting the local cinema talkies.

The habitats of the Aranadan and the Pathinaicken are accessible by jeep. Recently, road communication has improved greatly in the area. The Aranadan live interspersed with non-tribes. They are employed by non-tribals as wage labourers, coconut pluckers etc. Their interactions with the non-tribals are much more than the other two tribes under study. Irrespective of their life in forest fringes, these tribal communities lead forest related subsistence economy. The tribal communities are exposed to the functions of the Forest Department. Most of the tribal families are engaged in n.w.f.p collection and are also in contact with Nilambur Pattikavarga Vikasana Society officials. Anganwadi teachers, literacy workers, researchers etc., also visit the area.

Among the tribes under study, the Aranadan alone live in the fringes of forests, interspersed with non-tribals. They are considered as a community equivalent to Cheruman, Kalladi etc., who form the agricultural field hands. The Aranadan's interactions are more with the above two communities rather than with others. The immediate neighbourhood of the Aranadan is constituted by Muslim, Christian and Hindu population, whereas that of the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara, it is Christian settlers. In the early

literature, the Aranadan are referred to as an untouchable community. The Kattupaniyan and the Pathinaicken have only limited exposure to rural social life in the past.

Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP), Nilambur

The tribal communities of the Nilambur area started receiving serious attention from Tribal Development Department since the identification of Cholanaicken and Kattunaicken as Primitive Tribal Groups (PTGs) in 1976. In the same year, a Co-operative Society viz., Kalkulam Girijan Service Co-operative Society (currently known as Nilambur Pattikavarga Vikasana Society) was formed for the transaction of n.w.f.p collected by the Cholanaicken and the Kattunaicken of the area. An Integrated Tribal Development Project (ITDP) area has been carved out in 1983 with Nilambur as its head quarters. The project area constitutes 1429.23 sq.km and this is 40.26 per cent of the total area of Malappuram district. 85.70 per cent of the Scheduled Tribe population comes under this ITDP area. It covers both Wandoor and Nilambur Blocks (*Padhatthi Rekha*, Nilambur Block Panchayat:1996).

ITDP has implemented various schemes such as housing, drinking water, digging trenches around forest hamlets for protection from wildlife etc. It provides grants to students, financial support for attending interviews, agricultural implements, training for females in tailoring and males in autorickshaw driving etc. Under the ITDP, *Balavignankendra* (Children's education center) are functioning at

Myladipotti, Punchakolli etc, Multilevel Learning Centre of DPEP (District Primary Education Programme) are running in Mundakadavu, Vettilakolli etc. In Nilambur ITDP area there are eleven pre-matric tribal hostels, out of which eight hostels are for boys and three for girls. An *Asbaram* school (Indira Gandhi Memorial Model Residential School), meant exclusively for the Kattunaicken, (inclusive of Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken), has been functioning at Manjeri, Malappuram district, since 1993. Periodical medical camps have been organized for them. Several conscientisation camps for the Aranadan and the Pathinaicken were organized by KIRTADS (Kerala Institute for Research, Training and Development Studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes) since 1991. ITDP conducts regular medical camps among the tribal communities of the area.

The Forest Department

The forests of the Nilambur Valley are considered to be a well-managed territory of the Forest Department. Check posts are seen at various entrance points of Nilambur forests. During British period, the forest officials undertook routine trekking through the Pathinaicken habitats. They invariably have had contact with the forest officials since then. It is observed that after felling the forests, the area is given for cultivating various dry land crops. These cultivations are undertaken by the non-tribals.

The Forest Department had its own working plan for the exploitation of the forests of the area. During pre-independence days, the tribal development activities in these forests were undertaken by the

Forest Department. During 1970-85, thousands of acres of semi-deciduous forests have been converted into teak and rubber plantations. Teak plantation activities have become intense in the last forty years. The planting of teak trees also requires the bringing in of non-tribal labourers in good number. In teak plantations, every four years there is thinning and logging activities, for which the non-tribals are deployed. Tribal communities, particularly the Pathinaicken are a part of these work groups in which overwhelming majority are non-tribals. It is noted that Aranadan and Pathinaicken participate together in timber and bamboo loading activities in trucks. Pathinaicken have earned the name as expert mahouts. A few Pathinaicken are also employed as mahouts, at the Nedumgayam elephant camp, Karulai range, Nilambur south forest division. It is one of the earliest elephant camps in the country. Once the seasonal forestry operations are over, the non-tribal labourers move out from the forests. But they depend on these forest dwelling tribes for honey, dammer, medicinal herbs etc. All these show that these tribal communities of Nilambur forests were having contact with non-tribals since historical period.

Conclusion

The tribal communities under study viz., Aranadan, Pathinaicken and Kattupaniyan can be considered as the autochthones of the area. The forest ecosystem of the valley has a decisive role in the cultural identity of these communities. During the last forty years or so the Nilambur Valley had undergone tremendous changes due to settler influx. Large tracts of the forests of the Valley had been converted into

teak and rubber plantations. Contact with non-tribal population had created terrible impact on these small tribal communities. The cultural turmoil of these diminutive communities in the context of the above extraneous factors in the eco-cultural context of the Nilambur Valley provides unique opportunity for anthropological analysis.

THESIS ON
THREE TRIBES OF NILAMBUR VALLEY :
**A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Economy,
Society and Culture**

Submitted to the
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in
ANTHROPOLOGY

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CHAPTER -IV

ARANADAN

The Aranadan (Aranadan: both singular and plural) is the smallest Scheduled Tribe community of Nilambur Valley. They numbered 254 persons in 1995 (survey by the researcher) consisting of 128 males and 126 females. Aranadan has been wrongly spelt as *Arandan* in the list of Scheduled Tribes and in Census records. They are inhabitants of Ernad taluk (currently Nilambur taluk) and hence they are also known as *Ernadan* (Thurston:1909, Luiz:1962, L.A.K. Iyer:1968, Stephen Fuchs:1973, Viswanathan:1990, Usha:1992). The Aranadan subsist on food gathering, hunting, n.w.f.p collection, forest labour and wage labour. Their language is a mixture of Malayalam, Tamil and Kannada (Luiz:1962, Usha:1992).

Earlier writers had noticed, the Aranadan's distinctive physical features. They are short in stature. The maximum height recorded was 156.6cm and minimum 150.6. The average height was 154.4cm (Thurston, 1909, Vol-II : 218). Their skin colour varies from pale to dark brown. They have minimum body and facial hair. Their hair is curly or wavy and is short by nature. Prominent eyebrows and platyrrhine noses are common features (Luiz 1962:39).

The literature available on the origin and history of the Aranadan are few. Luiz (1962:39) assumes that Aranadan are an early-uncivilized Dravidian group with negrito traits, who came to Kerala several centuries ago from the northern states. None among the Aranadan could give convincing information about their origin. Census reports and other writings (K.S Singh. 1996:150) indicate the presence of the Aranadan population in Tamil Nadu too. According to 1981 Census the Aranadan population in Tamil Nadu was 141. Jakka Parthasarathy (1998) notes that in the Census records of Chingelpet district of Tamil Nadu, a community viz., Aranadan is recorded. He had tried to study the Aranadan of Tamil Nadu and could not locate any Aranadan families in Gudallur taluk of Tamil Nadu, which is the contiguous area of Nilambur Valley. He adds that the so called Aranadan in Tamil Nadu do not have any socio-cultural relationship with the Aranadan population found in Nilambur Valley, Kerala. The members of Aranadan population living in Nilambur Valley showed ignorance about the existence of their community members elsewhere.

Habitat

Geographical Distribution

Geographically, the Aranadan are distributed in Karulai and Kalikavu ranges of Nilambur south forest division and Vazhikkadavu range of the Nilambur north forest division of Nilambur taluk in Malappuram district. The Aranadan families are not particular in living permanently in one place. Most of the Aranadan families are provided

land and houses by the Government by establishing colonies. Few other families are seen camping in temporary sites.

Table-4-1
Distribution of the Aranadan Population

MALAPPURAM DISTRICT	KALIKAVU RANGE	Panchayat	Location	Colony/ Hamlet	No. of Houses	M	F	T
		Kalikavu	Chokkad	Colony	12	26	24	50
	-do-	Adakkakundu	Hamlet	3	4	5	9	
	KARULAI RANGE	Karulai	Cherupuzha -Vallikettu	Colony	6	8	10	18
		-do-	Kottupara	Colony	8	19	19	38
		-do-	Mylampara	Hamlet	3	10	4	14
		Amarambalam	Puncha	Hamlet	3	6	1	7
		-do-	Pottikkallu	Hamlet	3	9	11	20
		Moothedam	Palankara	Hamlet	2	5	5	10
		-do-	Panampatta	Hamlet	1	1	1	2
-do-		Kalkulam	Colony	6	11	17	28	
VAZHICKADAVU RANGE	Edakkara	Aranadanpadam	Hamlet	1	5	4	9	
	-do-	Palemadu	Hamlet	2	4	4	8	
	-do-	Chembankolli	Hamlet	2	6	10	16	
	Vazhikadavu	Palad	Colony	5	2	4	6	
	-do-	Poovathipoyil	Hamlet	1	0	3	3	
	-do-	Vellakatta	Hamlet	2	4	5	9	
	Pothukallu	Kodalipoyil	Hamlet	3	3	6	9	
Grand Total					63	128	126	254

Five Aranadan colonies and twelve hamlets were noticed at the time of survey. All these colonies and hamlets are located on the marginal areas of rural habitations. The distance from these colonies/hamlets to the forests varies from 1 km to 5km. The number of houses in a colony/hamlet varies from 1 to 12. The twelve hamlets are accessible only by walk. Table.4-1 gives the Forest ranges and the Panchayat-wise distribution of Aranadan population. The Aranadan families are listed along with colonies/hamlets they are located.

Out of the 63 households, 37 households are listed from the five colonies. These five colonies are the Cherupuzha-Vallikettu and Kottupara colonies in Karulai Panchayat, Kalkulam colony in Moothedam Panchayat, Chokkad colony in Kalikavu Panchayat; and Palad colony in Vazhikkadavu Panchayat. The twelve hamlets at the time of the survey are Puncha and Pottikallu in Amarambalam Panchayat; Palangara and Panampatta in Moothedam Panchayat; Aranadanpadam, Palemadu and Chembenkolli in Edakkara Panchayat; Mylampara in Karulai Panchayat; Poovathipoyil and Vellakkatta in Vazhikadavu Panchayat; Adakkakundu in Kalikavu Panchayat and Kodalipoyil in Pothukallu Panchayat., It is reported that Puthuvai in Moothedam Panchayat, Thamburattikallu and Chembra of Edakkara Panchayat etc., were traditional habitations of Aranadan. Now no Aranadan are found living in these locations. The neighbourhood non-Aranadan expressed ignorance on the whereabouts of the Aranadan families, which lived there.

In the area the Aranadan are a minuscule section. They do not have any control over the land resources of the area. The Government colonies were established in 1970s and 1980s. Land has been assigned collectively for house construction and cultivation. The housing schemes could curtail the nomadic tendency of the Aranadan only to a little extent. During the peak n.w.f.p collection season, most of the Aranadan families, along with children, leave their colonies and move to forests for collection pursuits. During this period, they either avail rock shelters or put up temporary leaf shelters. Their absence in the hamlets often leads to the encroachment of land by non-tribals. For instance, in the Cherupuzha-Vallikettu colony, more than one acre of land has been lost within a decade. Now seven Aranadan families live in less than thirty cents of land and a few non-tribal families live in the encroached land. The same is the fate of the Kottupara colony, Palad colony and Adakkakundu hamlet. Land, as a resource for living, is yet to emerge among them.

In the Chokkad colony, twelve houses have been constructed for the Aranadan. It is a multi-ethnic colony. More than thirty families belonging to Paniyan, Malamuthan and Kattunaicken communities are also rehabilitated here. Here the Aranadan families live in the houses constructed in a secluded rear portion of the settlement. These Aranadan families are totally ignorant about their ownership rights over the colony land, which have become productive as rubber plantation and coconut garden. Their participation in the socio-economic activities is limited. Other tribal families work as wage labourers in the plantation activities of the colony. The Aranadan are not interested in availing labour opportunities available in the colony

land, but continue their traditional economic pursuits. It is observed that they gather roots, tubers, n.w.f.p, firewood etc., from the forests and for them the houses provided in the colonies are only one of their camp-sites.

At Aranadanpadam, there are two families residing in a single household. Earlier the area was a major habitat of the Aranadan. The very name 'Aranadanpadam' denotes '*field of Aranadan*' (*padam* = field) and the place was once inhabited only by the Aranadan tribe. It is reported that Palad area too was once a major hamlet of the Aranadan. Some of the Aranadan recollect that many lives have been lost owing to an epidemic of small pox in 1950s.

As told in Chapter-III, the neighbourhood population of the Aranadan colonies is constituted by Muslims, Christians and Hindus. The Hindus include various castes such as Nair, Ezhava, Cheruman, Kalladi, Kanakkan etc. Tribes viz., Paniyan, Kuruman, Kattunaicken and Pathinaicken also live close to them.

Dwelling Units

The traditional dwelling unit of the Aranadan is called *pandal* or *pira*. The *pira* is only a temporary shed like structure erected on six bamboo poles. Two comparatively long bamboo poles are erected at the centre, with the rest four at four sides, in a rectangular shape. It has neither sidewalls nor any beaten daubed floor. Wild twigs and jungle poles form the framework of roof. Roof is thatched with reed leaves or teak leaves. Height of the *pira* is less than five feet in the

middle and one has to stoop to enter it. Husband, wife and young children huddle together in the limited floor space. They sleep on gunny bags or *thazhuthal* (flattened bamboo). One can witness dogs also sleep close to the hearth along with the inmates. They are particular in lighting the hearth before settling down for night. Children and aged ones always have a cover of ash as they sleep close to the hearth. The ash of the hearth is considered good for resisting cold. Living in temporary sheds and leading a semi-nomadic life, the Aranadan do not give much importance to their dwelling structures. When they move to the recesses of forests for collection pursuits, they erect *pandal* within a short period of time, if not, avail rock shelter nearby. The dwelling unit of the Aranadan has been described by A.A.D Luiz:

“Their huts are very low-open on all sides thatched with grass or straw and the floor is on a level with the ground. The structure and dimension of the huts is extremely disappointing considering the number to be accommodated. They do not keep the interior and surroundings of their huts clean. Thazhuthal - flattened bamboo is used for sleeping and their domestic equipment consists of limited number of cheap earthen pots. During all seasons of the year, they sleep round a lighted fire which provides protection against cold and wild life” (1962:40).

This pathetic condition of Aranadan dwelling units was observed by Luiz prior to 1962, though four decades had passed; still one can come across traditional Aranadan dwelling units.

In certain colonies the Aranadan families are provided duplex houses. At times more than one family lives in a house. When more houses were constructed in same location, a conjugal family may move to a newly built house. However, the houses constructed for them may fall into disuse as the inmate's wander lust prevails. The houses were found unoccupied most of the time year round and the beneficiaries even if they camp at the colony site, are found sleeping beneath trees, lighting fire. The five houses constructed for Aranadan at Palad in 1995, were found occupied by non-Aranadan. The Aranadan families who actually own the houses, without any protest or complain sleep on the *varandha* of nearby shops.

The colony houses were constructed by petty contractors. The standard of construction of these houses is very poor and the inmates prefer to sleep outside the house, under trees. They are of the opinion that during summer it is difficult to live inside the colony houses because of sultry nature inside. Due to the neglect of tiling, the houses get dilapidated quickly leading to collapse. In the neighbourhood, non-tribals dwell in pucca houses with all modern amenities. The Aranadan are yet to adapt fully to the housing facilities and colony life made available by the Govt.

Pre-Agricultural Level of Technology

Material possession of the Aranadan are limited to few aluminum and clay pots for cooking, gunny bags for carrying and storing non-wood forest products (n.w.f.p) etc. Their hunting and

digging implements include *kottu*, a long bamboo stick hafted with an iron blade; *cherukodali*, a hand axe made of iron; and *choorakathi*, chopping knife. *Kottu* is used for digging roots and tubers. *Cherukodali*, a major implement for a variety of purposes. It is mainly used for the collection of n.w.f.p and for chopping firewood for sale. *Choorakathi* is another major implement. For the menfolk, this is the work tool for coconut plucking. In hut making also *choorakathi* and *cherukodali* are used. Men and women mainly use *choorakathi* and *cherukodali* while engaging in forestry operations.

Aranadan do not make baskets even for their own use. Their basketry skill might have lost over the course of time. A few Aranadan males and females know the craft of coconut leaf plaiting. They make basket like structures out of it to carry things. It is said that in the past, Aranadan used to carry forest produces in their loincloth. These days they use gunny bags supplied by the Tribal Co-op: Society for carrying non-wood forest products. The Aranadan collect honey in bamboo internodes or in plastic cans supplied by the Tribal Co-operative Society. Bamboo internodes are used for keeping essential condiments. Small baskets are used for storing food items, dress etc.

The Aranadan made fire using fire-saw technique in the past, which was the practice among the Nilambur tribes. Dry bamboo splints are used for making this device. They first select a dry bamboo piece and cut it into two splints. A cleft is made in one of the bamboo splints with *choorakathi*. The cleft portion is filled with fine dried palm pulp. The other bamboo splint is placed on the cleft part and drawn

against each other firmly. The continuous friction creates fire. This fire-making device is still used when they move inside the forests.

Earlier authors had noted that the Aranadan used bow and arrow. Thurston quoted what Mr. G. Hadfield had written to him. "The Ernadan use bow and arrow, principally for shooting monkeys..."(1909:217). Fuchs writes, "...Aranadan use bow and arrows principally for shooting monkeys"(1973: 261). L.A.K. Iyer notes; "... the Kurichan, the Mullukurubar and the Ernadan of Wynad are excellent bow men and are fond of hunting" (1961: 74). However, currently the Aranadan do not show any trait of making bows and arrows and skilful use of it. No food gatherer hunter communities in Nilambur Valley use bows and arrows for hunting. So it is doubtful, whether Aranadan ever used bows and arrows for hunting. Perhaps the earlier authors had mistaken the identity of Aranadan to that of a Wayanad tribe skilful in using bows and arrows.

The Aranadan so far have not taken up any form of agriculture for a livelihood. Observations made in several colonies did show that Aranadan show apathy towards agricultural operations. In the multi-ethnic colony like Chokkad, though land is provided to tribal families for individual cultivation, so far no Aranadan has taken up agriculture earnestly as done by Paniyan and Malamuthan tribes. At Kottupara colony rubber trees were planted in two acres of land. Here a non-Aranadan is engaged in tapping because none of the Aranadan males in the colony has shown interest in taking up the work.

Aranadan are yet to show occupational mobility related with technological advancement. For instance, an Aranadan boy, after high school education was selected for three months autorickshaw driving course by the ITDP, Nilambur. Soft loan for the purchase of an autorickshaw was also offered to him. But he couldn't sustain the enthusiasm and left the course half way.

Dress and Ornaments

Dress of Aranadan is simple and scanty. Earlier writers report that Aranadan put on strapped plantain leaves or *malmpunna* (*Dillenia bracteata*) leaves to cover nakedness. Now the Aranadan menfolk wear loincloth called *mundu*. They put on shirt, only when they go out. Womenfolk wear blouse and *mundu*, and tie a piece of red cloth around their waist. The Aranadan men seldom use body ornaments. Aranadan women wear bead chains. These are purchased during local fairs and festivals. Usually they wear a black thread around neck. Nose piercing is not common. Ear ornaments are of plastic or of copper. Tattooing is not practiced.

Ecosystem : Economy

Economic pursuits vary from family to family. Males are mainly engaged in n.w.f.p collection and forest labour. A few occasionally do timber loading, coconut plucking etc. The females do major part of gathering. They also collect fire-wood and medicinal plant matter for sale. Families without adult males to support subsist mainly by food gathering, collection of n.w.f.p and medicinal plants collection.

Food Gathering

For food gathering, the Aranadan roam the lower valley semi-deciduous forests. The lower valley forests are covered by monoculture teak plantation, riverine forest patches, bamboo and reed thickets. The teak plantations and riverine forest patches are rich in edible roots, tubers, medicinal herbs, mushrooms, n.w.f.ps like ginger, soap nut etc. For collection pursuits husband and wife proceed together to the forests in the morning and return to the camp-site or colony in the evening.

The commonly collected roots and tubers include *noora*, *nagavalli*, *kavala* (*Dioscorea tomentosa*), *panchiputta*, *korana* (*Dioscorea* sp.), *pathivenni*, *mooval* (*Dioscorea* sp.), *padakizhangu* (*Cyclea peltata*), *mookuchuve* etc. *Kottu* and *choorakathi* are used for the collection of roots and tubers. These tubers are sometimes eaten on the spot by fire-roasting.

Aranadan collect edible fruits, green leaves and palm piths for food. The edible fruits include *thalirumpazham*, *poovathipazham*, *chakka* (jackfruit), *kattumanga* (*Mangifer* sp.) etc. Green leaves of *payar* (beans), *keera* or *cheera* (*Amaranthus* sp.), *kumbala* (Cucumbaraceous species), *muringa* (drumstick), *choranga* (long gourd), *vellari* (cucumber), *kanchi thoova*, *andamola* (tender bamboo piths), *chembu* (*Colocasia* sp.) etc., are commonly consumed. Both women and children engage in the collection of green leaves.

The Aranadan identify a variety of edible mushrooms, which they call as *puchan* or *koonan*. Mushrooms are available mainly during

May-June and August - September and they form a major component of food during lean period. Commonly available mushrooms are: *marapuchan* (seen on the dead wood), *mulapuchan* (seen on bamboo), *thakarakumi* (seen on the cut pieces of teak wood), *pallanpuchan*, *nuchithadan* (grow on the ground), *pada puchan* (seen in the fields) and *mayilan koonan* (seen in river banks). The Aranadan's knowledge on roots, tubers, edible fruits, mushrooms etc., available in the forests shows that they roam the lower valley forests for collection pursuits.

Viswanathan (1985) reports that the tuber, *mothakka* is consumed by Cholanaicken, a tribe of the Valley. On enquiry, Aranadan stated that though available they would not collect it. Consumption of *mothakka* requires cautious cooking procedure of repeated boiling and sieving. It shows that the Aranadan are selective and their diet is slightly different from that of Cholanaicken who live in the upper valley forests. The habitat of Aranadan was abundant with roots and tubers, which doesn't require cautious cooking.

Hunting and Fishing

Their hunting is limited to small game; that too terrestrial animals. The Aranadan identify four types of crabs viz., *todu nandu* (crabs found in rivulets), *padathu nandu* (found in paddy fields), *puzha nandu* (found in river beds) and *para nandu* (found in rock holes). *Todu nandu* and *padathu nandu* are available only in the rainy season, whereas *puzha nandu* and *para nandu* are available in all seasons. Three types of tortoise are caught by the them viz., *vellama* (white tortoise), *karuthama*

(black tortoise) and *karayama* (seen on dry lands). *Cherukodali* (hand axe) is used for breaking the shell of tortoise.

The Aranadan's python eating habit had been reported by earlier writers. Both Aranadan men and women would not waste any opportunity to catch a python. They use *kottu* and *cherukodali* for killing the python. Identification of python in a bush, in wild grass or in swamps is only a matter of minutes. Python capture is undertaken by two to three adults. A python is located by following the crawling lines left by its movement. Once they identify the python's coiled mass, its tail is tickled with twig. While the python thrusts forward its head and begins to move, the head is beaten with heavy stick. After a python hunt, they bring it to the hamlet. The body is cut into several pieces using hand axe and the flesh is boiled in a large pot for extracting oil. The fat form a thick upper layer and this is collected. The flesh is shared among the hamlet people. By selling its skin and oil to the non-tribes, the Aranadan get cash. In addition to flesh, they consume both fat and eggs of the python. The Aranadan consider that the python flesh have curative power against rheumatism and dental complaints.

During summer, Aranadan catch fish like, *musu*, *koyatti*, *aral*, *manjalu*, *velumpatta* etc., using *choonda* (hook and line). These are done mostly by children. Fish are caught from streams and rivulets during summer months when the water flow is lean, by using bunding and bailing out techniques. Sometimes they use certain stupefying plant matter for fish catching. They sieve fish from small pools with their loin clothes. The Aranadan have no exclusive territorial rights over

the streams and rivulets for fishing. They experience competition not only from tribes like Paniyan and Pathinaicken but also from non-tribes.

Non-wood Forest Produces Collection

The Aranadan obtain rice, condiments, utensils, implements etc., by the collection and barter of n.w.f.ps. During summer, collection of n.w.f.p is the major activity. Their collection pursuits are confined to semi deciduous forests of the lower valley and fringes of the forests. They exchange n.w.f.p with the Tribal Co-operative Society of the area. The main n.w.f.ps collected by the Aranadan include: *thenu* (*Apies* sp), *thenmezhuku* (honey wax.), *cheenikka* (*Acacia concinna*), *marottikuru* (*Hydnocarpus pentandra*), *mullilakkay* (*Zanthoxylum rhetsa*), *nellikka* (*Phyllanthus emblica*), *kurumulaku* (*Piper nigrum*), *maramanjil* (*Coscinium fenestratum*), *katinji* (*Zingiber zerumbet*), *kanchirakkuru* (*Strychnos nux-vomica*), soap nut etc.

The Aranadan identify atleast five varieties of honey viz., *cheruthen* (found in hollow of trees), *perumthen* (found hanging over rocks an branches of very tall trees), *thoduthen*, *ponnamthen* and *kolthen* (hanging over branches of small trees). These forest produces are mainly available only in semi-deciduous forests. *Cheenikka* and soap nut are available in large quantities during March-April. Though the Pathinaicken also collect these items, there exists no competition for the collection of these items. But the Aranadan have only limited control over certain other n.w.f.ps of these forests. The highly sought n.w.f.p items such as dammer, cardamom, pepper etc., are confined

mainly to the upper ghat section, where the Cholanaicken tribe maintains customary rights over such resources. The Aranadan won't move to the recess of the upper ghat section for the collection pursuits. Other tribes of the area keep a distance in social and economic transaction with the Aranadan. The Aranadan face no competition from the tribes of the area in the collection of roots and tubers, medicinal plants and python hunting.

During rainy season they collect medicinal plants. The commonly collected medicinal plants include; *amalpori* (*Rauvolfia serpentina*), *incha* (*Acacia caesia*), *idampiri valampiri* (*Helicteres isora*), *maramanjil* (*Coscinuim fenestratum*), *koduveli* (*Plumbago indica*), *kurunthotti* (*Sida retusa*), *moovila* (*Psuedarthria viscida*), *sathavari* (*Asparagus racemosus*), *nannari* (*Hemidesmus indicus*), *pambuvalli* (*Sida rhombifolia*), *padakizhangu* (*Cyclea peltata*), *orila* (*Desmodium gangeticum*) and *thippali* (*Piper longum*).

It is observed that the Aranadan get only a meagre amount from the collection of medicinal plants. The Tribal Co-operative Society is not keen in the collection of medicinal plants. Mostly, the agents of private ayurveda pharmaceutical companies avail the medicinal matter collected. Among the tribes of Nilambur Valley, the Aranadan collect least priced items, roaming vast areas, spending more energy and time.

Other Economic Pursuits

A part of the Aranadan's subsistence is derived from firewood collection. They take firewood collected to growth centers where tea shops are in good number. A few Aranadan work as forest labourers. Works like loading and unloading of timber, boundary clearing, bamboo cutting, weed clearance in teak plantation etc., are other labour avenues. These works are seasonal and the Aranadan are employed only when there occur shortage of non-tribal labourers. Among the work force of the area, the Aranadan is considered as having poor work habits and hence they are least preferred.

During the rainy season, few men work as agricultural labourers in the fields of the neighbouring communities. For this, they are paid Rs50/- or above a day. They are also given mid-day meal and tea. They work along with members of Scheduled Caste communities such as Kalladi, Cheruman, Kanakkan etc. Recently, a few Aranadan youths are found attracted to coconut plucking. The coconut plucking is a part-time labour but are well paid by owners. Seven men are now engaged in coconut plucking. This is an emerging opportunity, which stem from traditional skill in tree climbing.

Scarcity of outside food articles is felt throughout the year. They do not show any interest in raising any kind of usufructs or cash crops in the meagre homestead land. For the purchase of provisions like rice, condiments, fresh and dry fish require money. Earning is derived from the sale of n.w.f.p collected or wage labour. Generally, they shy away labour opportunities of neighbourhood farm and

plantations. These are seasonal economic activities. Money earned is immediately spent mainly for purchasing food articles and liquor. The Aranadan are considered least creditworthy by the Tribal Co-operative Society as their work habits are irregular and earning potential unpredictable.

These days digging and gathering is done only when acute scarcity of food items are felt. The families without an adult male member, broken family situation etc., face scarcity of outside food articles viz., rice and oil. Such families may eke out sustenance totally by collection pursuits. Certain families couldn't obtain a balanced diet as they are compelled to consume same items of roots and tubers, which lack protein and other nutritional elements. These families are vulnerable to nutritional deficiency diseases. Lactating mothers and children are the major victims. During rainy season i.e., June to September, both wage labour and roots and tubers are scarce. So, during these periods under nourishment is a common occurrence.

During lean periods, the Aranadan borrow money from non-tribal neighbours to meet their day-to-day requirements. The nearby tea shops form a main source of borrowing. Though in turn the Aranadan pay either money or fire-wood, indebtedness remains a curse among them. The non-tribals who give money expressed the view that the Aranadan are reluctant to pay back the money and hence they extract it through some work or by fire-wood supply. Recently a couple of aged Aranadan men started begging also.

Food Habits

While talking about the food habits of the Aranadan, Thurston(1909:217) and Stephen Fuchs(1973: 216) noted that “the Aranadan are not at all particular about what they eat and devour snakes and the putrefied flesh of various animals.” It is true that in earlier times they had consumed dead animals and whatever items were available in the forest. Now, rice has become their staple food. They usually take rice as food called *kanchi* (rice gruel) once a day, in the evening. The Aranadan drink black coffee or take previous day's left over food in the morning before going to forest for collection pursuits. Sometimes the collected wild tubers are eaten on the spot by fire roasting. The method of food preparation includes boiling, frying and fire roasting.

As a custom, the Aranadan do not consume roots, tubers and meat during the month of *Chingam* (August - September) from *Atham* till *Thiruvonam* (ten days) and during these days they eat rice with boiled green leaves. The reason is post-monsoon period and roots and tubers have maximum growth spurt and green leaves are plenty. The non use of roots and tubers at this period is eco-friendly. It also shows the impact of Onam festival in the life of Aranadan.

When compared to other groups, the Aranadan is the only group that eats the flesh of python. They simply boil the flesh of python in water and consume it without adding salt or chilly. They believe that if salt or chilly is added, the python flesh becomes

poisonous. They consume the eggs of python and tortoise, flesh of *udumbu* (iguana), crabs, etc.

The Aranadan prefer to eat from tea shops particularly in the morning. They have no hesitation in eating from Hindu, Christian, Muslim households for whom they work. Their contact with non-tribal families, tea shops, hotels etc., has provided exposure to various types of delicacies. It is seen that the Aranadan families who move into the forest for n.w.f.p collection carry rice, condiments, oil etc., depending on period of stay in the forest.

The Aranadan obtain rice from fair shops. Though roots and tubers are available in the forests, they have to make effort for collection. From the shops they seldom purchase beans, peas, bengal gram, red gram, green gram, fish, egg etc. They eat rice with chilly and salt. These days' python hunting and fishing are rare. Green leaves are consumed rarely. So, it is obvious that Aranadan diet lacks protein and essential vitamins.

Drinking Water

In colonies Government have provided open draw well, bore well, pipe water etc. In Kottupara colony an open draw well is provided. This colony is found to be having a defunct bore well also. Cherupuzha-Vallikettu colony is provided with pipe water. There are instances when Aranadan complained for the restoration of the water supply whenever the supply failed. During their forages in the forests

for n.w.f.p, they take water from nearby streams or rivulets for cooking and other purposes.

Health and Hygiene

Aranadan do not have clothes to change over after a bath. Children below six or seven years go around naked, body and hair covered with dust. At times for cleaning teeth, they use charcoal powder collected from the hearth. They are not particular about cleaning mouth and hands, before and after food intake. They sleep on floor or on empty jute sacks. Their tresses are matted and infested with lice. Irrespective of age and sex, they drink arrack and chew betel along with arecanut, tobacco and lime. The Aranadan males and females in drunken state staggering through roads and in public spaces are a common sight these days.

The Aranadan are habituated to open-air defecation. Running nose, lice infested tresses and anaemic condition are common among the children. Symptoms of malnutrition are rampant. According to the local Primary Health Centre doctor, health condition of the lactating mother and child is also very poor.

A medical examination of Aranadan population in 1999 (Survey: Taluk Hospital, Nilambur) shows that 80 per cent of them are afflicted with scabies. Leprosy is detected among a couple of them. Jaundice, whooping cough, mumps and respiratory troubles are reported. Few have complained of chest pain and congestions. Nutritional deficiency is seen mostly among children and women.

They are unaware of immunization programmes, as such their children are not immunised against any communicable diseases. In spite of poor oral hygiene practices, the Aranadan do not have severe dental diseases and even aged have healthy teeth. This is attributed to the consuming of python flesh. The morbidity and mortality pattern is further described along with demographic particulars.

Educational Status

Literacy rate among the Aranadan is only 21.26 per cent. Out of 254, 54 people have attended school, 37 became drop-outs and only 17 are attending schools now. It is observed that 27 drop-outs took place at the L.P. School level. Now only 6.69 per cent population attends schools. Of the 57 literates, fourteen are offsprings of the Aranadan- non Aranadan couples.

Among the Aranadan, four have passed the school final examination. Of them three were girls. It is significant to note that one of the parents of these three girls is a non-tribe. There is only one girl among the Aranadan viz., Bindu, D/o Cheera, Cherupuzha-Vallikettu colony, who have passed Teacher's Training Course (T.T.C). She is not yet employed anywhere.

The Aranadan living in settlements have a relatively better literacy than that of encampments. There are schools located very near to some of the Aranadan settlements. For instance, there is an L.P. School near to the Kottupara colony. The school records show

that most of the Aranadan children who were admitted in this school became drop-outs. Not even a single parent in Kottupara colony shows any enthusiasm in sending their children to school. Same is the case with other colonies also. It is also noted that some boys and girls of Vallikettu colony were admitted in the Manavedan School. They were put in the hostel. But after two or three months the boys ran away from the hostel and joined their parents. The Aranadan children of Chokkad colony have recently started attending the colony school, but their attendance is irregular. The parents attach no importance in their children's schooling. The Aranadan children are enrolled in schools, only because of the overall influence of non-tribals and teachers of the schools concerned.

Illiteracy is total in the following Aranadan encampments viz., Puncha, Palangara, Kalkulam, Chembenkolli, Mylampara and Palad. Out of 185 illiterates, 97 (52.43%) are males and 88 (47.57%) are females. The reason behind their low literacy status is the apathy of parents to send their children to schools. The school going children also join their parents while roaming in the forests.

Demographic Characteristics

The following section present an analysis of the data collected regarding the population figures in earlier Censuses, age, sex ratio, family planning, Crude Birth Rate, Crude Death Rate, mortality and morbidity pattern.

Earlier Census Records

The Aranadan is considered as the smallest Scheduled Tribe of Kerala. According to 1971 Census their population was only 1. But the 1991 Census recorded the population as 196.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Sex Ratio</i>
1891	87	79	166	908.05
1901	56	59	115	1053.57
1911	94	88	182	936.17
1921	59	60	119	1016.95
1931	33	27	60	818.18
1941	-	-	489	---
1951	-	-	-	Not recorded
1961	22	21	43	954.54
1971	1	-	1	---
1981	37	58	95	1567.68
1991	94	102	196	1085.11

**Aranadan- Population Trend from 1891-1991
Census Figures**

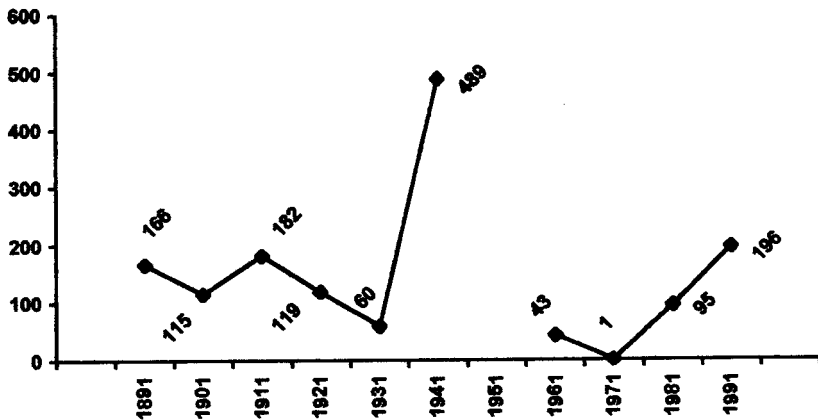


Fig- 4-1

The analysis of the Aranadan population figures of the last century i.e., from 1891 to 1991 (Fig: 4 -1) is given above. In the year 1891 the population recorded was 166 constituting 87 males and 79 females. The sex ratio was 908 females per 1000 males. The Census in 1901 recorded only 115 persons, but the sex ratio was 1053. In 1911 Census the population recorded was 182. In 1921 the population of Aranadan declined to 119. In 1931 it further declined to 60. However, the 1941 figure was given as 489, which is 800 per cent more than the 1931 figure. The above Census figures are unreliable, but it provides us a picture of the smallness of the community.

An estimation of the actual population size of the Aranadan using genealogical technique was attempted by Viswanathan in 1988, and the figure recorded as 217. He had also given the names of various Aranadan locations. In his survey, the Aranadan and non-Aranadan marriages are recorded and the offspring of such marriage unions are also enumerated as Aranadan. He has adopted the Government prescribed norm for determining the status of offspring born out of tribe- non tribe marriages. The related Government order states that 'if either one of the parents belong to Scheduled Tribe, the children will be treated as Scheduled Tribe for all practical purposes related to reservation and other benefits.' In the present study also the above norm has been adopted.

The survey of the entire Aranadan population in 1995 has been conducted by using a household survey schedule. Genealogy of the

entire population is prepared to study the kinship and distribution. The population figure obtained was 254. It may be mentioned here that those who have converted to Islam and those who have left the place years before and whose whereabouts are not known to the rest of the community members are not taken for enumeration. At the time of survey, there were sixteen non-Aranadan spouses and they were not included. But the children born out of the Aranadan-non Aranadan union numbering 16 were counted. The average family size of the Aranadan is only 4.03, which is much lower than the State average tribal family size i.e., 5.3.

Age, Sex and Marital Status

Age, sex and marital status among the Aranadan is given in Table-4-2. The population figure in the age groups 0-4, 5-9 and 10-14 are 6.3 per cent, 7.09 percent and 9.06 per cent respectively. Thus the population below the age of 14 constitutes only 22.45 per cent and the population between 15-34 comes to 50.40 per cent.

The Aranadan population base has shrunk. One of the reasons for this may be the adoption of permanent family planning measures by females and males as early as 1980s. The low percentage in the lower age group is alarming. Within twenty years, the population may further decline causing serious threat to the very existence of the society. The population above 60 years is only 3.15 per cent. The total dependent population comes to 25.5 per cent. Though the dependent population is low, the quality of family life and general health of the population is poor as described elsewhere.

Table-4-2
Age, Sex and Marital Status among the Aranadan

Age Gr.	MALE					FEMALE					GT	%
	S	M	W	D	T	S	M	W	D	T		
0-4	9	-	-	-	9	7	-	-	-	7	16	6.3
5-9	9	-	-	-	9	9	-	-	-	9	18	7.09
10-14	12	-	-	-	12	11	-	-	-	11	23	9.06
15-19	16	-	-	-	16	13	6	-	2	20	36	14.17
20-24	14	12	-	-	26	2	7	-	1	11	37	14.57
25-29	2	5	-	2	9	-	11	-	3	14	23	9.06
30-34	-	15	-	2	17	-	10	2	3	15	32	12.6
35-39	-	7	1	1	9	-	8	2	2	12	21	8.27
40-44	-	4	-	1	5	-	4	2	-	6	11	4.33
45-49	-	4	3	-	7	-	3	1	2	6	13	5.12
50-54	-	1	-	2	3	-	2	4	-	6	9	3.54
55-59	-	3	-	-	3	-	1	2	1	4	7	2.76
60+	-	1	2	-	3	-	-	5	-	5	8	3.15
GT	62	52	6	8	128	42	52	18	14	126	254	100%

The Aranadan females have relatively low marriage age. In the age group 15-19, out of 20 females, six got married. In the age group 20-24 only two females remain single whereas seven got married. Females are considered eligible for marriage after attaining menarche. In the case of males the marriage age falls mainly between 20-24. In this age group out of 26 males, 12 got married. No female remained unmarried above 25 years.

In this population, the divorce rate is abnormally high. Among the population of 254 persons, there exist 14 female divorcees and 8 male divorcees. There are two female divorcees in the age group 15-19, one in 20-24, three each in the age group 25-29 and 30-34. The female divorcee per 1000 population comes to 55.12. In a study of Paniyan, Kurichiar and Kanikkar the figure comes to only 18, 13 and 10 respectively (Viswanathan: 1985). It reveals that the Aranadan marriage unions are very weak and unstable. In the age group 30-59 there are eighteen widows and six widowers. Similarly the number of widows and widowers (60 and 20) are proportionately high when compared to Paniyan (27 and 9), Kurichiar (28 and 1) and Kanikkar (26 and 5). The very high divorce rate and widowhood show that women abstain from remarriages as far as possible. Both men and women are not keen on maintaining the family life. Prolonged widowhood and desertion can affect the fertility. But in the case of Aranadan few other factors also play major role. These factors are described in subsequent sections.

Sex Ratio

Table-4-3 gives the sex-ratio according to broad age group. The sex ratio among the Aranadan is 984.38 females per thousand males. Below 44 years, the males (112) outnumber females (105) and sex ratio is 937.5. But, above 45 years females (19) outnumber males (13) and sex ratio is 1312.5. The low sex ratio in the lower age groups affects the population growth. The women in marriageable ages are less and hence comparatively older men marry girls immediately after

puberty. The high sex ratio in the later age groups points out that the life expectancy of females is higher than males as elsewhere.

Table-4-3
Aranadan: Age-wise Sex Ratio

Age Group (years)	Male	Female	Sex ratio
0-14	30	27	900
15-44	82	78	951.22
45& above	16	21	1312.5
Total	128	126	984.38

Family Planning

Among the Aranadan, there are 13 married females who have adopted permanent measures for limiting family size. These women fall within the reproductive age group of 15-49. Out of the thirteen female adopters of family planning, the maximum number falls within the age group of 25-29(6), followed by the age group 30-34 (3); and 20-24 & 35-39 (2 each). Out of these 13, seven females are from the Chokkad colony, two from the Kottupara colony and one each from the Palangara, Pottikallu, Puncha and Palad hamlets. The distributions of acceptors are more wherever the Aranadan are living side by side with non-tribals. It shows the spread effect of family planning campaign is more among the Aranadan living in colonies rather than the hamlets.

Another analysis shows that out of thirteen females who underwent laparoscopy, eight fall within the age group 20-29. This reveals that the fertility of young females is affected. During 1970s vasectomy was popular and a number of acceptors were reported among the elderly males. A few unmarried males also undergone vasectomy. Intensive campaign coupled with cash incentives are luring the Aranadan to queue up for undergoing vasectomy or laparoscopy. Coupled with this, wide spread prevalence of protein calorie malnutrition result in adolescent sterility and early onset of menopause.

Reproductive Performance of women

As the Aranadan population is very small, the study of their reproductive performance assumes much importance. Women in the child bearing or reproductive period are specially contacted for collecting the data. Aranadan girls attain menarche by the age of 14 and the women reach menopause by the age of 49 or even earlier.

Out of the total population of 254, there are 68 married females within the reproductive age i.e., 15-49 years, and they form 26.77% of the total population. Though there are widows and divorcees among these 68; they are considered married and are included under 'ever married' females, as they are expected to get re-married later on. The fertility history of the Aranadan women in respective age group is given in Table-4-4.

Table-4-4
Fertility History of Aranadan Women

Age Group (years)	Number of Ever Married Females	Total Pregnancies	Reproductive Wastages			Live Births		Total
			Abortion	Still birth	Total	Male	Female	
15-19	8	4	2	-	2	1	1	2
20-24	8	6	1	3	4	2	-	2
25-29	14	26	13	3	16	5	5	10
30-34	15	36	5	7	12	8	16	24
35-39	12	27	8	3	11	18	87	26
40-44	6	21	5	2	7	7	7	14
45-49	5	23	3	7	10	6	7	13
Total	68	153	37 (42.2%)	25 (16.4%)	62 (40.5%)	47 (30.7%)	44 (28.8%)	91 (59.5%)

Maximum number of mothers (15) falls in the age group of 30-34 followed by 25-29 (14) and 35-39 (12). There are equal numbers (8) of mothers within the age group of 15-19 and 20-24. Out of 153 pregnancies, 91 (59.5%) are live births, consisting of 47 males and 44 females; and 62 (40.5%) reproductive wastages were reported in all age groups. The very high rate of still births and immature foetal deaths is indicative of malnutrition, mothers' unhygienic condition etc. It is noted that induced abortions are prevalent among the women of lower age group, which also affect the population growth. The maximum number of live birth is reported within the age group of 30-34 and 35-39. It is observed that male live birth slightly exceeds that of females.

Out of 62 reproductive wastages, there are 37 (42.2%) cases of abortion and 25 (16.4%) still births. Almost 50 per cent of the pregnancies end in abortion within the age groups of 15-19 and 25-29. The reproductive wastage is higher (66.7%) in the age group of 20-24 years. It is observed that the females during their pregnancy period, do all kinds of hard work and this may lead to abortion during the early pregnancy period. In earlier days, a woman during her conception period has to follow do's and don'ts regarding the intake of food. She is forbidden to take rice upto five months. During this period most of them consume only rice gruel, mixing it with salt and chilly. At times they even eat sand, stones and rice. Eating of these things disclose nutritional deficiency and anemic condition. Almost all pregnant women suffer from malnutrition. After five months, she can take whatever food items she likes. From the ninth month onwards the husband is prohibited from killing animals or eat meat, lest the curse of the animal befalls on the child. Malnutrition during pregnancy lead to the occurrence of abortion, still births and low fecundity. Reproductive wastage per thousand pregnancies comes to 397, which shows low fecundity of the Aranadan females. Perhaps this kind of low fecundity as a result of malnutrition, owing to cultural practices of pollution, food taboos, spread of communicable diseases etc., paved the way for the decimation of Aranadan population in the past.

The reproductive functions of the Aranadan women are now

very adversely affected by the family planning measures adopted by them. In this situation there exists grave risk in adopting family planning, as the overall health of the population is very poor by any standard.

Crude Birth Rate, Crude Death Rate, Morbidity and Mortality

Since the population is very small, from 1994 itself the researcher tried to gather data regarding the population trend by collecting details on birth, death, causes of mortality, morbidity pattern etc. During 1992 to 2000, 27 births had occurred among the 254 persons. Of them fourteen were boys and thirteen were girls. Although the data do not permit us to estimate crude birth rate reliably, a rough estimate is provided here. The crude birth rate among the Aranadan is 13.29. It is stated elsewhere that adoption of permanent family planning measures by a substantial number of males and females considerably caused the lowering of the birth rate. It is also observed that there occur pregnancy wastages and still births due to the poor health of women.

As the population size is very small, it may not be important to calculate the crude death rate. Within a period of eight years (1992-2000), nineteen deaths have taken place among them. Of these eleven were males and eight were females. Out of nineteen deaths, three were due to old age and associated illness, five neo-natal, one suicide, four accidents, one murder, two due to rheumatic fever; and one each due to scorpion sting, chest pain and swelling all over the body.

Neeli (27 years) died of chest pain in 1992. Vellan died of rheumatic fever in 1993. Valiya Vellan (45) of Cherupuzha-Vallikettu colony was taken to Pathanamthitta for bamboo work by a contractor of Nilambur. It is reported that from the work place he had a severe chest pain and died. His dead body was taken to the settlement. Vellan (28) of Kottupara; who was mentally disturbed, committed suicide in 1995. Vellan of Vellakatta was killed in a bus accident. Kannan(36) and Bomban(16) had fallen from the tree and died. Kamala(30) was killed by her husband, Chathan. It is noted that one suicide, four accidental deaths and one murder in a population of 254 within a span of eight years is very high. Similar is the case with mortality owing to rheumatic fever, neonatal deaths etc. The deaths among the Aranadan can be stated as unnatural as only three deaths are reported to be due to oldage and associated illnesses. It is noted that most of the victims of the unnatural deaths are men.

It is seen that neo-natal mortality marks twenty five per cent of the total deaths. It shows poor health of mothers, unsanitary condition etc. Among the Aranadan, fifteen days pollution (*pula*) is observed in connection with the birth of a child. Mother and the new born have to stay separately in the *pira* for 15 days. As a custom, the menfolk are not allowed to enter the *pira* or to touch the child. During this fifteen-day pollution period, if the new born falls ill, because of the *pula*, the male members do not come forward to take the child to the hospital. It is noticed that the lack of attention and proper medical care in time may also lead to an increase in neo-natal

deaths. Some of them recollect that the spread of epidemics in 1940s and 1970s caused the decimation of population.

Society

Social Organisation

It may be recalled that the 254 Aranadan population is constituted by 128 males and 126 females and are distributed in seventeen locations. The largest number of houses in one colony is 12, whereas in four locations the number is two and in three locations only one household each. This far and wide distribution among rural population makes the Aranadan society a socially non-cohesive ethnic group. The less number of households in a location also limit the intra-group interactions.

Social Control Mechanism

The smallness of the population affects the institutions of social control. The local group consisting families of a location form the assemblage of a social event. The most important social functionary of local group is the *chemmakkaran*. The *chemmakkaran* literally means the owner of the ancestral land (*chemmam*). The food gatherer-hunter tribes of Nilambur Valley in general use this term to denote their socio-political and religious head of the territory. Usually the *chemmakkaran* is the eldest male member of the patrilineally related families of a colony. For instance, in major colonies like Kottupara and Cherupuzha-Vallikettu, the hamlet land is in the name of the *chemmakkaran*. But his role is limited. No other

social functionary exists to assist him. His role is determined by age and not by any descent pattern. The Aranadan as a tribe do not maintain affinity of kin relationships. They do not have a common headman to control their socio-political functions as a tribe. There are no common religious observations to give a functional unity to the tribe.

The Aranadan society couldn't enforce any social control over the members of the society. The fabric of the society has been woven with threads from a mixture of few other communities. Social offences are not questioned by the society members or functionaries. The Aranadan are docile in their interactions with non-tribals. But in Aranadan settlements disputes are very common. Alcoholism, neglect of family duties, sexual rivalries etc., create conflict in the society. Frequent altercations are noticed in between Aranadan. Fisticuffs and at times even bloodshed are not rare. Cases of murder, group violence etc., are also reported. It is widely held by non-tribals that in former days Aranadan acted as mercenary killers of landlords. During physical violence between members, no other individual try to intervene or try to pacify the quarreling factions. The *chemmakaran* or any other individuals do not come forward to settle disputes. Usually after an incident of physical violence one of the warring faction shift their residence to a new location to avoid further confrontation. Fissiparous tendencies prevail.

Social Structure and Kinship

The Aranadan society is acephalous. They do not have institutionalized social and political functionaries. Search for social

institutions like clan divisions also become futile. Nuclear family is the basic socio-economic unit. The marriage ties are not restricted with kinship ties of prohibited degree. Since the population is small, no such restriction is found possible too. Both cross cousin and parallel cousin marriage takes place. Interestingly, this society had a well conceived avoidance behaviour.

Avoidance behaviour

Many restrictions exist in the behaviour of close kins in day-to-day interaction as family members. The Aranadan informants were very particular to record that after attaining adulthood, son will avoid the touch of his mother and daughter that of father. Likewise daughter-in-law avoid father-in-law and son-in-law avoid mother-in-law not only in touch but also in service. If an adult daughter happens to touch her father, both individuals have to take a dip in river water for warding off the evil consequences.

In the social life of the Aranadan the above kind of avoidance behaviour are not seen fully enforced. The Aranadan is aware about the prohibited degree relationships taking place in their society. The Aranadan society feels that the above kind of avoidance behaviour is a must, though they couldn't stick to it.

Marriage and Family

Since the population is very small and the female sex ratio is low, the non-availability of suitable spouses of marriageable

relationship is a serious problem to the society. There are several instances where the female spouse is elder to the male and vice versa. A male marrying a widow or a divorcee is common. The marriage relationships are seen not regulated by any kinship pattern.

Attempts to trace any clan divisions have not yielded any information. Usha, a linguist writes:

“Among the Aranadan the term ‘Ceriya yappen’ denotes father’s younger brother and mother’s younger sister’s husband is further extended to step father and ‘CeRiya yamme’ to mother’s younger sister and father’s younger brother’s wife to step mother. These terms may also be the indications of sororate and levirate marriage customs in the Aranadan society (1992).”

But levirate and sororate are not prevalent. The study of kinship term shows that a classificatory type of kinship is in vogue. Marriage by purchase is reported. Marriage by exchange was very common earlier. Marriage by abduction is also noted. For instance, Mathi of Vallikettu colony reported that there was a big quarrel between her brother Sappi Vellan and their cousin Keeran for Sappi Vellan’s wife, Sharada. Meanwhile Keeran attacked Sappi Vellan with a knife. Frightened Sappi Vellan ran away and Keeran made Sharada his wife.

It is observed that among the Aranadan, marriages between very close kins often takes place. There are instances of patrilateral

parallel cousin and matrilateral parallel cousin marrying each other, which is quite uncommon. The society wants to avoid such relationships, but it takes place because of the smallness of the population. The above kind of relationships also found breaking in due course because of the inherent incoherence. Weak social control mechanism results in frequent desertion and re-alliance. Contact with non-tribes leads to exogamy. It is observed that both endogamous and exogamous marriages are highly unstable. Spouses have no reluctance in breaking an alliance and forming a new one within a couple of months. Most of the marriage unions are broken within two years. Frequent desertions are noted. Both male and female serial monogamy is the result. A woman with encumbrances is taken as a spouse by a younger man. It may be noted that the children born to a woman in her life span can be from more than one marital alliance. The children of such marriages are unaware of their biological father.

Exogamous Marriages

As stated elsewhere the Aranadan population contains 56 couples. Of these sixteen are Aranadan non-Aranadan couples and the rest forty are Aranadan spouses. The Aranadan marriage doesn't show any preferential relationship with a particular non-Aranadan community. The non-Aranadan with whom the Aranadan have marital alliance includes Kanakkan, Cheruman, Mannan, Thiyya, Nair, Muslim, Christian, Paniyan, Pathinaicken, Kuruman etc. Nine males and seven females among the Aranadan have selected spouses from non-Aranadan. Out of these sixteen reported

marriage unions only two are registered. The low sex ratio and difficulty in finding suitable girl of accepted relationship and age perhaps drive Aranadan males to marry from outside.

Though there are sixteen Aranadan- non-Aranadan marriages, only in one instance, a relatively stable marriage life on equal terms is maintained. The marriage between a male belonging to Cheruman community and Aranadan female is found socially acceptable to both communities. The wife and the children are taken to the natal family of the husband and they live with the Cheruman society. The children getting educated are identified as members of Cheruman. The Cheruman is a Scheduled Caste, who are agricultural labourers. These community members suffered untouchability in the past. Perhaps because of such commonalties with Aranadan, the Cheruman society could accept and allow Aranadan spouse on equal status. The Cheruman community is having many compatible features with Aranadan, so enter into marriage alliance with Aranadan on equal terms.

Except the above case, all the non-Aranadan spouses live with the Aranadan society. None among them has taken their Aranadan spouse or children to their natal home and given them the status of a member of that society. On the other hand, the Aranadan females receive only the status of concubines. So far, none among the non-Aranadan males had given any kind of property to his children born to an Aranadan wife. But, the children born out of Aranadan-non

Aranadan report that they prefer to marry a non-Aranadan. Similarly educated girls also prefer to marry non-Aranadan.

Desertions and Remarriages

Desertions are quite common. With same vigour and speed, remarriages also take place. No, individual in this society is found capable of providing subsistence to more than one woman and the children born out of such union. The absence of polygyny suggests that it is highly improbable for a man with subsistence economy to have two wives at a time when there is scarcity of women. A number of males are in search for a spouse. It may be mentioned here that a woman during her lifetime is found living with a number of males. Their marital life experience frequent desertion and remarriages. However, polyandry is not reported. This is probably because the community is still at a pre-agricultural stage economy and the concept of maintenance of family property is yet to be emerged.

Being a community subsisting with pre-agricultural level of technology, the economic life revolves around the earning potential of husband and wife as a unit. It may be noted that in a pre-agricultural level society, the descent and inheritance are allied with the territory to which they are identified. But the Aranadan society does not maintain territorial identity and they do not have any kind of control over natural resources of the area. The Aranadan society now-a days is identified with the colony in which Government have assigned land and house. So, the traditional descent pattern based on patrilineal

territorial identity is no more in vogue. The marital union between individuals of prohibited degree also doesn't allow the society to take descent through a specific pattern.

Life cycle Rites

Birth

The Aranadan believe that the *maladeivam* gives life to the foetus when it is four months old. They do not put any hard and fast rules regarding food and work habits on the expectant woman. But she is forbidden to eat beef, mutton and pork. She can move freely and do her works as usual.

Confinement takes place at husband's natal hamlet. Few days before confinement, they erect a *pira* (a temporary hut made of bamboo) and keep the expectant woman inside. An elderly woman of the local group helps her at the time of delivery. Both mother and the newborn are given massage with coconut oil and hot water bath for fifteen days. *Pula* (pollution) connected with the birth lasts for fifteen days. Till then the mother and the new born have to live in the *pira*. During this period, menfolk are forbidden to enter into the *pira* and touch the baby. On the fifteenth day a purificatory bath is given to the mother and baby. As a part of purificatory ritual, the mother sprinkles cow dung water at four corners and roof of the house. This marks the end of the *pula*. Now-a-days most of the Aranadan females visit local hospital for delivery purpose. In such cases *pula* connected with birth is seldom observed.

Rice Feeding and Naming Ceremonies

The Aranadan used to conduct both first rice feeding and naming ceremonies on the 40th day after the child birth, at the child's father's house. The *chemmakkaran* or the eldest person of the group officiates these ceremonies. The *chemmakkaran* takes the child on his lap and feeds the child rice mixed with jaggery. After this ceremonial rice feeding, the *chemmakkaran* gives a name to the child. All those who attend the function are given feast, depending upon the economic condition of the parents. These days naming and rice giving ceremonies are mostly conducted at local temples as done by Hindu Castes. So, role of *chemmakkaran* is of little significance.

Puberty Ceremony

A girl on attainment of menarche is segregated in a room or *pira* (like a confinement hut). The girl's parents and menfolk are forbidden to enter into this *pira*. The girl is given food and oil bath by her father's sister. The girl is given oil bath in the morning and evening. After each bath, the girl is taken into the *pira*, and seated on the lap of her father's sister, who feeds the girl rice and curry. The girl must be satisfied with the three morsels of rice and curry. This procedure is repeated for seven days. They observe seven days *pula* and conduct *therandukalyanam* (puberty ceremony) on the seventh day.

On the seventh day the girl is taken to nearby river for ceremonial bath by her close relatives. Before bathing, all of them, except the girl, sit on the bank of the river and chew betel leaves

along with tobacco, arecanut and lime. After this, four close relatives hold the girl in water facing east. They stand around the girl on four sides. All of them at the same time spray river water at the head of the girl. Then the girl is bathed using crushed soap nut. They adorn the girl in new dress and tie *kingini* (beads of anklet strewn on a long thread) around her waist and walk to the girl's hut. The girl sprinkles cowdung water around the hut and roof. Followed by this, a feast is served to the assemblage. The food is at first given to the girl, then to the *chemmakaran* and then all those who attend the function. Recently, owing to the poor economic condition and disrupted family life, ceremonies connected with puberty are rarely observed.

Marriage

Marriage is arranged only after the attainment of puberty. Arranged marriage is customary. Parents find out a suitable girl for their son. If he likes the girl and vice-versa, they fix the marriage on a suitable day. Marriage takes place at the bride's residence during night. Groom's party reaches the bride's house at dusk. In front of the people gathered there, the groom hands over bride price to the bride's father, which these days is above Rs.50/-. Groom also presents clothes to the bride. The most important part of the marriage is tying of a red cloth by the groom around the waist of the girl, which symbolises that she is married. This marks the consummation of the marriage. Food is given to the groom and bride in a single plate. They put in each other's mouth, morsels of food, as if feeding each other. After this ritual feeding, food is

served to all. Groom's party spends that night at the bride's residence and the very next day leave the place with the bride. Now-a-days the ceremonies connected with marriage is seldom observed because elders who can officiate such ceremonies have become rare. Ceremonies connected with marriage are not observed when a non-Aranadan marries an Aranadan. Rest of the society come to know about such marriages only when two individuals start living together as husband and wife. Similar is the case of divorce also.

Death Ceremonies

When death takes place in a settlement, close relatives are informed. Dead body is buried only after the arrival of the close relatives. They place the corpse inside the house on a jute sack spread on the floor. The corpse is smeared with coconut oil and is given a hot water bath using crushed soap nut. After bath, the corpse is adorned in a new cloth and once again laid inside the hut, keeping the head towards the east. Two wicks are lighted on either side of the head.

As they lack burial grounds, the Aranadan bury the dead near the hutment. The grave is prepared in east-west direction by the close relatives. They place *thaithal* (flattened bamboo) at the bottom of the grave, over which a layer of *malampunna* leaves are spread. The *malampunna* leaves are the biggest leaves available in the forest, which on spreading serves as a bed. Before placing the corpse into the grave, kith and kin touch the feet of the corpse and the *Chemmakaran* ties a 25 np coin in the clothe covering the corpse.

Keeping the head towards east, all personal belongings of the dead including dress, ornaments, plates, *kottuvadi*(stick), pot etc. are also placed. The corpse is further covered by *malampunna* leaves and over it *thaithal* is placed. The grave is then filled with earth. A two feet high heap of earth is made throughout the length of the grave.

Chemmakkar and the close kins of the deceased stand around the grave. To appease the dead, they perform a kind of dance by clapping and thumping movement around the grave rhythmically. This is the only occasion when the Aranadan perform a dance. After this performance the participants take bath in a river or stream nearby and return.

After reaching the settlement, the *chemmakkar* performs a ritual for divining whether the soul of the dead is pleased with the behaviour of the living ones. This ritual is called *aattamvaiipu*. Usually this is performed in the evening. The *chemmakkar* takes six small brass beads in a winnow and starts shaking it for a while creating a rattling sound. After a while he begins to show signs of possession. In this possessed state he utters whether the dead ancestor is pleased with the present offerings and what should be done in future for prosperity. Annually as offerings to ancestors they place cooked rice, arrack, beaten rice, coconut etc., near the burial site.

Death pollution is observed for seven days. The mourners are, wife for husband, son for mother etc. During this period the mourners will segregate himself/herself inside the hut and are forbidden to take non-vegetarian food, go to work, cut their hair or wear colourful dress.

Earlier Reference on the Family life of the Aranadan

Thurston (1909) reported that the social life of the Aranadan was characterised by prohibited degree relationships. Luiz (1962), L.A.K. Iyer (1968) and Stephen Fuchs (1973) also held the same view.

Thurston notes:

"One of their custom is very singular viz. The father of a family takes or used to take his eldest daughter as his second wife"(1909:218).

A. A. D Luiz writes:

"There are few regulations regarding marriage, and the present standard or morality is so low, that it is difficult to believe that there were marriage regulations in their early society. A man is prepared to cohabit with a woman other than his wife whenever opportunities permit. Polygamy is very common and the practice of permitting a visiting Aranadan to enjoy the host's wife was, till recently considered to be a sign of good hospitality. There are also many instances of wives being exchanged. Fraternal polyandry is popular but very carefully concealed. There are reports and clear evidence that the primitive Aranadan desired the defloration, deemed appropriate by most aborigines, be done by a spirit, god, sage leader or king. This custom appears to have been vogue till of late, and in the absence of the suitable persons, the father took upon himself the duty of doing it" (1961:42).

Earlier writings reveal that among the Aranadan, as a custom, a father held an adult daughter as his second wife. It can be seen from the above account that, it is not a *custom* among them. But there occurred one or two instances of a man living with a woman, who, happens to be the daughter of his deceased wife's earlier marriage. The small population size of the community also engenders such occurrence of cohabitate relationship between two affinal kins.

The observation of Luiz in early 60s also showed that wife hospitality was prevalent. Among the food gatherer-hunters of Nilambur or elsewhere frequent desertion and remarriages are a common phenomena rather than wife hospitality. A kind of serial monogamy is the practice. Also there are a few women who cater sexual favour for casual visitors including both Aranadan and non-Aranadan for monetary gains. Case studies presented in the foregoing pages give an insight into the present family life of the Aranadan.

Family and Rearing of Children

Widely accepted definition of the institution of marriage shows that marriage is for socially sanctioned sexual relationship for procreation, stable economic life and rearing up of children as effective members of the society. How far these functions are met in the Aranadan society may be assessed the context of the facts presented above. The Aranadan family tends to be doing the major function of sexual gratification and procreation of children. The transient nature of Aranadan marriages doesn't provide the progenies a congenial atmosphere to come up in life as in other cultures. Here,

the dependency period of children with their parents is minimum and the children do not have any identification with their father. The social father at a reference date may not be the biological father.

Rearing up of children is worst affected by the frequent divorce and remarriages by the parents. Young children are looked after by the mother, if she deserts the biological father and remarry. There are cases in which the children live with their father and step-mother. In some cases children are looked after either by the relatives of their mother or father. Children grow up in the society with limited social control and restrictions.

Family life- Case Studies

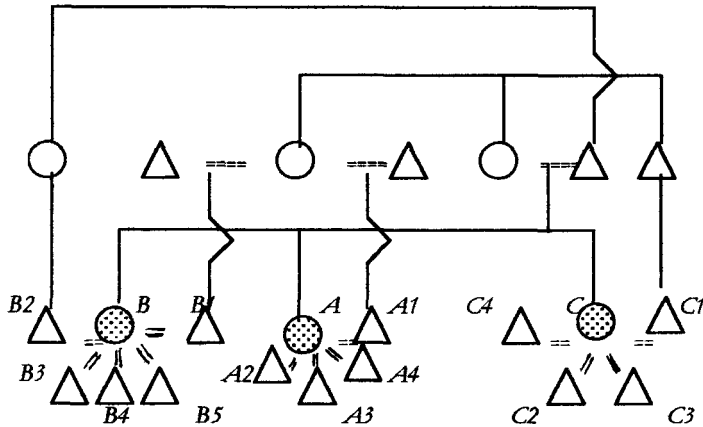
It is seen that the Aranadan marriages are characterised by both endogamous and exogamous unions. The strength of marriage bond and family life are also probed by the nine case studies presented below.

Case-1

A is a resident of Vallikettu colony. She is 36 years old. Her first marriage took place at the age of 15, with her maternal parallel cousin, A1. Her relationship with A1 did not last for more than a month as she deserted him stating that he was a drunkard. She remained single for almost one year and then struck a relationship with A2 of Nilambur, who belonged to the Muslim community. They

lived together for just an year. *A2* did not have a good relationship with the other male members of the colony and always quarreled with them. One day after a big scuffle he left the place. *A* had no issues in *A1* and *A2*.

Cases- 1,2 & 3



* *A*, *B* and *C* are sisters, so a common genealogical tree is given.

Almost a year later, she made relationships with *A3*, belonging to Cheruman community. *A3* was her co-worker in teak plantations. This relationship ended after an year, when *A* entered into a relationship with *A4* of Kanakkan community. This relationship too lasted hardly six months. *A4* had consumed poison and committed suicide. *A* had to earn her livelihood herself. Ever since the death of *A4*, *A* is engaged in flesh trade to sustain herself. She remains barren.

Case-2

B, aged 46 years, is a resident of the Vallikettu colony. She was first married at the age of 13, to *B1*, a resident of the Mylampara

colony, who happened to be her mother's sister's son (parallel cousin). She remained issueless and her married life ended within a couple of years. She then got married to her cross cousin, B2, but this relationship lasted only for a fortnight. She says that she did not know the reason behind these two desertions.

Her third relationship was with B3, who belonged to Thiyya community and was a forest guard then. They had remained together for nearly eight years and B had a daughter (BB3) by him. When their daughter was nearly five years old, B3 got a transfer elsewhere and he left. After two years, B married B4, a native of Ernakulam district. This marriage was a registered one. B4, belonging to Pillai community, was a medical practitioner in Ayurveda and was staying near B's colony. This relationship lasted almost four years and by that time a daughter was born to them. When B4 got transferred, he promised to come back to take B and the child, but never returned. B looked after her child alone and during that period she made relationship with B5, who was a labourer engaged by a contractor near the Vallikettu colony. B5 belongs to scheduled caste Kanakkan community. Since then they have been living together.

B's daughter of BB3 married U, belonging to the Cheruman community, a bank employee by occupation. BB3 is living with her husband's family and have three children. Their children are studying in a Government school, away at Tirur, and all of whom are treated as Cheruman.

Case-3

C, aged 36 years is living with her daughter (*CC2*) aged 17 years. *C*'s first marriage was with her mother's brother's son, *C1*. A few months after their marriage, *C1* deserted her, married another woman. A few months later *C* struck a relationship with her neighbour *C2*, who is a Christian. This relationship lasted till he came to know that *C* is pregnant. *C2* and his family members asked her to abort, but she didn't agree. They even tried to kill her by giving poison. *C* lived with her child for almost 6 years. Later she married *C3* of Mannarkad, Palakkad, and belonging to Scheduled Caste Cheruman community. *C3* came to this place as a forest labourer and was much younger to *C*. This marriage was a registered one. After two years she conceived and ended in a still birth. The still birth occurred because she met an accident. While collecting n.w.f.p, to escape from a rogue elephant, she ran and fell into a ditch, which caused foetal death. For almost five years *C3* lived with *C* and later he too abandoned her. For the last four years she is living with her daughter and is the breadwinner of her family.

Case-4

D is 33 years old and a resident of Chokkad colony. She got married first at the age of 19 years with her paternal cousin, *D1*. This relationship lasted five years and by that time she had given birth to two daughters. Her first child died two months after birth. Slowly *D1* made a relationship with *D*'s sister, *E*, and started living with her. Two years after desertion, *D* started living with her father's brother's son's son, *D2*, who was much younger to her. She lived with him for

four years and had a child. Now she had been deserted by *D2*, and he is having conjugal relationship with another woman. *D* now lives with her sister's family.

Case-5

E (30) is a resident of Chokkad colony. She has studied upto IV std. She was married at the age of 17 to *E1* of Kottupara colony. *E* and *E1* are are patrilateral cousins i.e., *E1* is the son of *E*'s father's brother. They lived together for almost seven years and she gave birth to a son. When her son was five years old, *E1* left her. After a gap of four months, *E* had shared her life with her brother-in-law, *D1*. She gave birth to a daughter. Now *E* is living with *D1* and her daughter. Her first son lives with his father *E1*.

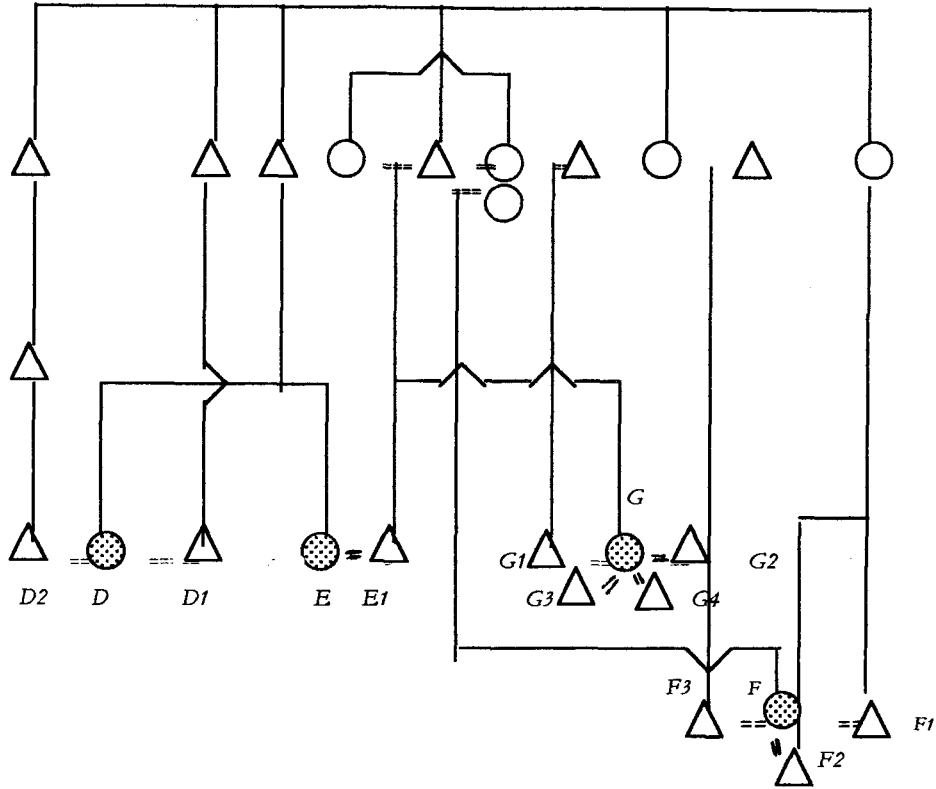
Case-6

F now aged 36 years, was first married to her father's sister's son, *F1*, at the age of 16. Though this relationship lasted for one and half years, she did not bear any children. She was then deserted by *F1* stating the reason that she is barren.

After a period of three months, *F* again shared her life with her first husband *F1*'s brother, *F2* and the relationship flourished for two years during which she gave birth to a son. But she was deserted by *F2* too. After a gap of six months, she made relationship with her father's another sister's son, *F3*. It was short lived, for one year and there were no issues. Later, i.e., after a period of two years she once

again started living with the first man of her life, but he was killed in an accident. Now *F* lives alone.

Cases- 4,5,6 & 7



* *D, E, F and G* are close relatives, a common genealogical tree is given.

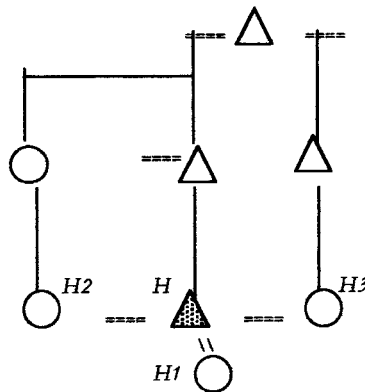
Case-7

G (34 years) is a resident of Kottupara colony, who adopted permanent family planning measures in the year 1988. She had her first marriage when she was 15 years of age, with *G1* who is her step-mother's son. Since *G1* adopted family planning, no children were born and *G* deserted him three years after marriage. Three months after desertion, *G* lived with *G2*, a Muslim, who came to her place for construction work. He stayed with her for almost two years and by

that time she gave birth to a daughter. When his work was over he left the place. Few days after the separation from G2, G made G3, a Muslim as her life partner. G had a son by G3. Now she lives with her children, her daughter has completed school final exam and her son is a drop out from 3rd standard. G is the breadwinner of the family.

Case-8

H is a resident of Vallikettu colony. He was first married to H1 of Kottuparā colony. This relationship lasted only a few months. Due to frequent quarrels, H1 deserted him and started living with a person belonging to the Cheruman community, who is a coconut plucker by occupation.



After a gap of six months H started living with his cross cousin, H2, who is much elder to him. This relationship ended when H struck relationship with his father's half brother's daughter, H3, who

already had a son from her earlier marriage. *H3* adopted family planning. *H* is now living with *H3* and her son.

Case-9

J(28) is a resident of Cherupuzha-Vallikettu Colony. He is a wage labourer and a coconut plucker too. At the age of 20 he married his cross cousin *J1*. Both *J* and *J1* are wage labourers. They used to spend the loin share of the earnings in the nearby toddy shop in the evening and make quarrels at night. This was their daily routine. They lived together for five years and during this period *J1* conceived twice. One was a stillborn and the other a neo-natal death. One day *J1* deserted him. She went to her house and never returned.

Two years after her desertion, *J* struck a relationship with *J2*, who was his co-worker when he was employed in building construction works. *J2* belongs to Cheruman community and had a son from her earlier marriage with a man belonging to Thiyya community. *J2* and her son now lives with *J* in his house.

The case studies given above did show that all the individuals' first marriages were invariably with an Aranadan who happens to be very close relative like mother's sister's son, mother's brothers son, father's brother's son, father's sister's son, step-mother's son etc. They got married at a very young age i.e., between 13 and 18. Marriage at a young age and with a close relative much elder to the girl indicates the scarcity of women. It is also seen that all the marriages performed

immediately after puberty, are short lived. The duration varied from one month to seven years.

Because of their survival instinct, the Aranadan society negates all kind of social restrictions normally applicable to societies. It may be noted that there occurred cohabiting relationship with mother's brother's son followed by father's brother's son by same woman (case-2). The case-4 shows that an Aranadan woman married her father's brother's son's son who was much younger to her.

There are women among the Aranadan who had entered into marital alliance serially with more than five men belonging to four different communities. In the case of *A*, by the age of 35 she had marital relationship with Aranadan, Muslim, Cheruman, Kanakkan and is leading a sex worker's life. An Aranadan woman or man can break or make a relationship according to their will or convenience. In short, there is no effective social control mechanism to regulate these kind of marital relations.

Observations on non-Aranadan men who had married Aranadan women reveal that there is no evidence to show that their tie up with Aranadan women are first of this kind. At the time of marriage these men were living as single away from their natal family. The relationship developed because of constant interaction in a work group or living in neighbourhood. In one case (Case-2) it is noted that an ayurveda doctor living away from his natal family developed a relationship with an Aranadan woman. When he got transferred, he

deserted the woman and child. It is widely known that Aranadan women are sexually exploited by non-Aranadan co-workers, in the name of marriage. However, once their work period is over, they leave the place deserting the woman with or without children.

Religion

The Aranadan believe in ancestral spirits. The burial rites did show that the ancestral spirits continue to live in and around the area and actively use their personal articles. They are afraid that the souls of people who had an unnatural deaths such as trampling by wild elephants, drowning, fall from tree, suicide are malevolent one.

They worship certain household Gods viz., *Aluroopam* (human figurine), which is worshipped along with *kudamani* (bronze bell) and *chilambu* (anklet with bells). They cover it in a loin cloth and keep it in the corner of the room. Its possession is hereditary. They take these deities along with them, when they shift residence.

The Aranadan also worship deities viz., *Thamburatti*, *Malachi daivam* and *Kol theyyam*. *Thamburatti*, is a female deity in the form of mother and child. *Malachi daivam* is a hill Goddess. *Kol theyyam* is in the form of mast. Every year during the months of *Kumbam-Meenam* (March-April) they worship *Thamburatti* and make offerings to it. They revere a place called Kareeri near Thamburattikallu, Nilambur taluk. This place is considered as the abode of *Thamburatti*. It is told that in former days, the worship was performed on a grand scale and the Aranadan of all hamlets assembled for the occasion. The

offerings included rice, arrack, betel leaves, tobacco, beaten rice and jaggery. The rituals are officiated by the *chemmakaran* of the local group. At the end of the ceremony he invokes the deity, gets possessed and acted as an oracle who gives direction to the members of the tribe. Erred people are asked to pay their obeisance in various forms.

The Aranadan believe that Sun is the supreme God who have created the earth and all living beings. They call the Sun as *Pakal muthappan* (grandfather of day-time), the Moon as *Iravu muthappan* (grandfather of night) and believe that stars are the children of Sun. Before proceeding for the days collection in the morning, they stand facing east and invoke Sun for luck.

The Aranadan also worship certain Hindu temple deities. Temple worship is not alien to them. They offer coconut to the temple deity and put money in temple treasure trust. Chemmanthitta temple at Karulai, which is dedicated to Goddess Bhagavathi, is a favourite shrine for the Aranadan. All Hindu castes worship in this temple. During *Nilambur pattu*, the festival of *Vettakkorumakan* deity at Nilambur town, the Aranadan visit the temple. It may be noted that the Aranadan were treated as untouchables and considered as a despicable group in the past and temple entry was denied to them. The Aranadan males show great interest in undertaking pilgrimage to Sabarimala Lord Ayyappa temple. As the deities Bhagavathi, Vettakkorumakan and Ayyappa have much in common with the sylvan deities of Aranadan. In religious practices they identify

themselves with Hindu castes. So in religious observances, Hindu castes are the reference group. However, the Aranadan adults are ignorant about characters in Hindu mythology, sacred scriptures, Gods and Goddesses.

Rituals for Curing Illness

The Aranadan believe that illness is caused by the wrath of spirits or deities. So all illnesses are at first treated by the *chemmakkarar* or the eldest person of the colony. This curing ritual is known as *nalivekkal*. It is usually conducted at night. The patient's presence is not essential for performing this ritual. The person performing *nalivekkal* takes three or four *kudamani* in a *kunthamuram*, jerks it and chants to invoke the Goddess *Thamburatti*. After sometime he gets possessed by the deity and spells out the reasons for the cause of illnesses and its remedy. The recovered one has to give an *andunercha* (annual offering) to the *Thamburatti*. The offerings include rice, certain curries, betel leaves, tobacco, lime and beaten rice.

Impact of Mainstream

Marriages with non-Aranadan have taken place in the colonies where the Aranadan had constant interaction with non-Aranadan. Cherupuzha-Vallikettu colony and Kottupara colony are the examples of this. The Cherupuzha-Vallikettu colony is located close to the check post of Karulai forest range. The forest labourers, timber loading workers etc., flock together in morning and evening

near the Cherupuzha bridge, near the forest check post. The Aranadan men and women also join the forest labourers for work.

In Cherupuzha-Vallikettu colony alone, five cases of marital alliance between Aranadan and non-Aranadan have taken place. It is observed that most of these relationships are transient in nature. Instances of sexual exploitation of the Aranadan women, which lead to the birth of illegitimate children, are also noticed.

Kottupara Aranadan colony is located close to the Karulai-Cherupuzha road, half a km away from Karulai junction. The neighbourhood of this colony is thickly populated by non-tribes. This colony has become a haven for anti-social elements. It is strange to note that the colony inmates do not have any hesitation to accept men with criminal tendencies. Aranadan females are exploited sexually. The *chemmakaran*, who is an addict of arrack, gives mute permission for such social evils. He is silenced by arrack and money.

The Aranadan address Paniyan and Cheruman communities on equal terms. But they address castes like Nair, Ezhava etc., in honorific terms. In dress and food habits, they have much in common with Cheruman and Paniyan of the area. The Aranadan stated that the Paniyan and Cheruman communities are the main non-Aranadan sections, who have more interaction with them. The members of these communities form mainly the work groups in forestry operations. The Aranadan these days are given utmost consideration by other communities in the emancipation of

untouchability towards them. Traditionally, the Cheruman and the Aranadan were not interdinning groups, but now they started commensal relationship. It is noted that the marriage union with the Cheruman are more stable than the marriage within the community.

There are several men and women addicted to country liquor. A days' wage is mostly spent for arrack. The Aranadan are considered to be a trouble-shooting group by non- tribals. In the evenings both men and women move to the nearby arrack shop in sober state. Usually, shy and elusive Aranadan become quarrelsome after intoxication. There occur brawls, altercations, fisticuffs, wounding each other etc. Local police have registered a number of cases on the inmates of the colony for this kind of aberrant behaviour. The outsiders play a key role for the eruption of quarrels among Aranadan and sustaining the conflicts. Addiction to liquor is one of the major causes of separation and marital breaking up. The society could not enforce any discipline on Aranadan women straying around sexual favour for livelihood. The customers of these women are mostly forest labourers and anti-social elements.

In the religious sphere, the change is not tangible. Though Muslim population is a dominant section of the society in the neighbourhood, as a religion, Islam have least influence on them. In the long past there are instances of a few Aranadan getting converted to Islam.

Their interaction with Christians started mainly from 1940s. Their contacts with Muslims and Christians have resulted in the eating of beef, when they visit local hotels. They accept beef when they are served mid-day meal by Christian and Muslim households while they work for them.

The Aranadan consider themselves as Hindus. During Sabarimala pilgrimage season, few males are found observing strictly all the penances of ritualistic fast. In the local temples viz., Chemmanthitta, Vettakorumakan etc., they pay obeisance. When ever maladies occur, they vouchsafe offering in the name of these deities. Like high caste Hindus, in front of certain Aranadan hutments, now-a-days *thulasithara*, a platform raised for planting thulasi (*Ocimum sanctum*) is erected. Among the Aranadan there exist an apprehension that Christians and Muslims are trying to proselytize them.

THESIS ON
THREE TRIBES OF NILAMBUR VALLEY :
**A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Economy,
Society and Culture**

Submitted to the
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
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in
ANTHROPOLOGY

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CHAPTER- V

KATTUPANIYAN

The Kattupaniyan (Kattupaniyan: both singular and plural) is a diminutive tribal community, numbering 315 persons in 1995. They inhabit the forested hills in the northern part of Nilambur taluk of Malappuram district and adjoining Thamarassery forest range of Kozhikode district. The Kattupaniyan subsist on food gathering, hunting, n.w.f.p collection and wage labour. They have a pre-agricultural level of technology. The Kattupaniyan are considered to be an endogamous sub group of the major tribe, Paniyan. The Kattupaniyan and the Paniyan differ greatly in economic pursuits, material culture, social life etc. The bountiful forest habitat could conserve this Paniyan section and preserve its identity as Kattupaniyan. They represent the primordial life of Paniyan tribe. Their population has not been enumerated separately in the Census records. Before presenting the ethnographic account on Kattupaniyan, a brief note on Paniyan tribe is needed.

Paniyan

Paniyan is the most numerically dominant tribe among the 35 Scheduled Tribes of Kerala. Thurston (1909), Luiz (1962), Somasekharan Nair (1976), Mathur (1977), P.K. Misra (1977), Logan (1981), Viswanathan Niar (1985), K.S. Singh (1994), Francis Kulirani (1996) etc., have dealt with the various aspects of the Paniyan community. Luiz (1962:218) was of the opinion that the name Paniyan is the modified form of the Malayalam word *pamikkaar* (labourers). According to 1991 Census, the Paniyan population was 67,948. They are distributed in Wayanad, Kannur, Kozhikode and Malappuram Districts. Majority (71.94 per cent) of the Paniyan population is concentrated in Wayanad district. Kannur, Kozhikode and Malappuram Districts have the Paniyan population of 14.41 per cent, 3.04 per cent and 8.50 per cent respectively. The Paniyan community were once bonded labourers under non-tribal landlords and were exchanged along with the land. 77.2 per cent have no land in possession except house sites. Rest has only meagre landholdings (Viswanathan & Jaya, 1993: 10-14, KIRTADS).

The Paniyan subsist on agricultural labour related to paddy cultivation and are not skilful in n.w.f.p collection. Both male and female are wage labourers. In addition to wage labour, females do firewood collection, cooking, fetching water, rearing up of children etc. Though both husband and wife earn money, a lion's share of the earnings of the males is spent on smoking and alcohol consumption.

Paniyan hamlets are usually located near paddy fields and generally monoethnic in nature. Hamlet is called *padi* and each *padi* is constituted by a number of huts or *pira*. *Pira* is a multi-sloped structure with raised platform with side walls made up of bamboo splits or bamboo wattle work plastered with mud on both sides.

The Paniyan society is characterised by an acephalous political organisation. At hamlet level or group of hamlets, *moopan* or *chemmi* functions as the socio-political head. *Moopan* or *chemmi* is the officiating authority on occasions like marriages, death, inter-hamlet disputes, religious ceremonies etc. He also acts as the principal organiser of the labour force of a hamlet for the convenience of landlords,, and supervises the work undertaken by the Paniyan labourers. In social and religious functions the *moopan* is assisted by *karayma*. *Chemmi's* position is usually hereditary descending from father to son or to the eldest male members of the lineage.

The Paniyan society is characterised by numerous clans. Some of the common clan names are *anjilian*, *moornilian*, *cherrikan* etc. The presence of a particular clan varies from place to place. Children are born in the mother's clan. Clan exogamy is observed strictly and the violation of this is tantamount to incest. Monogamy is the customary dictum. Bride price is prevalent. Marriage by purchase, capture and elopement are practised. Levirate and widow remarriages are permitted. Post-marital residence pattern is bilocal. Both male and female children

are eligible for parents' property. They bury the dead and the eldest son is the chief mourner. Paniyan are animists. The Gods and Goddesses worshipped by the Paniyan include Mariyamma, Guliyan, Iditheyyan, Kavalantheyyam, Valliyooramma, Pakkamtheyyam, Poothaditheyyam etc.

Kattupaniyan- Origin

The very term Kattupaniyan gives a clue on their origin and habitat. The term Kattupaniyan is derived from the word *kadu*, which means forest. Thus, the Kattupaniyan connotes forest dwelling Paniyan. They are also called Malapaniyan. The term *mala* in Malayalam denotes hill and Malapaniyan means- the Paniyan living in hill tracts (Viswanathan, 1987:1). Viswanathan also notes that the Kattupaniyan are also called Kurinhipaniyan as they prefer to dwell in the upper ghat section, where the higher altitude plant *Kurinhi* (*Strobilanthes ciliates*) is seen. He writes:

“.....the term Kurinhi Paniyan is derived from the plant *Kurinhi*. *Kurinhi* is the name of the plant *Strobilanthes ciliates* which forms the bottom layer of the multitiered evergreen forests of the Ghat section of this region. It gives an insight into the evergreen forest habitat of the Kattupaniyan”(1987 : 1).

Since the Kattupaniyan population is found only in Nilambur forests, they are also known as Nilambur Paniyan (Viswanathan. 1987:1). Their habitat is thus markedly different from that of Paniyan.

Its economy, social life, food habits etc. are akin to that of a food gathering-hunting tribe. They call the major tribe Paniyan as Nattupaniyan, which means (*natu = rural*) the Paniyan living in rural areas in the midst of non-tribal population.

When compared to Paniyan, the major tribe, the Kattupaniyan have distinct physical features. The Kattupaniyan are short in stature with dark skin, having narrow face with broad nose, bushy eyebrows and curly hair. Prognathism is seen among them. Body hair is scanty. Baldness is a common feature among adult males.

The Kattupaniyan has emerged as a distinct tribe in the forest ecosystem of which they are a part. Their traditional knowledge on forest flora and fauna and adaptation to forests and material culture reveal that this group had centuries of interaction with the forest ecosystem. The devolving of the term Kattupaniyan shows that the cultural identity of the tribe took place centuries back. Though there is dialectical variation, the Kattupaniyan and their major tribe Paniyan speak same language, akin to Kannada and Malayalam. The kinship terms used by them are also similar.

Habitat

Geographical Distribution

Geographically, the Kattupaniyan habitat is the junction area of the three Districts viz., Malappuram, Kozhikode and Wayanad. The area is covered by forests. It forms the southern slopes of Wayanad plateau stretching down to Nilambur Valley. Prior to 1972, the forests

of the areas were under the possession of Nilambur Kovilakom and other landlords. It is now vested with the Government and are called Vested Forests. The Kattupaniyan are distributed in Edavanna range of Nilambur North Forest Division and Thamarassery forest range of Kozhikode Forest Divisions. The geographical distribution of the Kattupaniyan population is given in Table.5-1.

Table. 5-1
Distribution of the Kattupaniyan

MALAPPURAM DISTRICT	NILAMBUR BLOCK	EDAVANNA RANGE	Panchayat	Location	No. of Houses	M	F	T
			Akampadam	Ambumala	12	32	26	58
			-do-	Vettilakolli	14	38	37	75
KOZHIKODE DISTRICT	KUNNAMANGALAM BL.	THAMARSSERY RANGE	Kodencherry	Chembukadavu	13	42	32	74
			-do-	Pathippara	19	54	54	108
			Total		58	166	149	315

The Kattupaniyan, as mentioned earlier, number only 315 in 1995. The maximum number (108) of the Kattupaniyan are seen in Pathippara sites, followed by Chembukadavu (74), Vettilakolli (75) and Ambumala (58). Except Pathippara, in rest of the three locations, male population slightly exceeds that of female. It may be mentioned here that three more Kattupaniyan families of Chembukadavu are settled in Vattachira colony, which is 3km away from Chembukadavu colony. They are counted along with Chembukadavu.

The Kattupaniyan are distributed in four hamlets, which are monoethnic in nature. The people of each hamlet can be identified as a local group. Geographical distance varies between local groups. The distance between Chembukadavu and Pathippara hamlets is only 4km while that of Ambumala and Vettilakolli is almost 8km. But the distance between these two pairs of hamlets is more than 20km through forested undulating terrain with steep climbing and slopes. The interaction between these two pairs of local groups is minimum, though they have common origin and identity.

The Kattupaniyan hamlets are located on the banks of the tributaries of the river Chaliyar. The rivulet Kuravanpuzha flows close to the Ambumala hamlet and the rivulet Palakkayamthodu flows adjacent to the Vettilakolli hamlet. Kodenchery puzha, another tributary of the river Chaliyar flows near to the Chembukadavu and Pathippara hamlets.

Abumala and Vettilakolli

Abumala and Vettilakolli are located at Akampadam panchayat of Nilambur taluk, Malappuram district. The Abumala and Vettilakolli hamlets are traditional locations and surrounded by virgin forests. These forests come under Edavanna Forest Range. These abodes are situated at an altitude about 700m above MSL in the upper ghat section of the hill slopes. The hamlets are monoethnic in nature and the hutments are clustered. Thirty acres of land each is reported to be

earmarked for the Kattupaniyan in these locations. The surroundings of Ambumala and Vettilakolli retain the pristine nature.

The Kattupaniyan living in the Vettilakolli and Ambumala hamlets have limited contact with the people of the plains. During pre-independence period, the area was reportedly covered with thick forests and it was difficult to reach there by any means. The steep climbing from the foot hills was a deterrent to non-tribals to reach these hamlets. During 1950s the teak plantation activities reached upto 3 to 5km from the Ambumala and Vettilakolli locations. The Vettilakolli hamlet is located 5km and the Ambumala, 9km inside the forests, from Palakkayam, the nearest non-tribal habitation. They transact the forest produces with Palakkayam collection store of Nilambur Pattikavarga Vikasana Society. These two locations still remain devoid of non-Kattupaniyan population in the vicinity.

Chembukadavu and Pathippara

The two hamlets viz., Chembukadavu and Pathippara are situated at an altitude of 250m above MSL in the marginal forest areas of Kodenchery and Nellipoyil villages respectively, of Kozhikode taluk, Kozhikode district. The Kattupaniyan families living in the Chembukadavu and Pathippara hamlets are of the opinion that they were brought from the Nilambur forests to the present sites by the erstwhile owners of these forests. At that time the forests were intact and they were engaged mostly in tree felling works and n.w.f.p collection. Now the area is devoid of forests due to settler influx. The Kattupaniyan have been assigned land on the fringes of the forest. At Chembukadavu Govt. have assigned three acres of land for 23 families

and at Pathippara, 12 acres of land for 32 families during 1970s. Now, they live in the cluster of houses constructed for them.

The neighbouring areas of the Chembukadavu and Pathippara settlements got exposed to settlers from 1945 onwards. The forested land have been cleared for the plantation activities particularly rubber, pepper, coconut and arecanut. The Chembukadavu settlement is situated close to the growth centre with churches, shops, market place, bus terminal etc.

The neighbourhood of Chembukadavu and Pathippara settlements is multi-ethnic and multi-religious. Tribal communities viz., Malamuthan, Paniyan, Kattunaicken and Wayanad Kadar are found in the area. The Kattupaniyan have become a negligible component in the locality.

Material Culture

Dwelling units

There exist marked differences in material culture between the Kattupaniyan and Paniyan. The Paniyan's dwelling unit has been described elsewhere. The dwelling unit of Kattupaniyan is also called as *pira*. The number of *pira* in a location varies from 12 to 19. The Kattupaniyan dwelling units are erected on the slopes of hills. The traditional dwelling structure is a two sloped rain and sunshield without raised platform and side walls, thatched with wild leaves. The structure is supported by two poles in the middle. The front faces the valley. Inside the hut the floor is not beaten but levelled. No daubing is done on the floor. They do not like cement flooring of these houses as it

aggravates the cold felt inside the houses during winter and rainy seasons. Sometimes they raise mud platform on floor, which forms the sleeping space. They sleep on mats woven by themselves using grass or gunny bags.

The hamlets of the Ambumala and Vettilakolli are traditional in nature. The houses have small *varanda*, a living room and a kitchen. It is seen that the Kattupaniyan make partition using bamboo mats for making segments in the living room. They are very particular in lighting a hearth in the middle part of the house during the winter and the rainy season to keep away from cold. In summer, they put up hearth outside the house. The Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli, during their sojourn for n.w.f.p collection, camp for weeks together in *alais* (rock shelters) found on river banks.

The Kattupaniyan were provided with houses as a part of Tribal Development Schemes at Pathippara and Chembukadavu settlements. During 1978-79 they were given tiled houses. The Kattupaniyan have not taken any interest in maintaining their houses provided by the Government. Only during rainy season they stay inside. The poorly constructed houses get dilapidated due to negligence. They say that those who provided these houses have to do the repair work also. So once the house become dilapidated, they desert it and build a small traditional dwelling structure (*pira*) and live there.

In Chembukadavu colony during 1997-98, 23 concrete houses were constructed for 23 families. These houses appear to be well

constructed. Each house is provided with a kitchen, a room and a varandha. Along with the structure a small room meant for toilet is also constructed. But so far, no toilet facilities are provided. The houses lack ventilation, chimney etc.

The Pathippara colony is also provided with concrete houses. It is observed that these houses are now seen in unattended condition and the inmates sleep outside the houses. Recently, almost a dozen tiled houses have been provided in Pathippara colony. But, most of these houses are left without finishing touches. For the Kattupaniyan of Pathippara, the nearest market place is Nellipoyil, which is 3km away from their hamlet. After the days' work some of the Kattupaniyan families wouldn't return to their houses because of steep climbing. They spent the night either beneath rock shelters found on the banks of the rivulets or sleep on varandhas of shops.

Tools and Implements

Their digging implements include *kottu* (digging stick), *kodali* (axe) and *kuzhippara* (a long bamboo stick hafted with an iron blade at one end). They carry either iron knife or hand axe during collection pursuits. Tools used by non-tribals for agricultural operations are not seen among the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara, though they live side by side with non-tribal cultivators. Here, choppers are an addition. These are used for coconut plucking by few adult males.

Utensils

Material possession of the Kattupaniyan is very scanty. Their cooking utensils are made of aluminum and earthen pots bought from market places. Food articles are stored in aluminum vessels, reed baskets and bamboo containers. It is observed that in Chembukadavu and Pathippara they collect drinking water in aluminum vessels whereas in Ambumala and Vettilakolli they use bamboo internodes. Bamboo internodes are also used for honey collection. Small pot shaped baskets made of reed is used for storing dry fish. Gunny bags are used for the collection of n.w.f.p.

Dress and Ornaments

Both men and women wear long loincloth called *udumundu*. A piece of red or black cloth tied around the *udumundu* by women is called *arattikettu*. Old women seldom wear blouses, instead a portion of *udumundu* is used for covering the upper part of the body and a knot is made around the armpit. Females use chains, bangles and ear ornaments made of cheap metal and stones. Tattooing is not practised.

Economy

The Kattupaniyan economy is closely linked with the forest ecosystem. Their knowledge on flora and fauna of the habitat is astounding. During the last fifty years living in different environs, the economy of the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara has become different from that of Ambumala and Vettilakolli. The Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli subsist mainly on food

gathering, hunting and n.w.f.p collection. The Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara eke out their livelihood from wage labour and their dependence to n.w.f.p collection is only to a limited extent. A few adults occasionally make reed baskets. These baskets are sold to non-tribals, when there is an acute shortage of money. Though the Kattupaniyan are experts in basketry, this skill is found vanishing as they started using gunny bags for carrying n.w.f.p. They are not eager to make baskets for sale to non-tribals.

Food Gathering

The Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli are totally adept to forest fauna and flora. As told elsewhere, their surrounding areas are covered by virgin forests. Commonly collected roots and tubers are *noota* (*Dioscorea* sp.), *venni* including both *sholavenni* (*Dioscorea* sp.) and *pathivenni* (*Dioscorea* sp.), *kavala* (*Dioscorea tomentosa*), *koyanna*, *mothakka* (*Adenia hondala*) and *perikkayan* (wild tuber). These roots and tubers are available from August to January. *Kottu* and *kuzhippara* are used for digging. Digging is usually done by the females. *Noota*, *venni* and *kavala* are sometimes eaten on the spot by fire roasting.

The Kattupaniyan knows that certain roots and tubers are poisonous if eaten raw. *Mothakka* is of that kind. Before consumption *mothakka* is chopped into fine pieces. These *mothakka* chops are filled in a bamboo basket and it is kept in a stream about a week time. After six or seven days, these *mothakka* chops are taken and eaten by boiling it with salt and chilly.

Their food items also include fruits such as *kattumanga* (wild mango), *chollan chakka* (wild jack fruit), *kattu perakka* (wild guava) and *parangi moonch* (cashew fruit); green leaves of cucumberaceous species such as *cheera*, *thuvara*, *mathan*, *kakkumkay* (*Entada rheedii*), *kaypa*, *churuli* etc. These green leaves are eaten by boiling. The edible leaves are collected by women and children. They also consume wild palm piths.

The Kattupaniyan collect a variety of mushrooms for food. They call mushrooms as *koonu*. Commonly collected mushrooms include: *karadikoonu* (big mushroom seen on the earth, available from May to June), *marakoonu* (seen on the dead wood of *pathiri* tree), *tharikoonu* (seen on the earth), *ottakoonu* or *anakoonu* (big mushroom seen on the earth), *pottakoonu* (seen on ant hills), *perumkoonu* (seen in the field, eaten in raw form), *ulikoonu* (seen on ant hills), *molakoonu* or *kandakoonu* (seen on bamboo thickets) and *kozhikoonu* (seen on trees). These mushrooms are eaten either after fire-roasting or by making curry.

At Chembukadavu and Pathippara settlements the immediate neighbourhood are devoid of forests, but are covered by rubber, arecanut and coconut plantations. So, they have to walk long distance for digging and gathering. Only during acute scarcity period they move to distant forest areas for collection pursuits. They collect mushroom, greens, selected roots and tubers, visiting distant forest tracts depending on the season and availability.

Hunting and Fishing

Though the Kattupaniyan lacks special hunting tools like bow and arrow, they do small scale hunting with the help of *kottu*, *kodali* and

dogs. Their knowledge on forest ecosystem, habitat, path and behaviour of animals makes hunting more easier. Hunting is done both individually and in groups. Only male members take part in hunting. The animals hunted include: *mullan panni* (porcupine), rabbit, *udumbu* (iguana), *keeri* (mongoose), *mala annan* (wild squirrel), *amai* (tortoise) etc. Two types of porcupines are hunted by the Kattupaniyan viz., *mullan* and *ethil mullan*. Porcupine hunting is a group activity. Three to four males take part in tracing the den of the porcupine by following the foot marks left by the animal. Once they find the den, fire is lit at the opening and the smoke is driven to the den using winnow. The smoke drives the porcupine out and is killed. Dogs are also used for hunting down animals. Meat is shared or sometimes eaten on the spot after fire-roasting.

Two kinds of iguana viz., *valiya udumbu* and *ponnudumbu* are hunted by the Kattupaniyan. Iguana hunting is done individually with the help of dogs. Iguana is driven to a tree and is made to jump down by shaking the branches of the tree. Dogs waiting under the tree, chase and kill it. *Keeri* (mongoose) hunting is also done with the help of dogs. The Kattupaniyan eat the left over of a tiger kill, which include the flesh of *kezha*, *kooran* etc. They also catch crabs and three kinds of *ammai* (tortoise.) viz., *kallama* (black tortoise), *vellama* (white tortoise) and *karayama* or *valiyama* (large tortoise). They break the shell of tortoise with the help of *cherukodali* (hand axe) or stones. The flesh is fire-roasted in the shell itself. The Kattupaniyan are very much fond of tortoise egg. Eggs of birds like Malabar hornbill are also collected from the nests.

Fishing is done by both males and females, usually in summer. Children also engage in this activity. Fishing is. Fish commonly caught by them are *malangil*, *aaralu*, *kadanna*, *kallankari*, *mullan* etc. Fishing techniques include: bailing out and stupefying. A bund is made in the stream to check the main flow and water is bailed out with hands till the water level recedes. Fish can easily be caught by this method. Stupefying of fish is a common method practised by the Kattupaniyan. This is a group activity and is done mainly in summer. At first a suitable location for fishing is selected and then barricades are erected with the help of stones. Leaves and mud are used for checking the water flow. Stupefiers are brought and crushed using sticks and stones. The commonly used stupefiers include barks of *inja*, *chuvannappu* (a kind of creeper), bark and root of *muthalakodam* (a kind of creeper); leaves of *oduva* tree and also *neeruvatti* seeds. Usually women and children are engaged in bringing stupefiers and crushing them, while menfolk make barricades. Sufficient quantities of stupefiers are added to the water. Stupefiers make fishes to float on the water surface. But this method of fishing is found declining due to the scarcity of stupefiers as a consequence of deforestation.

Non-Wood Forest Produces Collection

The collection of non-wood forest produces (n.w.f.p) is a major activity among the Kattupaniyan of the Nilambur. The surrounding dense forests of Ambumala and Vettilakolli provide a variety of n.w.f.p. Some of the commonly collected n.w.f.p are listed below.

<i>Sl.No.</i>	<i>Local name</i>	<i>Botanical name</i>	<i>Season</i>
1.	<i>Thenu</i>	<i>Apies</i> sp.	Mar-June
2.	<i>Then mezhuku</i>	<i>Apies</i> sp.	Mar-June
3.	<i>Pantham</i>	<i>Canarium strictum</i>	Perennial
4.	<i>Elakkay</i>	<i>Eletaria cardamomum</i>	July-Oct.
5.	<i>Uruvanchikay</i>	<i>Sapindus laurifolius</i>	July-Sept
6.	<i>Cheenikka</i>	<i>Acacia concinna</i>	Jan-Mar
7.	<i>Kattinchi</i>	<i>Zingiber zerumbert</i>	Oct-Dec.
8.	<i>Marottikuru</i>	<i>Hydnocarpus pentandra</i>	June-Sept.
9.	<i>Kollakuru</i>	<i>Anamirita coculus</i>	Nov-Dec.
10.	<i>Mullilakkay</i>	<i>Zanthoxylum rhetsa</i>	July-Sept
11.	<i>Kanchirakay</i>	<i>Strychnos nux-vomica</i>	July-Sept
12.	<i>Nellikka</i>	<i>Phyllanthus emblica</i>	Nov-Feb
13.	<i>Maramanjai</i>	<i>Coscinum fenestratum</i>	Aug-May
14.	<i>Kurumulaku</i>	<i>Piper argyrophyllum</i>	Sept-Jan
15.	<i>Karuvapatta</i>	<i>Cinnomomum malabattrum</i>	all season
16.	<i>Kakumkay</i>	<i>Enlada rheedii</i>	Apr-June
17.	<i>Eramkol</i>	<i>Oxytenanthera monostigma</i>	Nov-May
18.	<i>Kodampuli</i>	<i>Garcinia gummi-gutta</i>	Mar-Aug
19.	<i>Teak seed</i>	<i>Callicarpa toemtosa</i>	Feb-May
20.	<i>Manjakoova</i>	<i>Curcuma augustifolia</i>	Sept-Nov

Honey is a major item collected. They collect four types of honey viz., *perumthen* (found the branches of huge trees), *thoduthen* (found on burrows of ant hills), *cheruthen* (found in dry bamboo hollows) and *kolthen*. *Perumthen* collection is usually done at night, by males. *Kathi* (knife), *eni* (bamboo ladder), and bamboo inter-nodes or plastic cans are

taken with them while going for honey collection. Honey extracted is collected in the bamboo inter-nodes or plastic cans.

The Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli hamlets barter the n.w.f.p collected with the collection store at Palakkayam run by Nilambur Pattikavarga Vikasana Society, for cash, rice, salt, chilly and other provisions. It is estimated that on an average, an adult Kattupaniyan collect n.w.f.p worth Rs.6000/- per annum. The Kattupaniyan's expertise over n.w.f.p collection cannot be matched by other tribes of the area. The money earned by selling of n.w.f.p is spent mainly for paying back the advance taken for the provisions bought. During lean months they have no hesitation to fall back for food gathering, digging and collection of green leaves to tide over hunger pangs.

Male members of Ambumala and Vettilakolli hamlets avail wage labour in the rubber estate of Palakkayam in Akampadam Village. Recently they have started attending the works provided by the Forest Department such as bamboo cutting, fire-line cutting, weed clearance in teak plantation etc.

Wage Labour

At Chembukadavu and Pathippara area, due to non-tribal settlements and farm lands, the immediate environment is devoid of forests. The Kattupaniyan of this area earn their livelihood by working under non-tribals as wage labourers.

The Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara work as labourers in the pepper vine and rubber plantations of non-tribal communities. They are widely acclaimed by non-tribals as experts in firewood cutting and carrying heavy logs in this hilly terrain. Similarly, the Kattupaniyan are engaged for carrying construction materials such as sand, cement etc., to construction sites, wherever roads are not available. These are considered heavy works by non-tribals.

The Kattupaniyan's traditional skill in tree climbing is now channeled to earn wage labour. Adolescent boys are engaged in arecanut plucking. Among the adults a few work as coconut pluckers. The non-tribal cultivators expressed poor opinion about the Kattupaniyan's skill in identifying the ripe coconut from the tender ones. Among the migrants, tree climbing expertise is lacking. The Kattupaniyan have logically filled up this gap very effectively in the coconut and arecanut groves of the migrants'. Irrespective of this, the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara, face acute shortage of labour opportunities. They seldom resort back to the collection of roots and tubers from forests. It is seen that they have now become a part of rural labour force and depend on non-tribals for the livelihood.

The Kattupaniyan womenfolk of Chembukadavu and Pathippara at times engage in non-tribal household chores. They engage in works such as rice grinding, sweeping, drawing drinking water etc. Rice or cash are given in return for the service. According to non-tribals, these women are irregular. Majority of the Kattupaniyan of the Chembukadavu and Pathippara are engaged in firewood collection during rainy season. Firewood collected is exchanged with tea shops for

food, cash, rice etc. The female folk clandestinely collect coconut, arecanut and pepper from the farms of non-tribals and by selling the same they earn more than Rs.100, a day or so. Non-tribals raise serious complaints about such habits of the Kattupaniyan.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

Pathippara and Chembukadavu area are well known for arecanut, ginger, pepper and coconut gardens. At the Pathippara and Chembukadavu hamlets, agricultural operations such as coconut tree planting, soil conservation measures etc., were taken up by the Tribal Development Department. Periodically, agricultural implements were supplied to these families to take up agricultural activities. But the Kattupaniyan seldom engage themselves in the spade works in their homestead plots. They are totally apathetic towards agriculture even today. The agricultural implements supplied to them were sold non-tribals and spent for arrack drinking.

In Pathippara, about nine acres of land is available for cultivation. A few coconut trees in 1980s are now yielding, but a major part has perished owing to neglect. Because of the fertile soil and conducive climate, the yielding is good. The inmates lease out the annual yield from coconut trees to the neighbouring petty traders.

The Kattupaniyan are totally averse to animal husbandry of any kind. Though goat units were given, they did not show any interest in goats. These goats were tied in front of the huts for days together without feeding. Few died and the rest were sold out owing to the

compulsion of neighbours. So far, only three families were found rearing fowls.

Food Habits

Rice is the staple food of the Kattupaniyan. They take food twice a day i.e., in the morning and the evening. The morning food is called *kanchi*, which is the previous day's left over rice or rice gruel. The evening food is the main meal of the day and is called *choru*. It consists of rice and curry. The Kattupaniyan drink black coffee or black tea. They are averse to milk and butter-milk. Beef eating is taboo. Edible roots and tubers from the forests form major food items. The methods of cooking include boiling, frying and fire-roasting. The Kattupaniyan in general are very fond of the flesh of mussel. They eat the flesh either raw or boiled.

As mentioned earlier, at Chembukadavu and Pathippara, the neighbourhood of the Kattupaniyan hamlets is devoid of forests. Here the Kattupaniyan have a dependent economy and are heavily entrenched in alcoholism. At Vettlakolli and Ambumala, during day-time, the couple may be wandering in the forest for the collection of root, tubers, greens or for n.w.f.p. They fire-roast roots and tubers for a mid-day food, during their collection pursuits. Their diet occasionally include the meat of small games. Food gathering and small game hunting help them to tide over lean periods. Arrack drinking is not rampant in the forest settlements.

The Kattupaniyan families possess ration cards, but they seldom buy rice and other articles from the fair price shops. They are not bothered about the economic aspects of fair price shops. They obtain the same from the nearby shops or Tribal Co-operative Society meant for them, either by paying cash or by exchanging n.w.f.p collected. Drinking water is taken from nearby rivulets or streams.

Sanitation and Hygiene

The dwelling space and surroundings of the Kattupaniyan are miserably unhygienic. Waste matter can be seen strewn in and around the huts. They sleep on floor with or without mat. Bathing and washing of clothes are irregular. Occasionally crushed *cheenikka* is used for cleaning body. There may not be a second set of clothes to change over after a bath. Adults exchange their unwashed worn clothes for visiting growth centres. Children below six or seven years go naked, dirt and mud stained. They are not particular in cleaning hands and mouth, before or after taking food. Matted tresses infested with lice is a common sight. They are habituated to open air defecation and they use certain plant leaves for cleaning. It is stated that the use of water for ablutions can invite the wrath of *maladeivam* (hill deity).

Chewing, Smoking and Drinking

The Kattupaniyan profusely chew betel, arecanut, tobacco with lime. They are aware of the intoxicating property of certain barks and nuts. Bark of *kalanchi* is chewed along with betel leaves. The inside and

surroundings of their huts are stained by betel spits. Chewed betel mixture is put into the mouth of the children of three to four years. This habit has well entrenched in individuals irrespective of sex, even from very early childhood. Menfolk smoke beedi. Even children of six to eight years are habituated to chewing and smoking. The Kattupaniyan of all the four areas are not exception to this.

This community has no traditional knowledge of toddy tapping or brewing liquor. Exposure to settlers had given them the habit of drinking. The Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara are the worst victim of it. Liquor and toddy shops are available in growth centres. Both male and female spend major part of the earning in these toddy cum illicit arrack shops.

The non-tribals engage the Kattupaniyan for a day's labour after luring them with a bottle of liquor. A few non-tribals report that the Kattupaniyan's wouldn't respond to a call once he suspects that liquor wouldn't be served. According to them the Kattupaniyan are not particular about a day's wage in cash, once they are served liquor. The earning of both the husband and wife is spent for drinking. The entire family can be seen near liquor shops, so that all of them including elder sons and daughters can share the liquor bought from the days' wage.

Some Kattupaniyan families have acquired the skill for the illicit distillation of arrack. Certain non-tribal agents provide materials for distilling. Both sexes would not leave any opportunity to drink arrack. Heavily drunk men and women can be seen moving staggeringly through roads. The Kattupaniyan's addiction to liquor is the result of

sudden exposure to non-tribal vices. Spurious liquors is readily available. There occur minimum social pressures or restriction to abstain from it. Addiction to liquor has become a bane to the very survival of the Kattupaniyan society. Community would not disapprove this habit and in almost all social and religious functions, drinking of arrack is a customary practice.

Educational Status

The Kattupaniyan were having a preliterate level of mental horizon till the last three decades. Along with the settler influx, educational facilities also appeared in Chembukadavu and Pathippara area. The Tribal Development Department also took efforts for providing educational facilities. Now literacy rate of Kattupaniyan is 14 percent. Illiteracy is total among the Kattupaniyan of Ambumala. Recently, a single teacher school has been started at Vettilakolli and thirty children were admitted. The teacher reports that parents do not show any enthusiasm in the attendance of children in this school and opined that the children are attracted to the school because of the mid-day meal.

In Pathippara, both anganwadi and single teacher school have been functioning in the same building. In this anganwadi, 30 children (16 boys and 14 girls) were enrolled in the beginning. This number has lessened to 24(10 boys & 14 girls) by 1995 and they were absorbed in the single teacher school. By 1999, this number has further been reduced to 15. The teacher states that during the academic year 1999-

2000, she could enrol 18 children in nearby L.P. School, situated almost 3km away from the settlement. But the children are irregular in attending the school. In the case of anganwadi at Pathippara, though 17 names have been registered in 1999, ten children belong to the Kattupaniyan community and the rest seven are non-tribals.

An anganwadi is functioning at Chembukadavu. Both Kattupaniyan and non-tribal children are enrolled there. The teacher complained that a few Kattupaniyan children get enrolled in the beginning of every academic year, later become drop outs. Beginning of an academic year coincides with the rainy season, when the job opportunities are rare and parents will be idling in the hamlets. The mid-day meal provided in the school attracts the children and hence they regularly attend the school. But by August or September, the children move out along with their parents and this results in the reduction in attendance. During this part of the year only non-tribal children attend the anganwadi. Similarly only a few attend the local L.P.School.

The Kattupaniyan in general are not at all interested in sending children to school. Even if they enrol their children in school, the children lack parental supervision or care at home. Moreover, children form a helping hand for parents in household chores. The elder children are entrusted to look after the younger ones while their parents go for work. In the evening parents return home mostly after heavy drinking. The children too drink liquor whenever they get a chance. In

addition to this, most of the children have the habit of smoking and chewing. Even though at school, the children are given incentives for attending classes, mid-day meals, uniforms etc., the Kattupaniyan could not imbibe the importance of education. The wander and gleaning lust prevail over them.

Demographic Characteristics

Separate Census figures of Kattupaniyan was not available. A survey undertaken in 1998 by Viswanathan estimated Kattupaniyan population as 320. The enumeration made in 1995 for this study showed the population as 307. Later on it is found that information regarding eight persons, who have settled in Vattachira colony was not included in the 1995 enumeration. Including them the Kattupaniyan population record 315 persons, consisting of 166 males and 149 females. Since then the vital statistics of the Kattupaniyan are carefully gauged longitudinally. The sex ratio among them is 897.6. Males form 52.7 percent and females form 47.3 percent of the population. The total number of couples is 66. The average family size is 5.43. The characteristics such as age, sex and marital status of the Kattupaniyan is given in Table. 5-2

The table presents the precarious state of the Kattupaniyan population. The population pyramid has a very broad base i.e., children below 14 years constitute 40 percent of the total population. The population rapidly tapers towards the later ages. The population above the age of 55 is only 2.54%. The low percentage of oldage speaks

voluminously about the abysmally poor health condition of the Kattupaniyan and the very low life expectancy. A study of Paniyan in 1993 reveals that the population above 55 years is 6 per cent (Viswanathan & Jaya, 1993:10-14). This shows that the Kattupaniyan have low life expectancy than the Paniyan inhabiting Wayanad.

Table. 5-2
Age, Sex and Marital Status Among the Kattupaniyan

Age Gr.	MALE					FEMALE					GT
	S	M	W	D	T	S	M	W	D	T	
00-04	18	-	-	-	18	17	-	-	-	17	35
05-09	20	-	-	-	20	21	-	-	-	21	41
10-14	30	-	-	-	30	20	-	-	-	20	50
15-19	18	2	-	-	20	6	10	-	-	16	36
20-24	10	5	-	-	15	-	13	-	1	14	29
25-29	2	17	-	1	20	-	12	1	-	13	33
30-34	-	9	-	-	9	-	13	1	1	15	24
35-39	-	10	-	-	10	-	8	1	-	9	19
40-44	-	7	1	-	8	-	6	1	-	7	15
45-49	-	9	-	-	9	-	3	5	-	8	17
50-54	-	4	-	-	4	-	1	1	2	4	8
55-59	-	2	-	-	2	-	1	2	-	3	5
60 <	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	-	2	3
GT	98	66	1	1	166	64	67	14	4	149	315

Only three individuals (0.93 per cent) are found to be in the age group of above 60 years. Children constitute the main dependent population and the dependency ratio is 40.93 per cent. Looking after

the children and aged one are severe economic burden for the family because of the subsistence economy.

An analysis reveals that 18 of the unmarried males fall within the age group 15-19 and 12 are of above 20 years. Most of the female marriages took place by 17 and by the age of 20, all females get married. The significant number of males who remain unmarried above 20 years can be attributed to the low sex ratio. This results the difficulty in finding suitable females for alliance and high age difference between spouses, once they get married.

There are fourteen widows and only a single widower, at the time of the survey. Out of the fourteen widows 9 are below 50 years. It also points out that the males die at an early age. Male-divorcee number is one, whereas female-divorcee number is four. The female divorcees are found to be very poor in health status. The male-divorcees and widowers have a better chance for getting re-married than female-divorcees and widows with encumbrances.

Sex ratio

Sex-ratio according to broad age group is given in Table-5-3. In between the age group of 0 -14 the sex ratio is 852.94 where as that of between the age group of 15-44 it is 888.89. Above 45 years, females (17) slightly outnumber males (16) and sex ratio is 1062.5.

Table-5-3**Kattupaniyan: Age-wise sex ratio**

Age Group (years)	Male	Female	Sex ratio
00-14	68	580	852.94
15-44	82	74	888.89
45& above	16	17	1062.5
Total	166	149	897.6

Family Planning

Among the Kattupaniyan, 24 married females within the reproductive age group (15-49), have adopted permanent family planning measures. Among the family planning acceptors, the maximum number of females fall within the age group 30-34(7), followed by the age groups of 35-39 (6); 25-29 & 40-44 (4 each) and 20-24(3).

Age group	No. of Females	Name of Hamlet
15-19	Nil	
20-24	1	Chembukadavu
	2	Pathippara
25-29	1	Chembukadavu
	3	Pathippara
30-34	1	Vettilakolli
	2	Chembukadavu
	4	Pathippara
35-39	1	Vettilakolli
	2	Chembukadavu
	3	Pathippara
40-44	4	Pathippara
45-49	Nil	--
Total	24	

Out of these 24, sixteen females are from the Pathippara colony, six from the Chembukadavu colony and two from the Vettilakolli colony. The distribution also shows that out of this 24, 22 women are from two locations viz., Chembukadavu and Pathippara. These two settlements are located in the midst of non-tribals, hence the spread effect of family planning campaign along with lure of incentives given to the acceptors made these women to undergo tubectomy. The inmates of Ambumala, the isolated colony in the forests, is ignorant of family planning.

It is noted that fourteen males (within the age group of 30-45) also have undergone permanent measures of family planning; of them nine are from Pathippara and five from Chembukadavu. The persons who underwent vasectomy owe it to severe compulsion from medical practitioners and motivators. The impact of this has been already felt in the proportions of age groups i.e., between the age group 0-4, 5-9 and 10-14, the respective numbers are 35, 41 and 50, indicating that within the last 15 years the Kattupaniyan population show a decreasing growth rate.

Reproductive Performance of Women

Among the Kattupaniyan, there are 76 married females within the age group 15-49 years, and they form 24.13 per cent of the total population. Widows and divorcees among this age group are also taken for analysis for the reason that they get remarried after a short span of

separation. Table 5-4 gives the fertility history of the Kattupaniyan mothers in respective age groups.

Maximum number of mothers (15) fall in the age groups of 30-34, followed by the age groups of 20-24 (14), 25-29(13), 15-19 (10), 35-39(9), 45-49(8) and 40-44(7). Out of 246 pregnancies, 224 (91.06%) are live births and 22(8.94%) are reproductive wastages. Out of 224 live births 115 are male and 109 are female babies. The maximum number of live births is reported within the age group 35-39 and is observed that male live births exceed that of females. Out of 22 reproductive wastages, there are 8 cases of abortion and 14 still births. Reproductive wastage per thousand pregnancies comes to 89.

Table- 5 - 4
Fertility History of Kattupaniyan Women

Age Group (years)	Number of Ever Married Females	Total Pregnancies	Reproductive Wastages			Live Births		Total
			Abortion	Still birth	Total	Male	Female	
15-19	10	2	-	-	-	-	2	2
20-24	14	18	4	-	4	6	8	14
25-29	13	39	1	1	2	22	15	37
30-34	15	48	1	2	3	23	22	45
35-39	9	56	2	1	3	26	27	53
40-44	7	38	-	4	4	18	16	34
45-49	8	45	-	6	6	20	19	39
Total	76	246	8 (3.2%)	14 (5.69%)	22 (8.9%)	115 (46.7%)	109 (44.3%)	224 (91.1%)

Out of 76 females within the reproductive age group, eight are newly married and fall within the age group 15-19. There are six issueless females; four within the age group 20-24 and one each within the age groups of 25-29 and 45-49. Out of 76 married females within the age group 15-49, 10 conceived once, 7 twice, 16 thrice and 5 females four times. 24 females have conceived five times or more than that. This shows the high fertility rate of the Kattupaniyan.

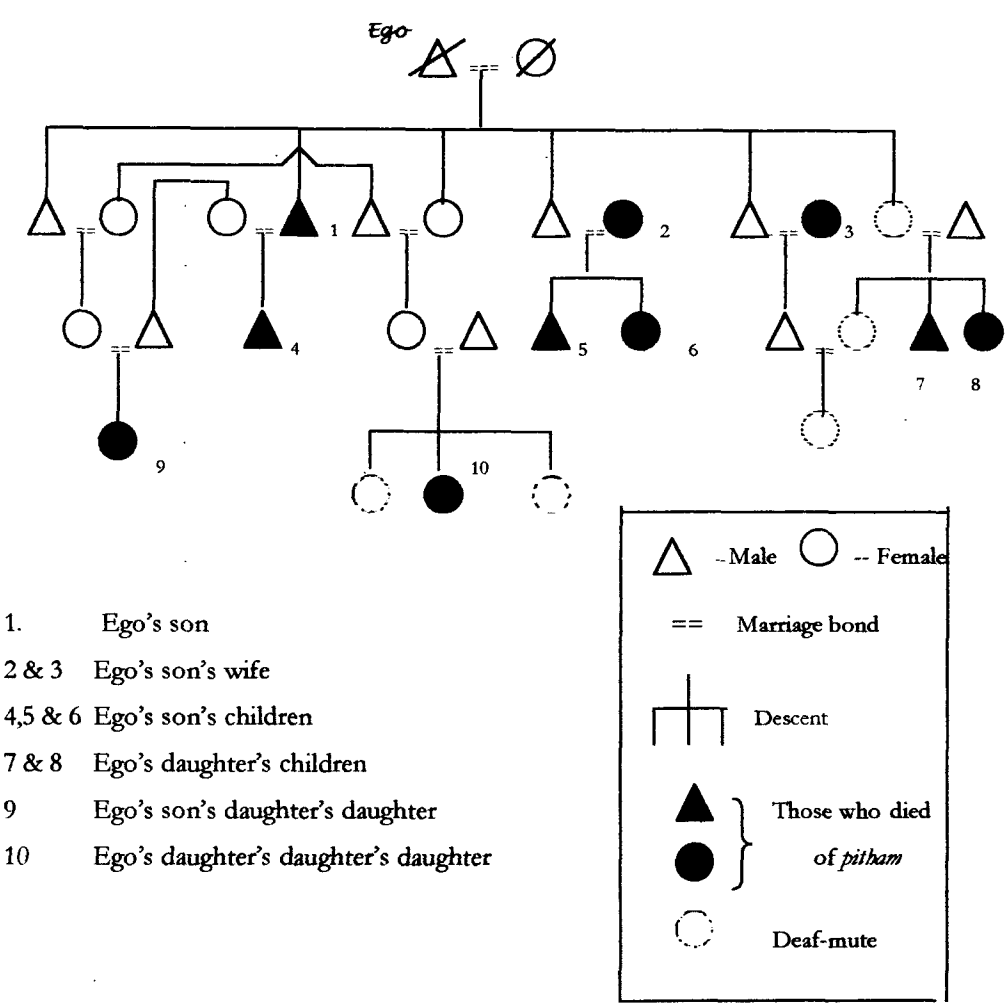
Crude Birth Rate

Crude birth rate among the Kattupaniyan is 17.86. There occurred only 45 live births among them within a span of eight years (1992-2000). Of them 25 were boys and 20 were girls. It is observed that male live birth exceeds that of females. Since permanent family planning measures had significant number of adopters- among both males and females- it is not surprising that crude birth rate has come down.

Crude Death Rate, Morbidity and Mortality

Among the Kattupaniyan, 32 deaths have been reported during the same period. Of them 14 were males and 18 were females. Crude Death Rate among the Kattupaniyan is 12.7. It is observed that during this period 14 deaths, out of 32, had occurred in Ambumala hamlet. Of them ten were died of *pitham* (severe anaemic condition), who were close relatives too. Main symptoms of these cases are pain with the appearance of swelling all over the body, especially on the leg, from knee to toes. The persons afflicted with this have no taste for food and

loose weight. This may be suspected case of sickle cell anaemia. The genealogy given below shows the hereditary nature of the disease across three generations.



Cases of deaths due to mysterious fever along with odema all over the body are also noted. It claimed eleven lives. It is suspected that this attack of viral fever might have been transmitted from outsiders. One case each, death is attributed to diarrhoea, cancer in the mouth region and chest pain. Four cases of childhood deaths are noticed

during this period. The reasons for these deaths are due to fever and cough, diarrhoea, appearance of sores inside the mouth and suspected diphtheria.

Children of Ambumala and Vettilakolli remain unprotected against communicable diseases. The inhabitants of Vettilakolli have resisted the immunisation drive against polio. The social worker cum teacher in charge of the single teacher school at Vettilakolli told that the medical team has experienced much difficulty in giving polio vaccine to the children. Most of the parents refused to bring their children for administering polio vaccine. Only after much persuasion they could administer polio vaccine. A mother having a two months old child showed much resistance. Finally the child was given vaccine by force. Three weeks after this, the child got severe fever and cough. The parents of the child attributed that their child got illness by the black magic of the teacher.

It is significant to note that there are eight deaf-mutes and one mentally retarded person among the Kattupaniyan. Malnutrition is prevalent especially among pregnant women. Major part of diet consists of roots and tubers, which are rich in carbohydrates only. Studies elsewhere show that iodine deficiency in pregnancy results in poor development of foetal brain, giving birth to deaf-mutes, mentally abnormal children with speech defects and poor co-ordination. One of the reasons for the presence of more number of deaf-mutes in the Kattupaniyan community may be attributed to the poor intake of ..

nutritious food items by pregnant women. This aspect requires further probing by medical team.

The analysis of causes of death shows that the following three cases of death occurred due to accidents. Chenan (50) of Ambumala died while he was collecting tuber. His relatives explained that it happened while he was digging tuber beneath a big stone. It fell on his head and he died. Mathi (48) of Pathippara accidentally fell from a rock while she was on her way for n.w.f.p collection. Cheerapalan(45) of Chembukadavu fell from a coconut tree, while he was plucking coconut for wages. Only one death occurred due to oldage. The above causes of death shows that unnatural deaths dominates mortality.

Life Cycle Rites

Birth

An expectant mother is segregated to a separate hut called *chittal*, erected for the purpose. An elderly woman or the mother of the woman assists her. She cuts the umbilical cord with a bamboo blade and bathes the child and mother in hot water twice a day. An elderly woman of the hamlet takes care of the mother and the newborn. Adult males are prohibited from going near the *chittal*. The birth pollution or *pula* lasts ten days. During this period, the mother is not given any non-vegetarian food, as they believe that this will cause illness to the child. The mother and the child are given a purificatory bath in hot water, before entering the house. It is observed that *pula* connected with birth is observed more earnestly by the Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and

Vettilakolli. In the case of the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara, now-a-days birth rites or pollution are rarely observed.

The new born is named after an year or so. The naming of a child is done by the *moopan* of the hamlet. On the appointed day, the *moopan* is invited to officiate the naming ceremony. Child is given the name of its paternal or maternal grand parent. At the time of pre-school enrolment, the children are given new names that are used among the mainstream populations.

Puberty

Puberty is known as *kabyanakuli*. A hut is put up for the purpose, and seven days pollution is observed. The girl is segregated for seven days. Menfolk are not allowed to see the girl on these days. On the seventh day, the girl is given a purificatory bath in flowing water. At Chembukadavu and Pathippara such observances are not performed. This is because of the influence of non-tribals in all walks of life.

Marriage

The Kattupaniyan do not conduct marriage before attaining menarche. Arranged marriage is the common practice. Parents search suitable girl for the son. With mutual consent of both parties, marriage is fixed on a suitable day. Marriage takes place at night, in the bride's hamlet. Groom hands over bride price to the bride's father; he in turn gives it to the *moopan*, who spends it for ritual purposes. The bridegroom hands over the marriage badge called *kallumala* (beads arranged on a thread) to the *moopan*, who inturn ties it around the neck

of the bride. Changes are noticed in the ceremonies connected with marriage among the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara due to their frequent contact with non-tribals.

Death

When death occurs in a settlement, all relatives are informed. *Moopan* officiates the death ceremony. The corpse is given an oil bath in hot water and is taken to *chodala* (burial ground). The Kattupaniyan bury the corpse. The grave is dug in north-south direction. After reaching 4' to 5' depth, earth is scooped out from the western side of the grave, along with the level of the floor, to form a side cavity. This side cavity forms a chamber for the corpse. Keeping its head towards north, the corpse is laid to rest on flattened bamboo or mat. Cooked rice, betel, arecanut and all the personal belongings of the deceased are placed along with the corpse; and the mat is folded in such a way that it closes the mouth of the chamber. The grave is filled with earth and a heap is made, over which a stone is kept. A grass thatched hut without any side wall is erected over the grave. The mourners take a dip in flowing water and return to the hut.

They offer rice to the dead one for sixteen days. On the sixteenth day evening, they perform a post-burial ceremony called *kakkapula*. This ceremony is much in common with that of Paniyan. It is performed at the hut of the *moopan*, who officiates it with ceremonial attire, which consists of red loincloth and red headgear. Before the assemblage of the kins of the deceased, the *moopan* invokes the ancestral soul and enter into a trance. In this trance dance he utter whether the

soul has become satisfied or not with the offerings made. If it is not satisfied, a few coins are offered immediately as *thettupanam* (fine) to appease the soul. For successive years they perform the ritual by erecting new hut over the grave and make offerings of cooked food, betel leaves, arecanut, tobacco, lime and country liquor.

The *pula* connected with the death of a person lasts for three years. During this three year period, widow or widower is not permitted to remarry. But it is noted that the mourners, especially widow, remarry soon without waiting for the completion of three year period. In fact, the low sex ratio doesn't give such long time gap for a remarriage.

The Kattupaniyan customs do not permit anybody to stay in the house where the death has occurred. The bereaved family leaves the house forever and stays in their relatives' house or they build a new house. It is observed that the Kattupaniyan still follows the custom of deserting the house where death has occurred, even though it is a pucca house provided by the Government.

Society

Social Organisation

The Kattupaniyan are a small tribal community numbering 315 persons. They lead a monoethnic hamlet life. The far and wide distribution of the population in four hamlets affects its cohesiveness. The interaction between Chembukadavu and Pathippara sections are more intense than that with Ambumala and Vettilakolli sections and vice versa. The Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara trace

their ancestry from Ambumala hamlet. They consider the *moopan* of the Ambumala as their principal headman and call him as *malamoopan* (eldest of the hill) or *muthachan* (grandfather).

A member of a local group is identified with the territory or *chemmam* in which he or she belongs. The term *chemmam* literally means the place of birth. The *chemmam* concept can be seen among other tribal groups of Nilambur Valley. Among the Kattupaniyan, the headman of a local group or *chemmam* is called *moopan*. The *moopan* does not have an assistant. The office of the *moopan* is hereditary. Usually his sister's son becomes the next *moopan*. If, the *moopan* has no nephew in his lineage, it is devolved to the eldest niece's husband. If the *moopan* has no sisters, his eldest son takes the rein. Otherwise, the power goes to the eldermost member of the family. Presence of *moopan* is a must for officiating social functions like marriage ceremonies and death rites. He also acts as mediator in settling disputes.

Any dispute among the members of the hamlet are settled in the presence of the *moopan* of the respective hamlets. Both parties are summoned by the *moopan*. After hearing, he finds out the solution. It is held that disrespect to the *moopan* can bring his retributory punishment. He can inflict punishment by sending certain mercenary spirits, to cause trouble, undue sufferings, accidents or even illnesses. The *moopan's* command over mercenary spirits and tutelary deities give him respect and awe. The wrong-doers have to pay *thettupanam* (fine) to the *moopan*, who in turn offers the same to *maladeivam* (hill deity). The *moopan*

officiates all religious rites and functions. He is the custodian of the *poya* (baskets) which contain images of deities worshipped by them.

Marriage and Family

The Kattupaniyan are basically an endogamous society. The families of a hamlet are related to each other in a number of ways as the population is small and the practice of hamlet endogamy. The kinship relations at times cut across hamlets. The marital alliances between the Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli hamlets are common. Like wise, marriage between people of Chembukadavu and Pathippara is more frequent. The considerable geographical distance between these hamlets is found a deterrent in spouse selection.

As mentioned earlier, there are 66 marriage unions at the time of survey. Of this 63 marriages are endogamous and the rest three are Kattupaniyan-Paniyan marriages. It is significant to note that only the Kattupaniyan males selected Paniyan females and no Kattupaniyan females are married to Nattupaniyan or non-tribes. The Kattupaniyan consider themselves superior in social status than the Paniyan and hence the above three marriages can be termed as hypergamous marriages.

The genealogical analysis did show that both cross cousin and parallel cousin marriages are taking place. There are twelve cases of cross cousin marriages and nine cases of parallel cousin marriages among these 63 endogamous couples. Marriage by exchange is also prevalent. Skipping one or two generations for establishing a marital

alliance between two members of opposite sex is common. Age difference between spouses is not a deterrent in doing so. A case of uncle-niece marriage, sororal polygyny and two cases of junior sororate are noticed. Widow, widower and divorcee-remarriages are frequent. The society can't afford the delay of such unions. The marital bond is very weak. Desertions and remarriage are very common. It may be noted that after marriage the couple live in the same hamlet. The children in earlier marriage union also live in the same hamlet along with either of the parents.

Nuclear family is the basic social and economic unit. Both husband and wife share the burden of running the family. Aged members of a family are looked after by the entire hamlet people. Boys and girls by 10 or 12 years become independent in economic pursuits. In Chembukadavu and Pathippara, the girls move along with their mother or in peer groups. They trespass private arecanut, coconut and pepper gardens; collect the items and the items thus collected are sold to local merchants. Thus, they earn more money than wage labour from these pursuits. In the eyes of non-tribals, this collection pursuits is a kind of stealing, whereas for the Kattupaniyan, it is just like any gleaning pursuits from forests. No males are seen engaged in such gleaning operations.

Boys are seen engaged in arecanut plucking in the gardens of non-tribals at Chembukadavu and Pathippara area. At Ambumala and Vettilakolli region they either assist parents in n.w.f.p collection or undertake fire-wood collection and digging. Girls are not only a helping

hand in household chores but also contribute to the subsistence economy.

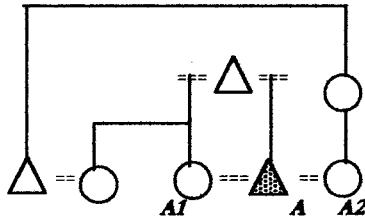
Economic co-operation among members of a hamlet is very much pronounced. A man or woman or the whole family after a day's labour or collection pursuits return to the hamlet. Provisions are purchased from the day's earnings. They share cooked food with immediate neighbourhood family. When member of a family get a day's wage labour in the evening, rest of the members wait for him/her near arrack shops so that, with the money earned all the family members can have a drink.

As told elsewhere since hamlet endogamy is common, the male and female continue to live in the same hamlets after desertion and remarriages. In Chembukadavu and Pathippara hamlets the couple live with either of the parents. Broken family situation is common (see case studies 1 to 8). Government have constructed houses for the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara. Whenever an allottee breaks his/her marital alliance, he/she may leave the house and join the house of his/her new partner. The case studies furnished below give a glimpse of the kind of marriages and family life led by the Kattupaniyan.

Case-1

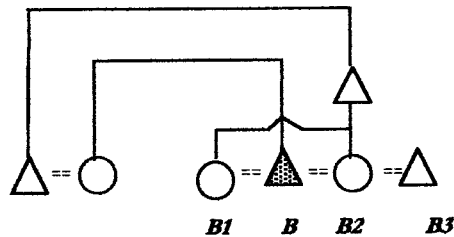
A, aged 32 is a resident of Pathippara colony. He was first married to his half-sister, *A1* (i.e. his father's another wife's daughter). The relationship between *A* and *A1* lasted only few years and he deserted her, for the reason being that *A1* is a barren.

After a gap of six months *A* remarried *A2*, who is his first wife, *A1*'s brother-in-law's sister's daughter. *A2* is a mentally unbalanced person. So this relationship lasted hardly few months and *A* deserted *A2* and returned to his first wife, *A1*.



Case-2

B aged 30 is a resident of Pathippara colony. His first wife, late *B1* was also a resident of the same colony. *B1* was *B*'s sister's husband's brother's daughter. They had only one daughter and when the child was four years old, *B1* got afflicted with severe stomach pain and had been hospitalised and she died.

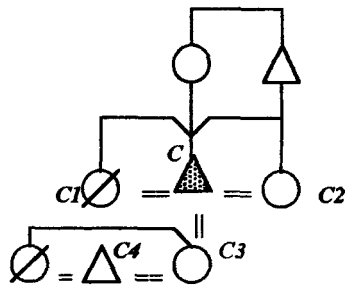


Almost eight months after the death of *B1*, *B* remarried *B1*'s sister *B2* (sororate), who herself was a divorcee, having separated from

B3, who is 55 years old and much elder than her. Now *B* and his daughter are living with his second wife, *B2*.

Case-3

C, aged 50 years is a resident of Chembukadavu colony. His first wife the late *C1* was his cross cousin. They had a daughter in this relationship. *C1* died of suspected sickle cell anaemia.

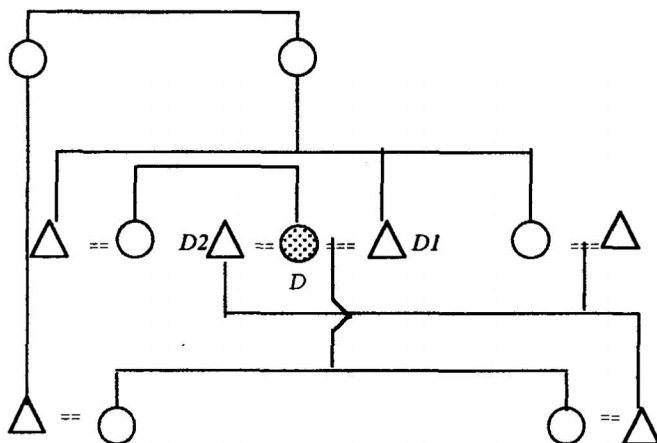


After the death of *C1*, *C* remarried his wife's sister (sororate), *C2*. He had a daughter in this relationship. Few years later *C* made a relationship with *C3* of Pathippara colony and started living with her. *C3* is only 18 years, old and much younger to him. But their relationship lasted only few months. *C3* deserted *C* and married her deceased sister's husband (sororate), *C4*. *C* returned to his second wife *C2* and he is now living with her.

Case-4

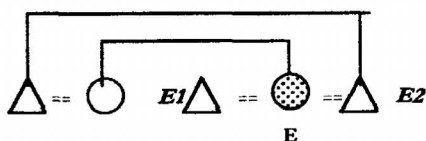
D aged 43 is a resident of Pathippara colony. She has married twice. Her first husband the late *D1* was her brother-in-law's brother (sister's husband's brother). They lived together for almost twenty five years and had three children. One of their daughters married *D1*'s mother's sister's son and the other daughter married *D1*'s sister's son.

D1's death was accidental. He fell down from a coconut tree while he was plucking coconuts. *D* did not get any compensation for this accidental death. After an year's mourning, she re-married *D2*, who is her deceased husband *D1's* sister's son. In other words *D2* is *D1's* daughter's husband's brother too. *D2* (29) is much younger to *D*.



Case-5

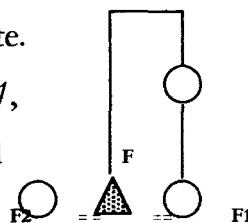
E is a resident of Pathippara colony. She is 30 years old and is illiterate. She was first married to *E1* of Ambumala, Nilambur, who belongs to the same community. Their marital life lasted almost 12 years and she conceived thrice. One was a still birth. Her daughter died of diarrhoea at the age of four. Now she is having only one child. *E* adopted family planning in 1990, at the age of 25.



Both *E* and her husband *E1* are alcoholics who become violent after drink. *E1* used to beat *E* and at most times he goes somewhere in the forest and returns only after a couple of days. One day, after a big quarrel, he left the place, went to Nilambur, started to live with another woman and never returned. For almost six months, *E* lived single and then she started living with her sister's husband's brother, *E2*.

Case-6

F, a resident of Ambumala colony is illiterate. His first marriage was with his sister's daughter, *F1*, and is a case of uncle-niece marriage. They had three children and one died in 1995 of *pitham*,



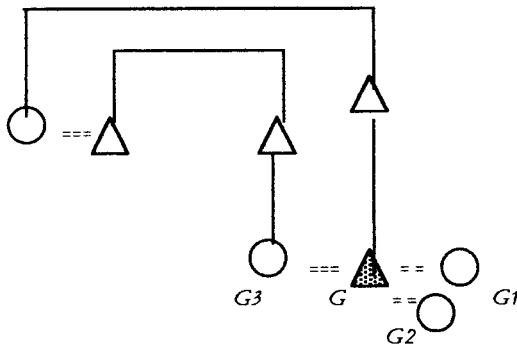
a suspected case of sickle cell anaemia. Almost 15 years after his first marriage, *F* married again. His second wife *F2* too belonged to the same community. *F* and his two wives lived under one roof till the death of *F1* in 1990. *F1* too died of *pitham*. *F2* had six children by *F*, of whom two died of the same disease mentioned above.

Case-7

G, *moopan* of Pathippara colony is 60 years old. His first marriage was with the late *G1* of Ambumala, who belonged to the same community. They lived together for 25 years or so, till *G1* died. Five children were born in this martial union.

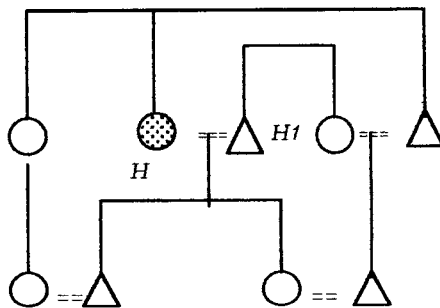
After the death of *G1*, *G* lived single for an year and then married *G2*, a widow, who had three children from her earlier marriage.

G2 too belongs to the same community. Since G2 adopted permanent family planning measures, she did not bear any children. They lived together for five years, then G deserted G2 and started living with G3 aged 22 years, who is much younger to him. G3 is G's father's brother-in-law's brother's daughter. G3, who is a divorcee, had a daughter by her first marriage. G3 too adopted family planning. G is now living with his third wife and her daughter.



Case-8

H, aged 43 is a resident of Pathippara colony. She started her marital life at the age of 16. Her husband H1 is her sister-in-law's brother, and it is a marriage exchange.



Both *H* and her husband *H1* are known for heavy drinking. In their 20 years of marital life, they had five children and of them two were married to close kins. Their son is married to *H*'s sister's daughter (parallel cousins) and a daughter is given in marriage to *H*'s brother's son (cross cousins). Here, both cross cousin and parallel cousin marriages are noted within a family.

The above personal histories show that an individual in his/her life time may have two or three marital relationships. A spouse may be a cross cousin, parallel cousin, maternal niece, wife's sister, husband's brother etc. Marriage between a man and his step-sister is also noticed in Pathippara (case- 1). The Kattupaniyan have no choice in selecting spouses with appropriate age differences also. A man of 29 years living with a woman of 43 years (case-4) and a man of 60 years living with a woman of 22 years (cases-2, 3 and 7) are noted among them. Uncle-niece marriage is also observed (case-6).

The Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli are endogamous in nature, whereas Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara have started marrying Nattupaniyan, living in adjoining areas. This is detailed elsewhere. In Pathippara an instance of illegal conjugal relationship between a Christian man and Kattupaniyan woman was noticed. He deserted her. She died after giving birth to a boy. Now, the child is living with his maternal grand parents and is treated as Kattupaniyan.

Religion

The Kattupaniyan worship ancestral spirits and a number of sylvan deities. They believe in rebirth. The keeping of personal belongings, cooked items in the grave and a small hut erected over the grave etc., are a part of this. They believe that the pervading ancestral spirits control their day-to-day life and behaviour.

It is observed that among the Kattupaniyan, a few elderly male members, mainly the *moopan* keeps baskets made of reed or rattan called *poya*. Sacred things are kept in this. An individual may have more than one *poya*. These *poya* are placed one over the other and are kept in the corner of the hut or room on a bamboo platform. The *poya* contain red clothes and ritual *mani* (bronze bells). Some of them keep *kinnam* (bronze plate) within the *poya*. Womenfolk are not allowed to touch the *poya*. The above items are divine objects. The red clothes are a part of sacred attire worn by the *moopan* while officiating religious rites and ceremonies. The bells are used for making rattling sound during invocation of ancestral spirits and hill deities.

In Chembukadavu and Pathippara altogether five persons are found keeping *poya*. The possession of *poya* by more than one individual in a location shows that many households have their own ancestral spirits to propitiate. The eldest male member of the patrilineage keep the *poya*.

It is observed that the *malamoopan* of the Ambumala hamlet has a separate room in his house for keeping the *poya*. In addition to red

clothe, *mani* and *kinnam*, it may contains *thudi* (a tiny drum). Womenfolk are not allowed to enter this room. In Vettilakolli hamlet also two persons were found keeping *poya*.

The Kattupaniyan also believe in an all pervading hill deity called *maladeviam*. During annual propitiating ceremony of *maladeviam*, rice, betel leaves, arecanut, tobacco, country liquor etc., are offered to the deity whose abode is believed to be the Ambumala peak. Whenever any serious illness occur to any member, after performing certain rituals, the *malamoopan* pays visit to the Ambumala peak and offers betel leaves and liquor to their *maladeivam*. They believe that undue calamities can occur if the wrath of these deities fell on the people.

The sudden occurrence of a malady or an onset of illness is attributed to the wrath of deities or spirits. The performance done by the *moopan* for curing illness is known as *manthramcheyyal*. When a person falls ill, the relatives bring him/her before the *moopan*, after dusk. The *moopan* through his divination identify the cause of displeasure. The patient sits in front of the *moopan*, facing east. Then the *moopan* takes rice, turmeric powder and black thread in a winnow. While invoking *maladeivam*, he shakes the winnow vigorously and does magical chanting. When the magical recitation reaches high pitch, he enters into a trance and utters the cause of illness or reason for the wrath. Remedial measures are taken then and there. The *moopan* ties a black thread around the wrist or neck of patient. For appeasing the angry deity or spirits the patient has to pay fine (one rupee coin or fifty paisa coin),

betel, tobacco, lime and a bottle of liquor to the *moopan*. *Moopan* ties the coins in a red cloth and keep it in the *poya*. The coins are later on spent for annual propitiation ceremonies.

It may be mentioned here that the Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli are having tenets of their religion, deeply entrenched in ancestral worship and sylvan deities. The Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara seldom perform these kinds of rites these days. Their neighbourhood is inhabited by Christians. The Kattupaniyan stated that the Pentacostal church people tried to proselytise them by frequent contact and community prayer. It is found that their effort over the years did not yield any results. Unlike other tribes of the area, the Kattupaniyan are not interested in taking pilgrimage to Hindu worshipping centres.

Impact of Mainstream

The Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli subsist on food gathering, hunting and n.w.f.p collection, and have minimum contact with non-tribals as these hamlets are located inside the forests. On the other hand the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara live side by side with non-tribals near growth centres. The male members generally go for wage labour if it is available like coconut and arecanut plucking, weeding, thinning, mulching etc. They are accompanied by their spouses and small children. Females are sometimes called for as a helping hand by non-tribals, in the household works. In the evenings they flock near one part of the growth centres to watch television or to

visit a theatre. They move on to non-tribal households sometimes, to watch television.

The Kattupaniyan have started accepting food from non-tribals when they go for work. Earlier they abhorred beef eating. But these days they accept it when they are served as a part of mid-day meals by their non-tribal employer. Milk was a tabooed item. Now, menfolk drink tea added with milk from tea shops. The neighbourhood non-tribal population usually utilise the Kattupaniyan's manpower by giving them a bottle of country liquor. They thus become addicted to country liquor. It is noticed that a lion share of a day's wage is spent for liquor consumption. Addiction to liquor is one of the major causes of separation and marital breaking up.

Earlier, the Kattupaniyan was an endogamous group. But recently a few marriages with their major tribe, Paniyan have taken place in Chembukadavu hamlets. As told earlier, this hamlet is located very close to the mainstream population and the Kattupaniyan work along with other groups. Instances of sexual exploitation of the Kattupaniyan women, which lead to the birth of illegitimate children are noticed in Pathippara hamlet also.

It is observed that twenty-four females within the age group 14-49 have adopted permanent family planning measures. Of them twenty-two females are from Chembukadavu and Pathippara settlements, which are close to the mainstream population.

Notable changes can be observed in the realm of education also. A decade back, the literacy rate of the Kattupaniyan was below two percent. But now it has reached to 14 per cent. It may be due to the constant touch with the mainstream population, Tribal Development Department personals and literacy workers.

It is observed that in the realm of religion, the change is not discernible. Though the immediate neighbourhood of the Kattupaniyan is multi-religious, they are not influenced by any of these. The Kattupaniyan still believe in their own ancestral spirits.

THESIS ON
THREE TRIBES OF NILAMBUR VALLEY :
**A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Economy,
Society and Culture**

Submitted to the
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in
ANTHROPOLOGY

by
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CHAPTER-VI

PATHINAICKEN

The Pathinaicken (Pathinaicken - both singular and plural) inhabit in the semi-deciduous forest areas of Nilambur Valley. A survey conducted in 1995 recorded their number as 440. They subsist on food gathering, hunting, collection of n.w.f.p and forest labour. The Pathinaicken is considered to be an offshoot of the major tribe Kattunaicken. The Pathinaicken, Cholanaicken and Kattunaicken speak same language, which is akin to Kannada. In earlier Censuses, the Pathinaicken population has not been enumerated separately. It is presumed that the Kattunayakan population figures include Pathinaicken also.

Kattunayakan (Kattunaicken)

The Kattunaicken is spelt as Kattunayakan in the Scheduled Tribe lists of Kerala. They are also categorised as a Primitive Tribal Group in 1976 by Government of India. They are distributed in Wayanad, Malappuram and Kozhikode Districts of Kerala State. According to 1991 census their population was 12155. They are concentrated more in Wayanad district (75.36 per cent) when compared

to that of Malappuram (10.36 per cent) and Kozhikode (2.35 per cent) Districts. The term Kattunayakan is derived from the words- *katu* (forest) and *nayakan* or *naicken* (lord), thus Kattunayakan literally means *lord of forests*. They are also called as Jenu Kurumbas (*jenu* = honey, *koro* = hills and Kurumbas means hill man). Thus the term Jenu Kurumbas denotes honey-cutting lords of the hills (Thurston, 1909: 165). In Malayalam, they are called as Thenkuruman (*then* = honey). The term rightfully connotes their expertise in honey collection. In the subsequent portion Kattunayakan is spelt as Kattunaicken.

Kattunaicken tribe is mainly found on the trijunction area of inter-State boundaries of Kerala, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. The forests of the area are wet evergreen and semi-deciduous in nature. But further south, these forests stretch down to Nilambur Valley. The Pathinaicken and Cholanaicken are seen on the southern end of the Kattunaicken population distribution in the Western Ghats. The Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken had their origin from the Kattunayakan. Viswanathan(1985:34) notes:

“Observations on Kattunaicken, Pathinaicken and Cholanaicken kinship terms, political and religious organisations show that they have many common cultural traits, presumably indicating a common origin”

Somasekharan Nair (1981), a linguist, observes:

“analysis of the language of Cholanaicken reveals that its affinity to the language spoken by Kattunayakan, Pathinaicken

and Uralikuruman (also known as Vettakurambar)
The most obvious feature of this group of language is the heavy influence of Kannada.”

The above linguistic study also suggests a common origin of Kattunaicken, Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken.

Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken

The research works carried out among the Cholanaicken by Mathur (1977), Viswanathan (1985) and Ananda Bhanu (1989) have pointed out a common origin of Pathinaicken and Cholanaicken. Mathur (1977:143) was of the opinion that Pathinaicken and Cholanaicken are the sub-sections of the major tribe Kattunaicken. Ananda Bhanu (1989:32) holds that the Pathinaicken have similarities to the Kattunaicken in appearance. Viswanathan writes:

“the Pathinaicken- a tribal community numbering about 300 souls- live in the lower valley of the Cholanaicken land. They subsist mainly on food gathering, hunting and collection of minor forest produces. Now-a-days, a part of their livelihood is derived from forest labour. The Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken, barter their minor forest produces at the same barter centres. The Cholanaicken men do have matrimonial relationship with the Pathinaicken women. In such case they live in their wives’ huts. The Pathinaicken often visit neighbouring growth centres and have frequent contact with non-tribal forest labourers (1985:36).

It is observed that the Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken live in markedly different habitat. The Cholanaicken consider themselves superior in social hierarchy. The Pathinaicken live in the semi-deciduous lower valley forests. The Pathinaicken call themselves, *pathikkar*. The term *pathi* literally signifies lower valley. The Cholanaicken (*chola* = ghat forests, *naicken* = lord; thus Cholanaicken-lords of ghat forests) live in the upper ghat section where the forests are wet evergreen in nature.

The Cholanaicken are forest nomads. They live mostly in rock shelters or leaf shelters. They roam around the upper ghat section for food gathering, hunting and n.w.f.p collection. The Cholanaicken express deep distress if they happen to camp in lower valley semi-deciduous forests. They feel that too much exposure to the Sun can cause illnesses. They are like fish out of water when asked to live in colony houses built in open space. On the other hand, the Pathinaicken inhabit the semi-deciduous forests and prefer to have pucca houses. They do not show any apathy towards the colonisation scheme of the Government.

The spoken language of the Cholanaicken is slightly different from that of Pathinaicken. The Cholanaicken stress heavily, while the Pathinaicken have a free flow of words. The Pathinaicken have become bilingual. They speak Malayalam besides their own language, because of their contact with neighbouring Malayalam speaking population. The Cholanaicken are a more isolated group. In the past though both groups bartered their n.w.f ps with the non-tribes in the same *koottupura* (meeting place), they avoided each other.

The Cholanaicken remained isolated to have a distinct cultural identity. Their population is distributed in distinct territories called *chemmam*. Members of a *chemmam* are known after the territory. The tribe enjoys traditionally exclusive n.w.f.p collection rights of their territories. Viswanathan observes:

“Two to seven primary families belonging to a kingroup roam in a specified area of forests for food gathering, hunting and collection of minor forest produces. The territory over which a kingroup wields its economic rights and other privileges is called *chemmam*. The Cholanaicken of a particular *chemmam* do not trespass the rights of others and the violation of these rights can lead to violent quarrels and bloodshed” (1985:39).

The above account shows the antiquity of Cholanaicken in their habitat. The Pathinaicken too had similar *chemmam* rights in the lower valley forests.

Habitat

The habitat of Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken fall within the region of Nilambur forested hills. This area marks its boundaries with Wayanad forested hills in the north, Tamil Nadu in the east, Mannarkkad forested hills in the south and Chaliyar river basin in the west. This region is a part of Western Ghats. It is a scrap slope area and there is a drop of 700m in height within a short distance of one kilometer. There is a valley in the north-western and eastern portion of this hilly tract and thereby the slope of this region converge towards the

centre. This region is the catchment area of the Chaliyar river and its territories. The rainfall in the region averages around 250mm and decreases towards north and east.

The main roaming ground of the Pathinaicken is the lower valley moist deciduous forests characterised by plenty of valuable timber trees and bamboo growth. It is a haven of edible roots and tubers unlike the forests of ghat section. On the banks of the perennial rivulets flowing through the area, natural forests are left uncut, where huge trees, luxuriant reed and bamboo growths are seen. Within the last forty years a major chunk of the semi-deciduous forests of the lower valley were cleared by the Forest Department for planting teak. Forest Department has also started rubber plantation on 150 hectares at Punchakolli of the Vazhikkadavu Forest Range, in 1978-79.

Elephant herds roam the Pathinaicken habitat throughout the year. During rainy season the teak plantations have luxuriant undergrowth. The riverine forest patches bordering the teak plantations are a preferred habitat of elephant herds. Attacks from rouge elephants on Pathinaicken settlements are frequently heard. Houses and usufructs are often destroyed. Bison, wild boar, deer, wild dog, panther etc., are also found in the habitat. The Pathinaicken domesticate dogs. Dogs sense the wild life movements particularly that of elephants and thus safety precautions are taken. Dogs are also used for hunting small games. Parrots are reared by children as pets.

Geographical Distribution

The Pathinaicken were identified after the territory in which their forefathers lived. A localised group of patrilineally related families maintain authority over a territory. Every Pathinaicken are called after their respective territory, irrespective of his or her temporary residence status elsewhere. The Pathinaicken colonies are seen in places where they pursue their n.w.f.p collection and avail forest labour opportunities. Their settlements are distributed in Kalikavu and Karulai ranges of Nilambur south forest division and Vazhikkadavu range of Nilambur north forest division (Table.6-1).

Table-6-1
Distribution of Pathinaicken

MALAPPURAM DISTRICT	Ranges	Panchayat	Location	No. of Houses	M	F	T
	Kalikavu	Chokkad	Chokkad	6	14	12	26
Karulai	Amarambalm	Pattakarimbu	15	47	29	76	
	Karulai	Mundakkadavu	20	54	48	102	
	-do-	Dhodalapotti	18	30	35	65	
Vazhikkadavu	Moothedam	Uchakulam	12	27	29	56	
	Edakkara	Kodalipoyol	3	4	5	9	
	Vazhikkadavu	Punchakolli	25	56	50	106	
Total				99	232	208	440

Out of the seven Pathinaicken colonies, Punchakolli (106) is the largest in population size and the smallest is Kodalipoyil (9). The majority of Pathinaicken colonies are monoethnic in nature. But in Chokkad and Uchakkulam colonies they live side by side with other tribes viz., Paniyan, Aranadan and Kattunaicken. The Pathinaicken hutments are clustered, but do not follow any definite pattern or lay out. During summer, when they venture for collection pursuits, they make overnight camps in rock shelters or temporary leaf shelters.

Wild Life Menace

Since the Pathinaicken colonies are located in lower valley surrounded by teak plantations, forest atmosphere prevails. In rainy season, young teak plantations get covered with thick under growths. When heavy rain lashes the upper valley, the wild life, particularly elephant herds move down to the lower valley teak plantations. In summer, the under growth in teak plantation gets dried up and the Forest Department set fire to the thickets in a controlled manner. During this period the elephant herds move to the forests of upper ghat section.

Except Chokkad, in all other colonies wildlife menace is felt. Trampling by wild elephants was often reported. Usufructs were destroyed and houses pulled down. It is reported that during 1970s at Kalikavu Range, Saivila was a major Pathinaicken hamlet. But this hamlet had been deserted by the inhabitants, owing to frequent elephant forages. The Ingar hamlet in Vazhikkadavu range had more than twenty families at one time and 20 acres of land had been set apart

for the hamlet. This hamlet too was also vacated due to wild elephant attack.

The inhabitants of present Pattakarimpu colony are the deserters from Saivila and Ingar. The Dhodalapotti colony in Karulai range is located deep inside the forests, on the banks of the river Karimpuzha. The area is covered with semi-evergreen forests. Twenty-five acres of land had been earmarked for this colony. In 1994, houses were constructed in this colony. Few families attempted cultivation in the allotted land. They have planted tapioca, banana, coconut trees, fruit bearing trees, cashew trees etc. But elephants destroyed the usufructs. The proposal for digging trenches around the colony land had not materialised. The inhabitants made few tree huts for the safety of their life and to guard usufructs. But frequent marauding by elephant herds compelled them to leave the colony land. These families joined their relatives living elsewhere. Seven such families moved to the nearby Myladipotti colony meant for Cholanaicken and occupied the houses deserted by the Cholanaicken families. The Myladipotti colony had protection from wildlife. A trench had been dug around this colony. This trench is shallow at places and thereby elephant herds can enter the colony land and pull down houses. In short, the safety of this colony is suspected.

Punchakolli, Mundakkadavu and Uchakulam colonies also suffer from wildlife menace. During 1990-91 an attempt was made by the Forest Department to make an electric fencing around the Uchakulam colony to protect the inhabitants from elephant attack, but in vain.

Land earmarked for these colonies are covered with thickets. The threat from wildlife prevents the Pathinaicken from planting usufructs and to engage in agricultural operations. Hence they shift their residence from one area of forest to another, depending upon labour opportunities such as weeding and thinning in teak plantations, bamboo and reed cutting, boundary clearance etc.

Dwelling Structures

Traditional dwelling unit of Pathinaicken is called *pora*. These are small flimsy huts without raised platform. Number of *pora* in a localised group varies from 3 to 25. *Pora* is rectangular in shape and erected on bamboo poles, having a length of four to five feet. The wall of the *pora* is made of flattened bamboo and the roof is thatched with teak leaves or reed leaves. Each *pora* has two flattened bamboo doors, one each in the front side and back. The number of partitions in a hut varies from 2 to 4. Flattened bamboo is used for partition. The entry room of the *pora* is used for cooking purpose. A hearth is lighted in the middle. The rest of the space is used for sleeping. Sometimes they erect hut like structures over nearby rocks for safety from wildlife.

The Pathinaicken were provided houses in colonies viz., Vazhikkadavu, Mundakkadavu, Chokkad, Uchakulam and Punchakolli by Scheduled Tribes Development Department. The Pattakarimpu colony was provided with more than a dozen houses as early as 1996. The construction standard is very poor and in most of these houses, plastering of walls, flooring etc., are yet to be done. The inhabitants

complained that the houses have no raised platform and rain water pool inside the houses. None could sleep on the floor during rainy season.

Rock Shelters

Frequent threat from wildlife hampers their living in houses constructed for them. It is observed that the Pathinaicken move to nearby rock shelters found on river banks, whenever they are threatened by wildlife. When they move out during summer for collection pursuits, they camp in rock shelters. Sometimes they erect wind shields. These are erected quickly using reed poles, twigs and thatched with either reed leaves or wild palm leaves. The dwelling structure of various kinds shows that this tribal community is well adapted to the forested life. Their lifestyle resemble that of Cholanaicken in this regard.

Tools and Implements

The main tools used by the Pathinaicken includes *kothuvadi* (digging stick), *kodali* (axe), *kadappare* (long bamboo stick hafted with an iron blade), *kathi* (knife), *choonda* (hook and line), *vala* (net), *eni* (ladder) etc. *Kothuvadi* is used for digging roots and tubers. *Kodali* and *kathi* are used for n.w.f.p collection and forestry operations. The Pathinaicken make nets by using the barks of certain trees and creepers. With the help of these nets they catch monkeys. *Eni* made of bamboo is used for honey collection. They also make mats from *tharaippapullu* (a kind of wild grass)

Pathinaicken are experts in basketry. They make *poonikotta*, a basket made of bamboo and rattan for carrying n.w.f.p collected, storing food articles, clothes etc. They also make large baskets using bamboo splints for keeping provisions. These baskets are kept in an elevated part of the hut. The cooking utensils include a few aluminium vessels. They do not store food articles for year round consumption. They sleep near fire glowing throughout the night. This is to keep away wildlife and to keep themselves warm in the early hours.

Dress and Ornaments

The Pathinaicken, in dress and body grooming, resemble more a non-tribe rather than Cholanaicken of the area. The Cholanaicken seldom cut hair and shave beards. The Pathinaicken men, like non-tribals of the area crop hair and shave beards. Their dress consists of shirt and lunki or lion cloth. The Cholanaicken men have no habit of wearing shirts when they are in their habitat. They wear lunki and use another one to cover the upper part of the body by tying it in front of the chest. The Cholanaicken women cover the upper half of the body by a long cloth, tucking beneath the armpits and tying it in front. The Pathinaicken women these days wear lunki and blouse.

Economy

Food gathering-hunting contribute only a part of the Pathinaicken subsistence. Males engage in all kinds of forest labour, bamboo and rattan cutting, timber loading. Females also engage in forest labour like weeding, boundary clearance etc. Forest labour and

collection of n.w.f.p are seasonal. Both husband and wife work together for n.w.f.p collection except for honey. Similarly, food gathering is also a family activity. They resort to it whenever scarcity of labour opportunities is felt, and when roots and tubers are plenty. Hunting, fishing etc., are undertaken mainly in summer months.

Food Gathering

Food gathering is done throughout the year. Several varieties of roots and tubers are collected. *Kadappare*, *kottuvadi* and *kodali* are the tools used. Their knowledge on roots and tubers is astounding. The items commonly collected include *nara* (*Dioscorea hipsida*), *savala* (*Dioscorea spicata*), *noora* (*Dioscorea oppositifolia*), *noopanu* or *mothakka*, *koyana*, *kavala*, *kavathu*, *koova* and *venni*. Most of these items come under the family Dioscoreaceae. They identify four kinds of *venni* viz., *cholavenni*, *pathivenni*, *gasvenni* and *palvenni*. It is observed that *cholavenni* is seen mainly in the evergreen forests of upper ghat section and *pathivenni* is seen in the lower valley semi-deciduous forests.

Two varieties of *koova* are consumed by them viz., *anakoova* or *manjakoova* (yellow arrowroot) and *vellakoova* (white arrowroot). Outer skin of the *koova* is removed with knife. Rough surface of a rock is used as a scraper. Now-a-days a tin sheet scraper obtained from market is used. *Koova* is rubbed on this scraper to make fine pieces. This is washed several times, dried, powdered and kept for lean period.

The most bountiful period for roots and tubers is from October to April. Digging is done by both men and women. Digging roots and

tubers like *mothakka*, *venni* etc., require much effort than *nara*, *savalu* etc. They have a clear perception of the after effect of eating each tuber. *Noppamu* is poisonous if eaten raw. So they at first slice the raw tuber, add ash, then put this in a *poonikotta* and immerse in running water for twenty four hours. The next day it is taken out and washed several times before boiling. Tubers such as *nara*, *kavala* etc., are avoided as far as possible because of its fibrous nature. These are consumed when other preferred roots and tubers are not available.

The Pathinaicken collect variety of green leaves, mushrooms, ferns, colocasia species grown on tree hollows, piths of bamboo shoots, wild palms, piths etc. The availability varies with season and habitat. Vegetables and green leaves are available in plenty throughout the rainy season. From forests they collect *kattuchembu* (*Colocasia* sp.- wild), *kalluthaya* (*Dryopteris cochleata*), *sakkaravalli* (*Passiflora facctida*), *mudungavalli* (*Bryonopsis* sp.), *barupuli* (*Vitis* sp.), *abbanooli*, *kulathayi* etc. Green leaves collected by the Pathinaicken include; the leaves of *muringa* (*Muringa indiferous*), *nattu keera* (*Amaranthus* species), *vellari* (*Cucumis melo*), *kanchithoova*, *kumbala* (*Cucumis sativers*), *mathan* (*Cucurbita maxima*) etc. Several varieties of gourds are found on abandoned plots. Whenever they happen to pass through the area, they invariably make a halt and collect these items and carry to camp-site. Lemon, jack fruits, drumstick, papaya trees, gooseberry etc., are commonly found in luxuriant growths in such sites. Jack fruit seeds are dried and preserved for rainy season. Several varieties of wild fruits and nuts are also collected. The nuts include *kakkumkay* (*Entada scandens*), *intakay* (*Eliata sylvesterus*), *uppumanga vally* (*Cayretia* sp.) etc.

The Pathinaicken have a thorough knowledge of the different types of mushrooms, available seasons, safety measures for consumption etc. They call mushrooms as *elambe*. Commonly collected mushrooms are *athiralambu* (found on dead wood of pathiri tree), *tharyelambu* (seen on the trunk of trees), *kattalembu* (seen on dead bamboo), *koolembu*, *karadielambu* (found in earth) *uthelambu* (seen on anthill), *mookanelambu* (seen on dead *cheru* wood), *ottanalumbu* (found on dead *oli* tree wood), *choolalumbu* (seen on all kinds of dead wood), *abbalumbu* (seen on the roots of jack fruit tree) etc. Since several species of mushrooms are available during May to November, during these months, it is a major component of diet of the Pathinaicken. Certain mushrooms found on dead wood are perennial and relished throughout the year. The Pathinaicken bear in mind different spots where mushrooms are seen on dead wood. They make periodical visits to these spots or collect it during their sojourn for n.w.f.p collection. With mushrooms they prepare curries adding condiments. They cook by fire-roasting also. Certain mushrooms like *uthalumbu* is boiled, dried and stored in baskets for off season use.

Fishing and Hunting

The Pathinaicken are eager to avail any opportunity for fishing from the rivulets and streams. Fresh water fish has an important place in their diet. The rivulets are in spate during monsoon, but become very lean in summer. They are adept in fishing in both situations. In rainy season they use *veeshu vala* (country net bought from rural folk) and hook and line. In summer months they use stupefiers to poison the lean flow and also bursting of *thotta* (under water crackers). Some

of the plant matters used as stupifiers are bark of *inja*, *medan*, *kakkumvally* and seeds of *nanchu*. Bunding a portion and diverting the flow of streams are a collective activity of both men and women. Similar is the case with bailing out technique. It is noted that in summer months non-tribals traverse the rivers to identify deeper waters for bursting *thotta* for catching fish. A few Pathinaicken men have become experts in using this technique independently by which they catch substantial quantity of fish. The *thotta* is obtained clandestinely from market centres. The fish commonly caught include *malangu*, *bale*, *kadanthe*, *aaralu*, *poosan*, *chundan*, *kallangari*, *arachatta*, *poomban*, *koytha*, *karadichi* etc. The excess fish is shared among the families of a local group. In summer, fish are also dried over rocks with or without salt, and kept for future use.

Nolli (crab) and *amayi* (tortoise) are caught as food items. Varieties of crabs viz., *puzhanolli* (found in flowing water), *gundunolli* (found in wet areas beneath rock), *chokkanolli* (found in dry areas) etc., are caught. They prepare curries with it. These are done mainly by women and children. Tortoises are caught from river water, swamps, thickets, teak plantations etc. It is reported that during summer season when the teak plantation undergrowth are set on fire, it is easy to locate tortoises (*kattamayi*). The flesh is fire-roasted and the shell is then break opened. They also capture birds like *arran*, *pattadan*, *choranden* etc.

The Pathinaicken get minimum opportunities for hunting. Hunting; these days, perhaps have lessened. Primate species are eaten

by Nilambur tribes particularly Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken. *Karimkurangu* (Nilgiri langur), *kodan* (Bonnet macaque) and *paran* (Slender loris) are caught by trapping them with nets. For this, sometimes surrounding trees of an area occupied by primate troops are cut down by menfolk of a local group. It is a very strenuous effort. More over, cutting down trees is an offence as per forest laws. So, such trapping techniques are seldom resorted these days. The animals hunted also include *udumbu* (iguana), *malayannan* (mountain squirrel), *kooran*, *mullanpanni* (porcupine) etc. They use dogs for tracking animals. They do not have bows and arrows and doesn't make any collective expeditions to hunt down big game. Strict vigilance of forest officials may be another deterrent. They collect left over of a tiger's kill.

Non-Wood Forest Produces Collection

A major chunk of their subsistence is derived from n.w.f.p collection. The collection is seasonal i.e., mainly from September to June. It is pointed out earlier also that their settlements are located in the lower valley forests and a major part of these forests are now converted to teak plantations. Hence for n.w.f.p collection they have to walk long distance where the forest patches are intact. Riverine forest patches are their main collection grounds. Depending upon items and area of collection, they go either individually or in groups. Usually husband and wife go together for such collection pursuits. Commonly collected n.w.f.products and the seasonal availability are presented in Table-6.2.

Table-6.2
Commonly Collected n.w.f p & the Seasons of Availability

<i>Sl.No.</i>	<i>Local name</i>	<i>Botanical name</i>	<i>Season</i>
1.	<i>Then</i>	N.A	Mar-June
2.	<i>Then mezhuku</i>	N.A	Mar-June
3.	<i>Cheenikka</i>	<i>Acacia concinna</i>	Jan-Mar
4.	<i>Kollakkay</i>	<i>Anamirita coculus</i>	Nov-Dec.
5.	<i>Marottikuru</i>	<i>Hydnocarpus pentandra</i>	June-Sept.
6.	<i>Kanchirakkuru</i>	<i>Strychnos nux-vomica</i>	July-Sept
7.	<i>Mullilakkay</i>	<i>Zanthoxylum rhetsa</i>	July-Sept
8.	<i>Nelli</i> (gooseberry)	<i>Phyllanthus emblica</i>	Nov-Feb
9.	<i>Maramanjai</i>	<i>Coscimium fenestratum</i>	Aug-May
10.	<i>Kattu kurumulaku</i>	<i>Piper argyrophyllum</i>	Nov-Feb

The Pathinaicken are highly skilful in collecting honey from huge trees. They identify four kinds of honey viz., *perumthen*, *thoduwe*, *netharu* (cheruthen), *belli* and *kadippan*. Except *perumthen*, all other items are collected during day-time. Only male members participate in honey collection. *Poonikotta* (carrying basket), *mulayeni* or *eni* (bamboo ladder), *kathi* and *chavoothi kayar* (rope made from the bark of *chavoothi* tree) are the equipments used for honey collection.

Two to four males are engaged in the collection of *perumthen*. The man who climbs on the tree with the help of *eni*, carries a *poonikotta* on his back, in which *kathi* and a long *chavoothi kayar* are kept. One end of the *chavoothi kayar* is tied with *poonikotta*. Teak leaves are spread inside the *poonikotta* to avoid the leakage of honey from severed honey

combs. While climbing on the tree he also carry a fire wick and is used for displacing honey bees. By keeping the *Poomikotta* under the honey comb, it is cut with the help of *kathi*. Then the *poonikotta* along with honey comb is sent down with the help of *chavoothi kayar*. After returning the camp-site, honey is squeezed out from the honey comb. After squeezing honey, the honey comb is heated in a vessel adding water. To the boiling solution, *arasanna* (turmeric) powder is added and heated again. Water gets evaporated and the wax remains melted. It is then kept in bamboo internodes for a day. The next day honey wax is taken by breaking bamboo internodes. Both honey-wax and honey, especially *perumthen* are transacted with the Co-operative Society. Honey is also used for self-consumption or handed over to individuals who have made earlier request. Of the items transacted, *nebtaru* or *cheruthen* is the better priced one.

Collection stores of the Co-operative society are operating at Myladipotti, Punchakolli and Pattakarimpu. The Pathinaicken give the collected n.w.f.p to the sheds near by their settlement and in turn they obtain rice, condiments and cash. The Cholanaicken also transact their produces in the same collection store. It is estimated that an average Pathinaicken member of the society collects n.w.f.p worth more than Rs.7500/- per annum. Many of them complain that the Co-operative Society accept only selected items. For instance, items like cardamom, wild pepper, turmeric, ginger, *nannari* are not taken by the society. So they sell these items to non-tribals. Non-tribals pay only very low amount, as they know that these items are not accepted by the Co-operative society. For example, for raw cardamom and turmeric, the

Pathinaicken are given Rs.20 per kg and Rs.8 per kg respectively, which is actually is only one fifth of the actual price.

There exists complaint that the payment given by the Co-operative Society is very low when compared to the market price. For instance, the amount given by the society for one kg honey is Rs.40, but from the non-tribals they get Rs.70 or more. Similar is the case with honey wax. So the Pathinaicken prefer to give these items to non-tribals.

Among n.w.f.p, better-priced items are dammer resin, cardamom and honey. But cardamom and dammer resin are available only in the upper ghat section where the Cholanaicken holds monopoly. Entering into the Cholanaicken territory for collecting dammer is never violated. According to elderly Cholanaicken, the *culprits* will be beaten to death if they try to violate the rules. The dammer resin will not get spoiled. So it is collected as and when the Cholanaicken of the territory decide.

At times Cholanaicken invite Pathinaicken to join with them for collecting honey, when there are plenty to collect. During this period the Pathinaicken men enter upper ghat forests and camp with Cholanaicken. Though, they camp together, the Pathinaicken cook separately. The Cholanaicken wouldn't share cooked food from Pathinaicken.

The Pathinaicken lament the loss of huge trees, on which honey combs were regularly formed. These trees were cut down for teak plantations. According to certain elderly Pathinaicken, they pleaded with the forest officials not to cut down those honey forming trees; but in vain. Similarly, n.w.f.p like *cheenikkay*, *marottikay*, *kollakkay* etc., are practically absent in teak plantations. So they have to trek 5 to 15kms to reach forest areas from where they collect n.w.f.p., which add tremendous burden on them. Indeed these are least priced items among the n.w.fps, though they are difficult to collect.

The Pathinaicken men and women also collect medicinal plants for sale. The commonly collected items include *incha* (*Acacia caesia*), *orila* (*Desmodium velutinum*), *moovila* (*Psuedarthira viscida*), *padakizhangu* (*Cyclea peltata*), *kurumthotti* (*Sida retusa*), *sathavari* (*Asparagus racemosus*), *amalpori* (*Ophirrhiza mungos*), *idampiri valampiri* (*Helecterous isora*), *kattinchi* (*Zingiber zerumbert*), *kattupuli* (*Garcinia morella*), *kakkumkay* (*Entada rheedi*), *sarpagandhi* (*Rauvolfia serpentina*), *nannari* (*Hemidesmus indicus*), etc.

It is observed that teak plantations are a natural habitat for most of the above mentioned medicinal plants. August to March is the main collecting season. But in certain years these items are not collected by the Tribal Co-operative Society. But collection agents of private ayurvedic pharmacies seek Pathinaicken's help for medicinal plants collection. The collected items are sold to these agents at a price fixed by the agents. Since the Pathinaicken are not aware of the market price, they are paid at a lower price.

Wage Labour

Most of the Pathinaicken men get seasonal work i.e., from November to May, in the teak plantations. These works include weeding, boundary cleaning, fire watching, nursery raising etc., and are paid minimum wage stipulated for forest labour. Some youths are employed in road repairing, house construction etc., under contractors. Among the Pathinaicken, there are two forest waters and one mahout. This mahout is employed at the elephant camp, Nedumkayam, Karulai, Nilambur.

Wage labour is an emerging trend. A few Pathinaicken work as labourers in the rubber plantation of the non-tribals. Males earn Rs.60 and female earn Rs.40 per day. Half a dozen men have gained expertise in timber loading in trucks. Timber loading, though physically demanding, is a lucrative labour opportunity for an able bodied Pathinaicken. These men have joined labour union of the area, which determines their turn of work. The Pathinaicken have raised claim as sons of the soil. With forest officials' support they could pressurise the union for sharing a portion of timber loading work.

During lean periods, the Pathinaicken women collect firewood from forests and sell to tea shops or non-tribal houses. They are paid in cash or kind. They get Rs.35 or so per bundle. Children help their mothers in this activity too.

Economic Behaviour

The money earned is generally spent for buying tools, implements, clothes, and ingredients for smoking and chewing. They walk long distances to reach neighbouring growth centres for buying these items. The food items particularly, rice, cooking oil, condiments etc., are bought from the collection stores of the Tribal Co-operative Society. For the last two years or so, subsidised ration is supplied through the store at Myladipotti and Punchakolli area. These stores are located at a very convenient place for majority of Pathinaicken. They won't miss an opportunity to view movies.

Food Habits

The Pathinaicken take food three times a day. The morning food is called *otiyara*, which is the previous days' left over food soaked in water. Invariably, it is given to children. Elders also consume it, if available. Their collection pursuits start after *otiyara*. Certain wild roots and tubers are collected and eaten on the spot by fire-roasting. They do not boil roots and tubers as they do not carry any cooking utensils. But these days' men are seen carrying cooked meals in packets when they go for wage labour. The afternoon meal is called *utchayara*. Their main food is *sanyara*, the evening meal. It consists of cooked rice, meat or fish and curry. Fish, both raw and dried, green leaves and palm pith are taken as food.

In food habits, the Pathinaicken differ greatly from the Cholanaicken. The Cholanaicken are averse to milk or milk products

and meat of domesticated animals like fowl, goat etc. They think that any casual intake of milk and milk products can lead to vomiting and diarrhoea. The Pathinaicken do not have such aversions.

Drinking Water

Most of the Pathinaicken settlements are located near to the tributaries of Chaliyar viz., Karimpuzha, Cherupuzha, Punnapuzha, Thalipuzha and its tributaries. As they live near these rivulets, they take water from it. These mountainous streams are perennial. The water sources are virtually pollution free. Wells were dug in newly formed settlements. In Pattakarimpu colony, a single open draw well is provided to sixteen families. The inmates of the colony complain that the well gets dried up in summer and they have to rely on river water. In Punchakolli, during 1998-99, a common tank is built for the purpose of taking safe drinking water. They do not show any apathy in using pipe water.

Health and Hygiene

The Pathinaicken claim that they take bath everyday in the evening. But often it is not so. They are irregular in taking bath. The Pathinaicken are habituated to open air defecation. Latrines provided in certain colonies remain unused. Scabies, running nose and lice infested tresses are common among children. Symptoms of malnutrition are observed among children and adults.

Smoking, Chewing and Drinking

Both men and women chew profusely tobacco along with arecanut, lime and betel. They smoke tobacco by rolling it in dried leaves of *manjakoova* (*Curuma augustifolia*) or of *irul* (*Xylia xylocarpa*). Tobacco is used irrespective of age and sex. They drink strong black tea with or without jaggery. They have no tradition of brewing liquor or extracting toddy from wild palms. At times, when they visit neighbouring growth centres, they drink toddy or country arrack. Drunken brawl is seldom reported.

Educational Status

The literacy rate among the Pathinaicken is 31 per cent. Out of 440 Pathinaicken, 137 people have attended schools i.e., 79 males and 58 females. Literacy of males exceeds that of female. Though more than half of the child population has attended schools, none has completed S.S.L.C. Since 1995, two *balavinjan kendra* were functioning, one at Mundakkadavu and the other at Punchakolli. Teachers were of the opinion that children are attentive and good at studies. 80 per cent of the children are regular in attendance.

Few children among the Pathinaicken of Dhodalapotti, Mundakkadavu, Pattakarimpu and Punchakolli are now studying in Model Residential School (known as *Asbaram school*), exclusively meant for Kattunaicken (including Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken) children. Parents show enthusiasm in sending their children to this *Asbaram school*. They face difficulty during opening, vacation and closing of school as they have to take children to and back from there. The various literacy

drives and this *Asbram school* education have very positive impact on the population.

Demographic Characteristics

The Pathinaicken are enumerated along with Kattunaicken in earlier Censuses. The Pathinaicken children avail Scheduled Tribe's benefits, rightfully so, identifying themselves as 'Kattunayakan'. Viswanathan reported that "Pathinaicken- a tribal community numbering about 300 souls live in the lower valley of the Cholanaicken land"(1985:34). In this enumeration he had estimated only those Pathinaicken population who live in Karulai and present Vazhikkadavu ranges, as this population was in contact with Cholanaicken. Ananda Bhanu (1990:32), while writing on Cholanaicken, noted that the population of Pathinaicken is more or less 500.

The enumeration taken in 1995 shows the number as 440 persons. It consists of 232 (52.73%) males and 208 (47.27%) females. Number of children below 14 years is 186 (42.27 per cent). Of them 37 children are the offsprings of Pathinaicken- non Pathinaicken couples. They are counted as Pathinaicken. The non-Pathinaicken spouses are not counted for tabulation. Table 6-3 presents the age, sex and marital status among the Pathinaicken.

The Pathinaicken have a very low sex ratio i.e. only 896.55 females per 1000 males. The percentage of population in the age groups 0-4, 5-9 and 10-14 are 14.77, 14.32 and 13.18 respectively. The

Pathinaicken population pyramid has a broad base, showing a positive trend in population growth rate. It also shows that child dependency is very high. The average family size is only four. The population above 60 years is only 6 (1.36 percent). It points out to the very low life expectancy owing to several risk factors and poor general health.

Table-6.3
Age, Sex and Marital Status among the Pathinaicken

Age Gr.	Male					Female					Total	%
	S	M	W	D	T	S	M	W	D	T		
0-4	40	-	-	-	40	25	-	-	-	25	65	14.77
5-9	30	-	-	-	30	33	-	-	-	33	63	14.32
10-14	40	-	-	-	40	18	-	-	-	18	58	13.18
15-19	13	-	-	-	13	10	16	-	1	27	40	9.09
20-24	5	18	-	-	23	2	27	-	1	30	53	12.05
25-29	-	17	-	-	17	-	16	1	1	18	35	7.95
30-34	-	18	2	-	20	-	7	-	-	7	27	6.14
35-39	-	10	-	-	10	-	15	1	-	16	26	5.91
40-44	-	12	-	-	12	-	9	5	1	15	27	6.14
45-49	-	9	-	-	9	-	8	-	-	8	17	3.86
50-54	-	9	-	-	9	-	3	3	-	6	15	3.41
55-59	-	6	-	-	6	-	1	1	-	2	8	1.82
60 +	-	3	-	-	3	-	-	3	-	3	6	1.36
Total	128	103	2	-	232	88	102	14	4	208	440	100.00

Among the Pathinaicken, both males and females are having low age at marriage. Females get married immediately after menarche.

16 females got married in the age group 15-19. There are 18 unmarried males above 15 years whereas the number of unmarried females is only 12. Among the 440 persons, there were fourteen widows and two widowers. There are four female divorcees within the age group 15-44, but in this age group no male with divorced status is reported.

Sex Ratio

Table-6-4 gives the sex-ratio according to broad age groups. Below 15 years and above 45 years, males outnumber females and the sex ratio of the respective age groups are 690.90 and 703.70. Within the age group 15-44, females outnumber male in sex ratio, i.e., 1189.47. The ratios may not be statistically significant due to small population. In sharp contrast with the general population, the sex ratio is low above 45 years.

TABLE- 6.4

Pathinaicken : Sex Ratio According to Age

Age Group (years)	Male	Female	Sex ratio
0-14	110	76	690.90
15-44	95	113	1189.47
45 and above	27	19	703.70
Total	232	208	896.55

When compared to males, the females have low life expectancy. Frequent childbirth, harsh life in the forests, seasonal fluctuation in food availability etc., do not ensure proper health condition of females. Among the Pathinaicken the acceptance of family planning measures took place recently.

Family Planning

Among the Pathinaicken, six females and two males, within the age group of 15-49 have adopted permanent family planning measures for limiting family size. Interestingly, in the case of two couples, both husband and wife have undergone surgical intervention. Out of six female adopters two hail from Pattakarimpu colony and one each from Chokkad, Mundakadvu, Punchakolli and Dhodalapotti. All are below 40 years and have more than three children. It is significant to note here that except one in Chokkad colony, the rest five females have adopted postpartum sterilization as a part of hospital delivery. They are lured to undergo it by the motivators and hospital staff.

The health service personnel report that except the Chokkad colony, all other Pathinaicken settlements are situated inside the forests and it is difficult to reach out there with health care facilities. Even if they approach them, not even a single woman would be ready to accept family planning measures. The women of Mundakkadavu, Dhodalapotti and Punchakolli say that they are afraid of accepting surgical intervention due to various reasons. They fear that if they undergo it, they have to take rest for prolonged period. Once they take rest there is nobody to take up household works. They also feel that if they get any

illness during this period, none should be there to take care of them. Moreover most of them are willing to adopt indigenous method for limiting family size or spacing childbirth using tribal medicines, which are made from bark of certain creepers.

Reproductive Performance of Women

Among the Pathinaicken, at the time of survey, there are 109 married women within the age group 15-49, constituting 24.77% of the total population. Divorcees and widows get re-married within a couple of years. Table-6-5 gives the fertility history of the married females. Maximum number of mothers fall within the age group 20-24 (28); followed by the age groups 25-29(18), 15-19 (17), 35-39 (16), 40-44 (15), 45-49 (8) and 30-34 (7).

Table-6.5
Fertility History of Pathinaicken Women

Age Group (years)	Number of Mothers	Total Pregnancies	Reproductive Wastages			Live Births		Total
			Abortion	Still birth	Total	Male	Female	
15-19	17	7	2	1	3	4	--	4
20-24	28	44*	12	5	17	18	10	28
25-29	18	48	3	3	6	24	18	42
30-34	7	29*	4	1	5	14	11	25
35-39	16	68*	3	9	12	22	35	57
40-44	15	82	6	10	16	36	30	66
45-49	8	50	2	10	12	20	18	38
Total	109	328	32	39	71	138	122	260

During the period of study, out of 328 pregnancies 71 have ended in reproductive wastages and 260 in live births. There are three cases of twin births. 32 abortions and 39 still births constitute 71 reproductive wastages. 39 still births forms 55 per cent of the total reproductive wastages. The highest number of still births (10 each) is reported within the age group 40-44 and 45-49. It is noted that incidence of still birth increases when the age group advances. 138 (53.05%) males and 122 (46.92%) females together constitute 260 live births. Reproductive wastage is more (17) within the age group 20-24. This is contrary to the general notion that in the age of 20-24, reproductive wastage is minimum as the women reach their prime period of reproductive function.

Crude Birth Rate and Crude Death Rate

During 1992-2000, there were 105 live births occurred among the Pathinaicken. Of them 60 were males and 45 were females. It is observed that male live births outnumber that of female. Although the data do not permits us to estimate CBR reliably, a rough estimate is provided here. CBR among the Pathinaicken is 29.83.

Twenty-nine cases of deaths are reported among the Pathinaicken within a period of eight years (1992-2000). Of them thirteen were males and sixteen were females. Crude death rate among the Pathinaicken is 8.24.

Morbidity and Mortality

Among the Pathinaicken, during the period of 8 years, it is noted that six persons (four males and two females) died of mysterious fever. Headache, high temperature, and swelling all over the body were the symptoms of this disease. The fever must have been contracted from non-tribals.

A few leprosy cases are detected among the Pathinaicken of Dhodalapotti, Mundakkadavu, Pattakarimpu and Punchakolli. Skin problems resembling leprosy are detected among few inhabitants of Pattakarimpu and Mundakkadavu colonies. The doctors, who have examined them, confirmed that it is nothing but 'cutaneous leshmeniasis'. The doctors further stated that it is very rare in South India, but common in the States like Rajasthan and Bihar. Unlike leprosy, it is not harmful to the patient. Further probing is required to find out how the Pathinaicken is affected with such skin characteristics, usually seen in northern States. Scabies, tooth decaying and running nose etc., are very common among children. Malnutrition among the Pathinaicken females and children are apparent.

Out of twenty nine deaths, there were three cases of neonatal deaths, two suicides, four accident deaths, three cases related to delivery, fourteen deaths attributed to chest pain, mysterious fever, dysentery etc. Only three deaths related to oldage and associated illness took place during the same period. Out of four accidental deaths, one was drowning while he was fishing and the rest three were elephant

trampling. Climbing huge trees, timber loading, carrying heavy loads etc., are also hazardous and arduous labour, which lessen their life span. Among the Pathinaicken unnatural deaths are eight times more than natural deaths. Low life expectancy is the result.

Life Cycle Rites

Birth

The Pathinaicken erect separate hut viz., *pulamana* for the purpose of delivery. Before constructing, the parents of the pregnant woman consult the *chemmakkaran*. Each settlement may have an elderly woman proficient in attending birth. She looks after the mother and the baby for a few days. They know the medicinal property of turmeric. So it is added in hot water before giving bath to the mother and the baby. *Pula* (pollution) connected with birth lasts forty days. Menfolk are not allowed to see the mother and child during this period. The woman attending the mother and child acts as medium of communication. As they believe in evil spirits, the mother and the newborn are forbidden to go outside the hut during this forty-day period. This belief prevents them in moving out to consult an allopathic doctor, even if the baby gets some serious illnesses. As revealed in this study, the occurrence of more number of neonatal death may be due to this practice.

Naming ceremony is conducted only when the child attains two years. This ceremony took place within the *daiwapura* (a single room sacred hut, in which deities are kept) and the *chemmakkaran* is the person who names the child. Delay in naming the child may be due to the uncertainty in the long life of the child.

Puberty

When a girl attains menarche, her parents inform the matter to the *chemmakkaran* of the settlement. He visits the girl's house and selects a place for erecting *gudimana* (a conical hut with circular platform, made of bamboo). He is the person who fixes bamboo for erecting *gudimana*. The girl is kept in the *gudimana* for seven days. During this period she is considered unclean and is forbidden to see the sky or wear ornaments. She is entrusted with her *ammai* (father's siter) and *nathoon* (sister-in-law). Menfolk are forbidden to see her in this period. She takes a ceremonial bath on the seventh day and the same day night, Puberty ceremony (*gudimanamadiyath*) is conducted. All relatives are invited for a feast, in which *chemmakkaran* of the settlement acts as the chief guest.

Marriage

Arranged marriage is the norm. Usually they arrange marriage of a girl only after attaining puberty. If the marriage of a girl is decided before attaining puberty, it will not be consummated till conducting of the puberty ceremony. The marriage proposal comes from the boy's side. Parents search a suitable girl for their son. The boy's father and maternal uncle visit the girl's hut on an appointed day. The marriage is fixed on a suitable day by mutual consent.

Marriage ceremony is held at bride's residence in the evening. The presence of *chemmakkarans*, from the bridegroom's and the bride's side is a must. These two *chemmakkarans* are called *moonnamman*. Before tali tying ceremony, the groom's *chemmakkaran* handover *kanappanam*

(bride price) to the bride's *chemmakaran*. The amount of bride price varies from Rs.51 to 200. The money is saved from the earnings of the bridegroom.

Marriages with non-Pathinaicken may not have such rituals. Inter-community married couples are found living along with the rest of the families of the location. Once the couples start living together, the acceptance of the society members are given in the form of cooperation in day-to-day affairs and family matters. The children of such marriages grow up as members of Pathinaicken community, speak its language, follow the same life cycle rites, religious practices etc.

Death Ceremonies

The occurrence of death is first informed to the *chemmakaran* of the settlement. If the dead one belongs to another *chemmam*, his own *chemmakaran* is consulted before proceeding with burial rites.

The relatives of the dead must get permission from the *chemmakaran* of the settlement to bury the body (*marippu*). For instance, if a person who belongs to the PUNCHAKOLLI settlement dies while at PATTAKARIMPU settlement, the relative should get permission from the *chemmakaran* of the PATTAKARIMPU colony to bury the body in PATTAKARIMPU and at the same time the *chemmakaran* of the PUNCHAKOLLI colony should be informed of this, prior to the burial.

If a death occurs in a settlement, the *chemmakkaran* makes arrangement to inform the event to the close relatives of the deceased. The dead body will be disposed off only after the arrival of relatives. Corpse is taken to the burial site, in a procession lead by the *chemmakkaran*. A grave is prepared in the north-south direction.

All personal possessions such as digging sticks, cooking vessels, hunting implements etc., are buried along with the corpse. Before filling the grave with earth, the *chemmakkaran* waives a copper ring over the corpse. They believe that the dead man's soul try to escape from the grave and follow the assemblage to the hut. So, the last man leaving the site, cut a twig of *chudalamullu* (a plant with spines) and places it across the path, so that the spirit from the burial ground is prevented from following the mourners.

After burial, the mourners take a dip in flowing water and return to the hut. Then the *chemmakkaran*, keeping the attention of all the assembled, drops the copper ring, which is supposed to have the dead one's soul, into a vessel containing water. If the ring stands erect in the bottom as it is dropped, it is believed that the soul is happy, if not unhappy. The act is repeated for knowing the unhappiness of the soul. The ring is kept with the *chemmakkaran* for seven days.

On the seventh day after death, Pathinaicken conduct a ritual ceremony called *neeruneelal*. Almost all Pathinaicken of the nearby settlements gather for *neeruneelal*. After this ceremony the close relatives of the dead has been given copper rings by the *chemmakkaran*.

This copper rings are taken in the concerned *chemmam* of the dead one which is kept in the *daivapura*. The Pathinaicken conduct a yearly ritual called *adiyanthiram*. Almost all members in the community participate for the same. Though many ritual performances had lost their significance due to acculturation, these kinds of rituals give the whole community a kind of solidarity.

Society

Social Organisation

The Pathinaicken of a settlement are patrilineally related and are identified by their settlements or territories to which they belong by birth. In certain settlements more than one patrilineal kingroup may be living. Earlier each patrilineal kin group had its own territory or *chemmam* as roaming ground for n.w.f.p collection. Now the concept of *chemmam* has no significance as the area had been converted into teak plantations. However, each *chemmam* represents the place to which they belong. Marriage within the same *chemmam* is prohibited. It shows that though the Pathinaicken community is endogamous in nature, they follow *chemmam* exogamy.

Each settlement has a headman called *chemmakkaran*, who officiates all social and religious functions. The authority of *chemmakkaran* in the socio-political realm still persists. He is revered as a man with capacity for retributory punishment for disregard, disobeyance etc. The office of the *chemmakkaran* is hereditary. Usually, after his death, his eldest son becomes the next *chemmakkaran*. If he has no sons, his eldest son-in-law becomes the next *chemmakkaran* and

if he has no heirs, the power transfers to his brother or a close relative. The Pathinaicken trace their descent and inheritance through male line. Sometimes through adoption or constant living in a territory, one can become an accepted member of a *chemmam*.

Among the Pathinaicken, as a norm, if a person wants to leave his *chemmam* for living with his relatives residing elsewhere, he/she has to take permission from his *chemmakkaran*. For instance, the inhabitants of Dhodalapotti moved to another place due to elephant attack. Only with the approval of the *chemmakkaran* the movement took place. Some of them started living with their relatives in Mundakkadavu, Kalkulam and Pattakarimpu colony. A few have shifted to the houses of Myladipotti colony, deserted by the Cholanaicken. Eventhough original members of a *chemmam* live in different settlements, each person invariably contact the respective *chemmakkaran* before important social and religious occasions. The presence of the *chemmakkaran* is a must for all socio-religious activities. In a settlement, the *chemmakkaran* is given utmost importance and he initiates all rituals connected with birth, puberty, marriage and death.

There occur quarrels between families of a *chemmam* mostly due to personal reasons. Sometimes the disputes are settled before the *chemmakkaran*. But in most cases, the weak among them may leave the place for a few years or till the anger subsides.

Family and Marriage

Family is the primary social and economic unit. After marriage young couple start independent economic life. The Pathinaicken are

monogamous. Polygyny is permitted and polyandry is seldom seen. Child marriages are rarely reported. The age difference between the spouses varies from 2 to 25 years. It is observed that almost all females above 20 years got married. Widows, widowers and divorcees are permitted to re-marry. Post-marital residence pattern is patrilocal or neolocal.

Exogamous Marriages

The social cohesion of the Pathinaicken tribe has been affected only at a limited extent by exogamous marriages. The number of couples among the Pathinaicken at the time of survey is 104. Of the 104 couple, in the case of thirty three couples (31.73%), one of the spouses is a non-Pathinaicken. The non-Pathinaicken belonging to communities such as Paniyan, Cholanaicken, Allar, Cheruman, Kanakkan and Thiyya. In the current social life of Pathinaicken, these non-Pathinaicken individuals, their offspring etc., have a significant role.

It is widely held that the Pathinaicken intermarry only with their counterpart, Cholanaicken. Viswanathan (1985:64) reported that Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken intermarry and he had noted four such cases during 1976-1983. He adds that these relationships ended when the Cholanaicken could find suitable spouses within their community itself. Now the marriage union with Cholanaicken is as lasting to that of any other marriages. There are six Pathinaicken-Cholanaicken marriages among this community at the time of survey. Equal number of

Pathinaicken males and females (three each) have marital alliance with Cholanaicken.

Marriage between Pathinaicken and Paniyan tribe has now become common. This is because of the frequent interaction with Paniyan tribe who live in adjoining houses in colonies and in the work place. In Uchakulam and Punchakolli colonies, Pathinaicken live side by side with Paniyan tribe. Maximum numbers of Pathinaicken-Paniyan couples reside in these colonies. These colonies are established in 1970s and intense interaction took place since then. Out of thirty three Pathinaicken– non Pathinaicken marriages, twenty two (twelve males and ten females) marriages are from the Paniyan tribe.

A Pathinaicken of Chokkad colony married an Allar woman. There is only one instance of such marriage at the time of survey. But it is informed that marital alliance with Allar has become common.

Allar is a food gatherer community, which is diminutive in size. Elders visit Allar families and ask for girls to be given in marriage. They pay bride price too. The girl after marriage lives with her husband. Since the Pathinaicken live inside the forests and the intra-tribal interactions are intense in due course these women get adjusted with the Pathinaicken/Cholanaicken way of life. The non-Pathinaicken spouse also starts speaking Pathinaicken language and the supremacy of *chemmakaran* is automatically accepted. Thus, the Pathinaicken identity in social and cultural aspects becomes total.

Only a Pathinaicken man married a Cheruman woman. But in the case of three Pathinaicken females, their husbands are non-tribals. There are also illegal relationships. Pathinaicken females are attracted to the non-tribal youths who camp the place for forest labour. These relationships are transient in nature and the non-tribals exploit the situation for sexual gratification. Only a single Pathinaicken woman viz., Anitha of Pattakarimpu colony and her husband Ravi belonging to Thiyya community have completed ten years of uninterrupted marriage life.

In all the thirty-three cases of Pathinaicken- non Pathinaicken marriages, the non-Pathinaicken spouses live in the Pathinaicken settlements. Children born out of such marriages are considered as Pathinaicken. Survey shows that out of 186 children, the parents of 147 children are Pathinaicken and 37 are the offsprings of Pathinaicken-non Pathinaicken couples. For all practical purposes they are treated a Pathinaicken. For example, for availing educational benefits, they obtain the certificate of 'Kattunayakan' and avails Scheduled Tribes benefits.

Seventeen males and sixteen females among the Pathinaicken have non-Pathinaicken spouses. Pathinaicken men marrying outside the group may be due to the difficulty in getting a suitable alliance or due to low sex ratio. Most of the Pathinaicken selected their spouses from Paniyan. Equal number of spouses taking and giving, between Pathinaicken and Paniyan tribe, shows that these communities consider themselves as equals in all respects. As Pathinaicken is a diminutive

group, it is difficult to find suitable alliance from their own community. So the marriage with Paniyan community eases the pressure of the lack of spouses of marriageable relations among these communities.

Endogamous Marriages

An analysis of 69 endogamous couples' kinship ties shows that both cross cousins and parallel cousins marriages occur among the community. There occurred three matrilateral parallel cousin marriages at the time of survey. In one case a female married her sister's son(ZS), who is much younger to her and hails from the same hamlet. This relationship lasted only a couple of years. In the second case the female married her mother's sister's son (MZS). This kind of union may be considered as incest by other community. In the third case the female married her mother's father's brother's son(MFBS). Four matrilateral cross cousin marriages are also noticed. Junior levirate, sororal polygyny are also found. But majority of the marriages are between tertiary cousins and distant relatives.

A close analysis shows that the marriage between matrilateral parallel cousins took place within the same hamlet, which is of uniethnic in nature and located inside the forests. Thus hamlet endogamy leads to marriages within the primary or secondary kins. It is observed that Pathinaicken community maintain a pattern for mate selection and regulation of sex among the members. The marriage

histories of certain Pathinaicken given below give an insight into the nature and duration of their marital life.

Family Life: Case studies

Case-1

A, now aged 26 years old had her first marriage at the age of 16 years with *A1* of her own community. *A1* died six months after the marriage. After a period of two years, *A* started living with *A2* of her own community. This relationship lasted only few months and *A* deserted *A2* stating the reason that he is a drunkard.

After an year *A* had an affair with *A3*, belonging to Nair community. He was a contract worker, engaged in loading works and was occupying a house nearby the settlement of *A*. *A3* however, absconded when he learnt that she is pregnant. *A* gave birth to a daughter.

Later, *A* lived with *A4* after living alone for three years since her desertion by *A3*. *A4* was engaged in the road repair and maintenance work where *A* too was employed. *A* had a miscarriage in this relationship. However, once his contract ended, *A4* left the place. Now, *A* lives alone.

Case-2

B is a 65 year old woman. At the age of 12, she was married to *B1*, a Cholanaicken, who deserted her after a fortnight. After two

years, *B* got into a relationship with *B2* of her own community. *B* had lived with *B2* for 10 years and had four children. Two of her children died young. She lost one of her daughters by the age of ten. Her daughter was taken away by an unfamiliar person to work as a housemaid elsewhere. Till date her whereabouts remain unknown. Two years after the death of *B2*, *B* started to live with *B3* belonging to her community. This relationship lasted two years. *B* had a daughter out of it. When the child was six months old, *B3* broke off his relationship with *B*, to marry another women

B, then lived with *B4*, after a gap of three years. *B4* too belonged to her community and shared their life together for five years. *B* was deserted by *B4* to marry a woman belonging to the Paniya community. *B* then stayed together with *B5* after two years of separation from *B4*. *B5* belonged to Allar community and they didn't have any children and he left her. *B* now lives with her daughter by *B3*.

Case-3

C, aged 32, is a resident of the Mundakkadavu colony. At the age of 20, *C* married *C1*, belonging to the Thiyya community of Poovathipoyil, Nilambur taluk. *C1* was a forest watcher. Their marriage took place at the Mundakkadavu colony and they lived together for five years. They had no children. Their relationship lasted till *C1* got transferred to Wayanad. There he married another woman. After living alone for two years, *C* married *C2* of her own community and a relative of her mother. (*C2* is *C*'s mother's father's brother's daughter's son). He had four children by *C2*, and still lives with him.

Case-4

D(50) is a resident of Pattakarimpu colony. She was first married to *D1*, a Pathinaicken. In this relationship she had a daughter. When their daughter reached three years *D1* died due to certain illness. An year after the death of *D1*, his younger brother *D2*, married *D* (junior levirate). *D2* deserted *D*, when he found a suitable girl for him. Later *D* made an alliance with *D3*, an Aranadan. But this relationship did not last long. As this relationship was resented by her community, she had deserted *D3*, when she got an alliance from her own community.

Case-5

E now aged 36years was married at first to *E1* of Mannarkad, Palghat at the age of 16 years. *E1*, belonged Allar community and had chance to meet *E*, when he reached the forest area to collect n.w.f.p. Their alliance remained alive for 10 years and during this period *E* had been to Mannarkad to live with *E1*'s family; and they had a child. But later *E* was deserted. *E* made *E2* aged 25, as her second husband, who is a Pathinaicken and is much younger to her and they have four children

Case-6

F (38), is a resident of Pattakarimpu colony. She was first married to *F1* of her own community, at the age of 13 years. She had lived with *F1* for an year and was deserted by him, when he found another spouse for him.

Three or four years after desertion, *F* was married to *F2* of the same settlement. Their two years of relationship gave life to a baby girl. When the kid was 4 months old, *F2* got certain illness and died at the Nilambur Hospital.

An year after *F2*'s death, *F3* came into her life, who hailed from Pattakarimpu colony and he too was a divorcee. *F3* is the *chemmakaran* of the settlement. Their relationship gave birth to four children. These children are the students of *Ashram* school, Manjeri.

Case-7

G, an illiterate, is nearly 54 years old at present. He had his first marriage with *G1*, and lived together for only a few months. After a period of two months, *G* married *G2* of his own community and is a divorcee. They had a daughter and when she had reached one year of age *G* had an alliance with his second wife's earlier husband's sister, *G3*. So he deserted *G2* and married *G3*. But this relationship too lasted only few months. By that time *G* had developed a relationship with his brother's widow, *G4* and started to living with her by deserting *G3*.

The case studies reveal that the marriage relationships of the Pathinaicken are feeble. A male may develop extra-marital relationship before deserting his wife. So, immediately after deserting wife, he starts living with his new partner. On the other hand female divorcees get remarried only after one or two years. Viswanathan (1985:64-65)

observed seven Cholanaicken- Pathinaicken marriages and holds that the marriage between them did not last for long. He writes:

‘.... For instance, Minmatty Kungan at his youth married a Pathinaicken woman called Dhodalapotti Mathi. Their married life lasted only for five years. When he found a suitable spouse from his own community he deserted Mathi. Another instance is that of Kuppamala Kethan, aged 26, who married in 1978 Batti Mathi, aged 14, of Sayivila only to last the coupling for three years. He remarried in 1981, a Cholanaicken girl aged 14, who happened to be his maternal cross cousin’(1985:64-65).

It is observed that, in the social life of Pathinaicken, marriages with non-Pathinaicken have a significant part. These marriages are the result of frequent contact with non-Pathinaicken. Non-Pathinaicken men who came to forest in search of labour opportunities. Constant mingling in work places at times leads to marital relationships.

Religion

All social events are initiated by the *chemmakkaran*. It shows that though many changes have occurred in the way of life of Pathinaicken due to the contact with outsiders, the *chemmakkaran* still wields authority over religious observances of the community.

A number of sylvan deities dominate their religious beliefs. Most of the elderly males are found having an artistically woven basket to keep the idols of the deities worshipped by the family and the close kins. The basket is called *daivakotta*, which mean divine basket in which

idols are kept. The principle deity is the *maladeivam* (Gods of the hills). In some baskets an idol of an elephant with a mahout on top, adult man with an axe or sword in hand etc., are kept covered in red clothe. Each settlement has a *daivapura* (sacred hut) where the *daivakotta* belonging to the people of the concerned settlement is kept. Along with the idols of the deities, they also keep swords and copper rings. The swords are supposed to be the weapons of their deity. The copper rings belong to the deceased persons of the particular family. They believe in after life and bury all personal belongings except these copper rings along with the corpse.

The Pathinaicken visit the *daivapura* during certain occasions like naming of a child, ceremony connected with death (*adiyanthiram*) etc. A woman in pollution period is not supposed to go near the *daivapura*. Violation of such touch pollution is believed to be of dangerous consequences.

The Pathinaicken believe in number of sylvan deities. They consider that certain areas in the forests are sacred. They identify such areas by two means. One such area invariably have a colony of *anjili* trees (*Artocarpus hirsutus*) and the other is a site on the top of hillocks. The colonies of *anjili* trees are seen on the hillocks found in the undulating terrain. It may be noted that among the innumerable giant tree species of the semi-deciduous forests, they worship only the *anjili* tress, which are not having the habit of shedding of leaves during winter. The *anjili* trees are a much exploited timber species of the lower valley forests. Though this tree was common in earlier days, it has

become a rare species in and around the Pathinaciken habitat. The Pathinaicken of Karulai range have identified one such spot in the Irumbakamchola, 7km away from the Dhodalapotti settlement. This spot is in fact in the territory of Cholanaicken and the forests of the area remains pristine. They visit the area only for making offerings. It is told that no idol is kept there and offerings are made in the sylvan surroundings.

The Pathinaicken also believe in benevolent and malevolent spirits. A deceased soul of a *chemmakkar* or an elderly man or a woman is propitiated as a benevolent spirit. Spirits of dead soul due to maladies such as fall from trees, suicide, death during delivery, elephant trampling, natural calamities etc., are considered malevolent spirits waiting for an opportunity to invade a human body. Whenever such invasion is suspected the victim is brought before the *chemmakkar* who by his ritual authority ward off such influences.

Among the Pathinaicken the above kind of supernaturalistic beliefs are interwoven with the illnesses causation beliefs. So the *chemmakkar* who is believed to be having control over both type of spirits plays a major role in curing illnesses. The magico-religious rites performed by the *chemmakkar* for curing illness is called *beedavekkal*. It is usually done by the *chemmakkar* of the *chemmam* in which the patient belongs. When a person falls ill, the relatives approach the *chemmakkar* for conducting *beedavekkal*. If the illness is not very serious, the presence of the patient is not a must for performing *beedavekkal*. The *chemmakkar* sits in the front of his house facing

east. Infront of him he keeps a plantain leaf with betel, tobacco, arecanut and lime brought by the patient's relatives. Two *beeda* [inside *chiranga* (ash gourd) shells few *kunnikuru* (*Abrus precatorius*) are put and then sealed with wax] are also placed on the plantain leaf. Invoking the name of their *maladaivam* (God), the *chemmakkaran* takes *beeda* in his hands and prays for the speedy recovery of the patient. He performs the *beedavekkal* daily till the patient recovers. It is observed that they like to consult with their own *chemmakkaran* when they fall ill.

The Pathinaicken worship hamlet level deities also. They erect shrines for installing idols of these deities. Such deities are much in common with the *malaideivam* kept in divine baskets by majority of families. In settlement like Ingar, though now deserted, the *daiyapura* remains as a structure. The idol installed in this structure is considered to be that of their *malaidaivam*. This deity is considered a highly powerful one. The *daiyapura* has no roof at all. They believe that the idol should be exposed to the Sun and rain and an attempt to thatch the roof will invite the wrath of the deity. On festive occasions the surroundings of the shrine will be decorated with *eenthu* leaves. The *chemmakkaran*, who is also the officiating priest, reports that earlier years large scale annual festivities were performed in this shrine. The entire Pathinaicken population is given feast and almost 250 coconuts, 300kg rice, 100kg paddy, 10kg sugar etc., were required for conducting the annual rite. He lamented that for the last decade or so such celebrations are not done. Offerings of large number of coconuts, puffed rice, bananas are typical of Hindu temple ritual of the Nilambur region. According to the *chemmakkaran* of Ingar, their deity is same as that of

Vettakorumakan deity of the Nilambur temple owned by the Nilambur Kovilakam. So, a coconut breaking ritual is performed like that of *Nilamburpattu* festival in the Vettakorumakan temple. They also believe in Hindu deities and show great affinity towards them, but are ignorant about sacred scriptures and Hindu mythology.

Recently many Pathinaicken have started visiting local temples and make offerings. Eventhough they visit local temples, their belief in their own deities is strong. Sporadic attempts to proselytise this forest dwelling Pathinaicken were made in the past by giving them bead chain with cross pendants and packets of edible foodstuffs during 1980s. The Pentecostal Mission made serious attempts during early 90s at Pattakarimpu area. So far, the attempts couldn't bear any fruits. It may be noted that predominant population in the area are Muslims. The impact of Islam is practically nil on these populations except the habit of eating beef by the youngsters. Among the Pathinaicken, only a few have visited distant Hindu temples on pilgrimage. However, they consider themselves as Hindus.

Impact of Mainstream

In recent decades tremendous changes have occurred in the economic and social life of the Pathinaicken. Earlier, food gathering-hunting has been considered primary occupation and n.w.f.p collection as secondary. Due to the frequent contact with market and non-tribals, their dependence to forest has been changed. Now, food gathering has become secondary and the collections of n.w.f.p become the primary source of income. However, during dry season, along with wage labour,

the n.w.f.p collection forms the main source of livelihood. During wet season including monsoon they also resort to food gathering.

Recently the Pathinaicken prefer to have rice as their staple food rather than roots and tubers. The wage earned is mainly used for buying food articles. The n.w.f.p collected by them during the peak collection season (summer) gives substantial earning for the purchase of rice and other consumables. The Co-operative society supply them ration as a part of public distribution system at subsidised price. They also buy food articles when they visit neighbouring growth centres walking a distance of three to twenty kms. It is seen that a few of the Pathinaicken are using fishing net for catching fish as non-tribals do. Fish are caught by bursting under water dynamite during the summer. Perhaps these habits have developed as the Pathinaicken mingle mostly with non-tribal labourers engaged in forestry operations. Arrack drinking has become a vice of a few men.

Traditionally, the lower valley forests were the exclusive habitat of Pathinaicken. Since large tracts of forests were cut down for taking up of mono-culture teak plantation, outside labour also started pouring in. The pressure in the neighbouring rural areas also has driven a number of labourers to the forests. A multi-ethnic labour force was the result.

In the sphere of marital ties many changes can be noted. Earlier, the Pathinaicken intermarry only with their counter part, Cholanaicken. Recently they have started to marry other tribal community like Paniyan

and Allar; and non-tribes like Cheruman, Ezhava, Nair etc. Some of the Pathinaicken hamlets are located close to other tribal communities viz., Chokkad, Uchakulam, Punchakolli and Dhodalapotti where as Kodalipoyil and Pattakarimpu colonies are located near non-tribal neighbourhood. More number of marriages with non-Pathinaicken are noted in these hamlets. These marriages are contracted as a result of frequent contact with non-Pathinaicken. They are often engaged for various kinds of forestry operations. Constant mingling in work places at times leads to marriage relationships. But it is observed that most of the marriages with non-tribals are transient in nature. The non-Pathinaicken feels that the Pathinaicken and Cholanaicken are being given much protective discriminative benefit by the Government. Moreover, both the communities are living in a bountiful area where n.w.f.p and forest labour are available. The general feeling is that one will not suffer from food scarcity. However, living inside the forests in the midst of wildlife is a deterrent. It is observed that contact with mainstream has not much affected the religious life of the Pathinaicken. Each local group has its own *chemmakaran* and possesses its own *daivappura*. For every social event they consult with their own *chemmakaran*. They still approach their *chemmakaran* whenever illness occurs. Most of them do not approach the allopathic doctor unless the illness is seriously felt.

THESIS ON
THREE TRIBES OF NILAMBUR VALLEY :
**A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Economy,
Society and Culture**

Submitted to the
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CHAPTER-VII

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS

The study probes the interrelationship between habitat, economy, society and culture of three diminutive tribes of Nilambur Valley viz., Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken. The adaptive mechanism of each tribal group in the ecosystem is outlined and a possible explanation to the origin of their cultural identity is given. The small population size, demographic characteristics, survival issues, mortality and morbidity pattern etc., are analysed in the context of the ecosystem and the extraneous factors influencing these cultures. Changes in the social, economic, political and religious realms are presented. An appraisal of the impact of development programmes on these societies is made. A comparative analysis of the data thus obtained is summarised and deductions are made. The validity of the hypotheses drawn in the beginning of the study is tested in the respective contexts and conclusions are derived. Certain ameliorative measures are suggested keeping in view the survival issues and the cultural identity of these communities.

Origin, Linguistic Affinity and Cultural Speciation

The linguistic affinities of these groups vary from one another. The Aranadan speak a distinct language (Luiz: 1962; Usha:1993). The linguistic studies on the other tribes of the region couldn't establish any affinity with the Aranadan's language (Usha:1993). Non-Aranadan couldn't converse in Aranadan language, whereas Aranadan has become multilingual. The distinctiveness of the Aranadan's language shows that they had an isolated existence in the past. The Aranadan are also known as Ernadan and are considered to be the autochthones of Ernad. The very name Ernadan denotes people of Ernad, which is the former name of present Nilambur taluk and adjoining areas. Place known after Aranadan like Aranadanpadam (*field of Aranadan*) also shows that their numerical strength in certain areas was considerable. The present location of the Aranadan settlements may not be their original abode. The Aranadan, because of their shy and elusive nature evade mainstream population. Unlike Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken, currently the Aranadan are not forest dwellers. But, for subsistence, they depend greatly on the forests.

The linguistic affinity of the Kattupaniyan with the Paniyan tribe is quite evident. They speak the same language and use the same kinship terms. The Paniyan tribe's major concentration is in Wayanad district and their spill over can be seen in adjoining Kannur, Kozhikode and Malappuram Districts. The Kattupaniyan inhabit the forests of Nilambur Valley stretching towards the plateau of Wayanad. The terms Kattupaniyan, Kurinhi Paniyan and Mala Paniyan denote Paniyan

inhabiting hills covered with forests. They form a distinct community having its own territory, economic pursuits, socio-political functionalities and social control mechanism. The Kattupaniyan are experts in collecting honey and climbing tall forest trees, in which the Paniyan lack skill. The Nilambur Valley ecosystem played a mother's role in moulding the cultural identity of the Kattupaniyan. They remain fixated to food gathering-hunting stage, while the major tribe Paniyan have become landless agricultural labourers and were subjected to the bonded labour system, which prevailed in Wayanad district prior to 1976, for long.

The affinity of Pathinaicken language with that of the Kattunaicken and the Cholanaicken is well established (Somasekharan Nair :1981). The major tribe Kattunaicken is the inhabitant of Wayanad district. The Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken live in Nilambur forests, which is contiguous to Wayanad district. The Cholanaicken are the inhabitants of the upper ghat section characterised by wet evergreen forests. The Pathinaicken live in the lower valley covered with semi-deciduous forests. Both are distinct in cultural identity but speak the same language with dialectical variation. The Cholanaicken have well-defined territory, which shows their antiquity in the habitat (Viswanathan:1985). The Cholanaicken and the Pathinaicken tribes can be seen as fragmented sections of the Kattunaicken population living in isolated territories for centuries and this isolation gave birth to their distinct cultural identities.

In this context, the observation made by Birdsell (1968) on food gatherers and hunters is pertinent. He had stated that among the linguistically homogenous tribes, when tribal members expand to 1000 or more, their dialect fragmentation regularly occurs as a result of isolation by distance, and they form different dialect subgroups from 250 to 375 in numbers. The Paniyan population of Wayanad spread towards the south and the section which reached Nilambur forests, became a culturally distinct group called Kattupaniyan. Similarly, the Pathinaicken and Cholanaicken communities are seen distributed in the southernmost area of Kattunaicken population distribution. The emergence of distinct cultural identity of Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken from Kattunaicken tribe can thus be arrived at.

Habitat, Economy and Food

In terms of the quantum of knowledge on forest flora and fauna, the Aranadan who live on the fringes of the forests have only a limited knowledge. The Aranadan is the only tribe who eat python in the Nilambur Valley. They are experts in identifying the presence of python and the trapping of it. The flesh is eaten and oil is collected for sale. The Aranadan's better dental health is attributed to the python eating habit. But now the python-catching has become rare. Their neighbourhood has been converted into agricultural farms and cash crop plantations by non-tribals, and there is no scope for continuing their food gathering-hunting economic pursuits. They depend more on outside food items. Thus, the Aranadan has become more vulnerable to nutritional deficiency than the Pathinaicken and the section of Kattupaniyan who live in the evergreen forest habitat.

The Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli who live in evergreen forests show greater knowledge on forest flora and fauna and skill in n.w.f.p collection than other tribal groups under study. They are knowledgeable about more than twenty varieties of roots and tubers, fifteen varieties of mushrooms and thirty varieties of edible leaves. On the other hand, the Kattupaniyan sections of Chembukadavu and Pathippara who live in the midst of settlers with agriculture farms and cash crop plantation activities have lost a part of their knowledge on forest flora and fauna. They have little control over the resources of the habitat and are dependent fully on wage earning and clandestine gleaning of cash crops such as pepper, arecanut, cashew nut etc., from the plantations of settlers. Their diet includes a few vegetables, greens and animal matter like crabs, turtles and molluscs. Even these items have become scarce due to the presence of settlers. Ecological change and the depletion of the forest cover of the habitat resulted in the loss of this section's traditional knowledge related to forest flora and fauna.

A major chunk of the neighbourhood forests of the Pathinaicken have been converted into monoculture teak plantations. They collect more than twenty varieties of roots and tubers, ten varieties of mushrooms and a number of edible leaves. The Pathinaicken are having relatively lesser knowledge and skill than the Cholanaicken who live in the upper ghat sections of the Nilambur Valley (Viswanathan:1985, Ananda Bhanu:1989). The change in the ecosystem of the habitat resulted in loss of knowledge on forest flora and fauna of these food

gatherer- hunter societies, and this affects their survival ability in the habitat.

N.w.f.p Collection and Economy

The Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken are having a subsistence economy. The n.w.f.p of Nilambur Valley are traditionally collected by Cholanaicken, Pathinaicken and Aranadan. A study on Cholanaicken who live in the upper ghat section of the Nilambur Valley shows that they maintain customary rights over n.w.f.p of a territory (*chemmam* rights). The tribal communities of the area viz., Pathinaicken, Kattupaniyan and Aranadan are afraid to violate the territorial rights of Cholanaicken (Viswanathan:1985). The Pathinaicken enjoy customary territorial rights over n.w.f.p available in the lower valley forests. But, the forests of the area had been converted to monoculture teak plantations by the Forest Department.

The Aranadan who live in the fringes of the forests, limit their n.w.f.p. collection pursuits within the lower valley forests. They have no customary rights or control over the natural resources of the lower valley and are considered as outsiders by Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken. At times the Aranadan and the Pathinaicken collect lesser-priced n.w.f.p items even from the territory of the Cholanaicken. The Cholanaicken do not resist it because they themselves cannot collect these produces during seasonal abundance. The Pathinaicken and Kattupaniyan section of Ambumala and Vettilakolli live inside the forests and enjoy traditional control over their habitat. The Kattupaniyan sections of Chembukadavu and Pathippara have been

affected by the depletion of forest resources due to the influx of non-tribes and they seldom venture to collect n.w.f.p from distant forests.

The Kattupaniyan living in Ambumala and Vettilakolli (Edavanna Forest Range) area, mainly collect n.w.f.p items like dammer, cardamom and honey. Since they are the sole inhabitants of this forest region, they face no competition in the collection. The collection of dammer, cardamom etc., require repeated visits to the location of availability i.e., ever green forests. From the foot hills, trekking to upper ghat evergreen forests to collect these n.w.f.p items is a difficult task. The Kattupaniyan (Ambumala and Vettilakolli) and Cholanaicken (Karulai range) as they live in evergreen forest habitat could undertake such collection pursuits with lesser effort. They possess superb skills in collecting n.w.f.p items available in evergreen forests. Non-tribals have to depend on these forest dwellers for obtaining n.w.f.p from the forests of the upper ghat section.

The Nilambur Tribal Co-operative Society buys their n.w.f.p through a network of collection stores. The collected n.w.f.p items are transacted for cash for buying provisions, tools, implements, dress etc. The Pathinaicken and the section of Kattupaniyan families (Ambumala and Vettilakolli) on an average collect n.w.f.p items worth Rs.7500 per annum. The Aranadan is far behind in the n.w.f.p collection. By increasing the prices of the n.w.f.p transacted, the Government can ensure a safe and stable economic life to these communities.

Among the administrators, forest department officials and social activists, there exists an argument that the forest dwelling tribes like Cholanaicken, Pathinaicken, Kattupaniyan etc., need be rehabilitated in rural areas as their living inside the forest will lead to the destruction of the forest. In fact, these tribes have been the inhabitants of these forests for centuries and no destruction of the forest has ever taken place. They are the only section of the population who can collect n.w.f.p from evergreen forests. If they are not available for collection, n.w.f.p of the upper ghat evergreen forests go to waste. Moreover, once these tribes are taken out, a loss of their traditional knowledge on forest flora and fauna will take place. It will be an irreparable loss of their knowledge on ethnobiology. Thus, dragging them out of the forests will be highly detrimental to their very survival and a loss to the traditional knowledge system maintained by these communities.

Technology and Skill

The tribes under study have pre-agricultural level of technology. Their traditional dwelling units are flimsy huts and only during the monsoon do they live in these huts. In summer, while they move to the forests for collection pursuits, they camp in rock shelters or temporary leaf shelters. Knife, hand axe, digging stick, a few pots and baskets constitute their belongings. None of the tribal groups of the Nilambur valley use bows and arrows for hunting.

The Pathinaicken are expert in basketry and they use bamboo and rattan baskets for carrying and storing articles. As they live totally

inside the forests, the basketry technique remains intact. Among the Kattupaniyan, this skill is found vanishing because of the introduction of jute sacks by the Tribal Co-operative Society agents for carrying and storing n.w.f.p. The Aranadan have, perhaps, lost their skill in basketry. Now-a-days, if they want baskets, they buy them from market centers.

The menfolk of these communities are skilful in climbing huge trees for the collection of honey and various other forest produces. The non-tribal settler influx resulted in the ruralisation of the neighbourhood. Natural forests have been converted into coconut, pepper and arecanut gardens. Skilled labourers for plucking coconut and arecanut are in great demand. Of these tribes, the Aranadan and the Kattupaniyan sections of Chembukadavu and Pathippara, have become an occupational group of tree climbers for their neighbourhood population and are able to eke out a livelihood by utilising this skill. Similarly, their traditional skill in bamboo cutting, forest clearance etc., are utilized in plantation works, fencing, timber loading etc. by non-tribals.

Demographic Characteristics

Population Size

The study provides an understanding of the population characteristics of a food gatherer-hunter tribe in the forest ecosystem of Western Ghats down the years. The forest dwelling tribes under study are Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken. The Kattupaniyan number 315 persons consisting of 72 families. The Pathinaicken population is 440, consisting of 104 families. The numerical strength of the Pathinaicken

and the Kattupaniyan must have remained within the range of 300-500 in the past also. It indicates the growth of these sections to optimum level within the forest ecosystem. The growth of population takes place in new territories and a distinct cultural identity emerges because of geographical distance and isolation. The diminutive size of the Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken population can be interpreted in this manner.

The population size of Cholanaicken of Nilambur Valley also corroborates the above standpoint. Their population in Karulai and Chungathara forest ranges touched 281 and that of Pathinaicken in the same ranges was 300(Viswanathan:1985). The Cholanaicken population might have remained below 400 or so in the past. This stage can be called as stagnant stage of the food gatherer-hunter. It is widely held that the Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken population are diminishing due to spread of diseases, wildlife attack, malnutrition etc. and from the above it can be safely stated that these populations had not diminished. Even if the figure had fallen, it may be from a maximum number of 400 or so.

The smallness of the Aranadan population cannot be explained on the above line. The Aranadan numbers 254 persons consisting of 62 families. The land grabbing non-tribes had driven them out from their autochthonous territories. Their present habitat is fringes of forests. Settling on the fringes, perhaps saved them from extinction. In short, depletion of forests, settler influx, social and cultural deprivation in recent past, spread of communicable diseases, malnutrition etc. have

had a combined effect leading to the diminution of Aranadan population.

Low Sex Ratio

The sex ratio of females per thousand males among the Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken are 984.38, 897.6 and 897.2 respectively. These figures are far below the Kerala State average i.e., 1040 (1991 Census). There is no evidence to show that these tribes practise female infanticide. The low female sex ratio among different tribal communities is noted by many. For example, the female sex ratio of the Cholanaicken is 864 (Viswanathan, 1985:51), that of Kutia Kondh is 920 (Basu,1990) and Kora tribal group is 882 (Datta:1990). The general ill health of women caused by repeated pregnancies, child birth, prolonged breast feeding, protein calorie malnutrition, heavy burden of running the family etc., make them a vulnerable group health-wise.

The case studies related to the family life of these communities did show that family life is marred by frequent desertions and remarriages. After repeated pregnancy wastages, child births and breast feeding, most of the women get emaciated. They never get an opportunity to recover fully because of protein calorie malnutrition. Women need to spend their energy heavily in hill tracts for n.w.f.p collection, forest labour, roots and tubers collection. Old women are neglected and have to take care of themselves, because of the subsistence economy. It is a fact that the survival of a population depends on the health status of women. Hence nutritional supplements

to pregnant and lactating mothers may be provided at a higher rate. By raising the nutritional level of women and children and through proper health care, these groups' pregnancy wastages, neo-natal deaths, infant mortality rate, etc., can be brought down considerably. Thus, a better health status and a higher longevity can be ensured, in these cases.

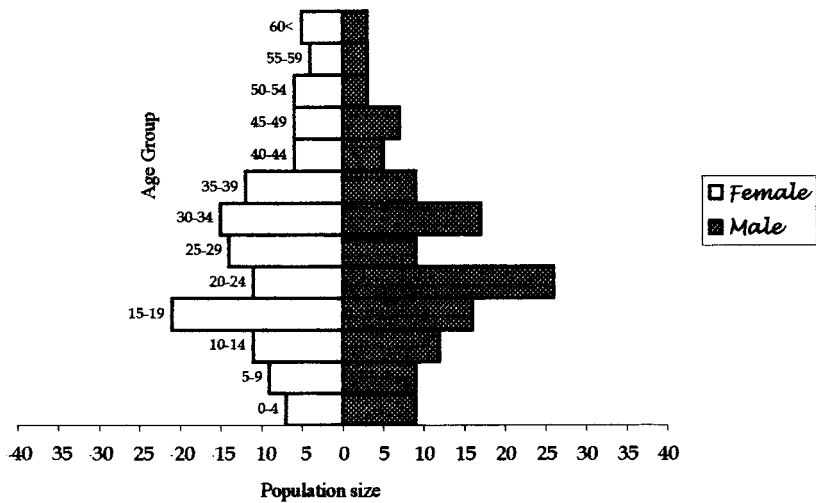
Population Composition and Impact of Family Planning

Analysis (Figure : 7-1) shows that the Aranadan have the lowest percentage in the broad age group 0-14 i.e., 22per cent, while the Pathinaicken recorded maximum i.e., 42 per cent. The Kattupaniyan records close similarity with Pathinaicken i.e., 40 per cent. An analysis of the Crude Birth Rate (CBR) of these populations is made in this context.

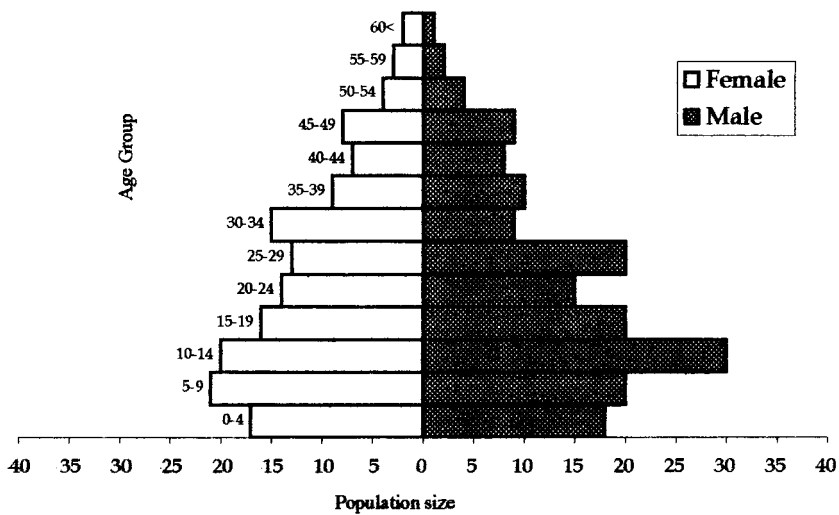
The CBR of the Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken are 13.29, 17.86 and 29.83 respectively. Of these, the birth rate of Pathinaicken is comparatively high. Among Aranadan, the child birth has come down at an alarming level. The low birth rate of the Aranadan cannot be attributed a very high standard of living. The CBR of the Aranadan is greatly affected by the adoption of family planning measures by a substantial number of men and women. The Aranadan who live close to the rural population have been affected much and the least affected group is Pathinaicken, who live inside the forests.

Among the Aranadan, out of the 49 married women within the age group 15-49, 13 (26.53 per cent) have adopted permanent measures

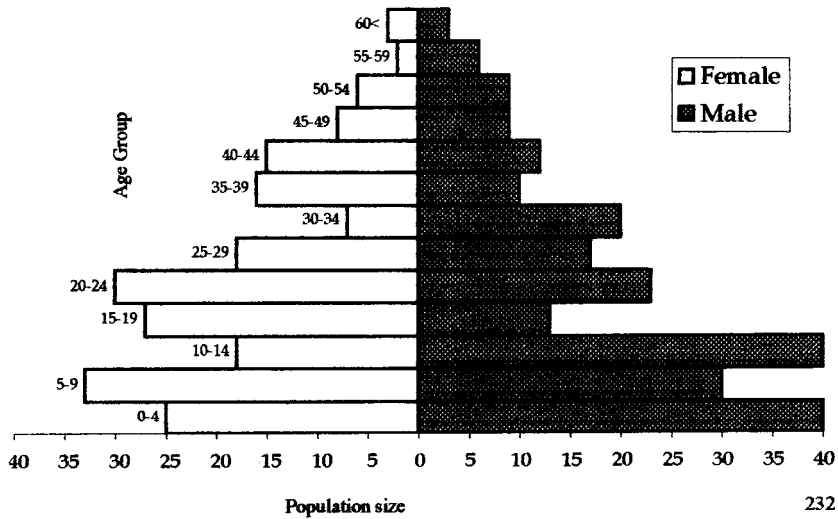
Aranadan



Kattupaniyan



Pathinaicken



for limiting the family size. Of them eight fall within the age group 20-29. This shows that permanent acceptance of the family planning measures among the young females has arrested the growth of population. Added to this, many males including unmarried ones have undergone vasectomy. The birth rate is also affected by the unmarried status of women in reproductive period i.e., 15-49. Women remained single due to lack of socially acceptable spouse, divorce, desertion and widowhood.

Among the Kattupaniyan, out of the 76 married females within the age group 15-49, 24 (31.58 per cent) females have adopted permanent family planning measures. It is significant to note that, among Kattupaniyan sections of Chembukadavu and Pathippara, who live in the midst of non-tribal population, the number of family planning adopters are more than that of Ambumala and Vettilakolli, who live in forest habitat.

The case of Pathinaicken is different. It is claimed that there exists traditional medicines to limit the family size or spacing child births. Only six females have adopted permanent family planning measures, and that too are related to hospital delivery. The higher percentage of population in the 0-14 age group shows the family planning drive had made only little impact among the Pathinaicken and a section of Kattupaniyan.

The practices related to birth pollution and segregation of women in confinement, lack of health care etc. cause more neonatal

deaths and high IMR. The authorities may identify Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken men and women and counsel them for keeping away from family planning acceptance.

In the age group 15-44 years, the percentage of population among the Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken is 63, 49 and 47 per cent respectively. The percentage of population above 60 years in this population is 3, 2 and 2 per cent respectively. This indicates the very low life expectancy of these groups. This aspect is further discussed in the following sections.

Mortality and Morbidity

Though, the CDR is low among these communities, the mortality pattern is alarming. The reasons for mortality vary among these groups. In fact, no individual survives above the age of 65. It is alarming to note that the majority of deaths among these communities were not due to oldage, but are unnatural. The causes of deaths among the Aranadan are falls from trees, other accidents, getting stung by scorpion, suicide, fever, chest pain etc. Of 32 deaths occurred among the Kattupaniyan, 14 are caused by *pitham* (anaemia), three by accidents and 11 due to fever and cough. Among the Kattupaniyan only a single case of death due to oldage is reported. Among the Pathinaicken three neonatal deaths, two cases of suicide and four cases of accidental deaths are reported during the same period. The unnatural deaths are a major cause of the low life expectancy of these communities.

Among these groups, reproductive wastages and neonatal deaths are abnormally high. Though women enter into marital relationship immediately after puberty, they conceive and give birth only after a long gap. There occur pregnancy wastages too. The interviews related to fertility history reveal that pregnancy wastages do occur mostly during this period. This post-puberty sterility spell is attributed to the poor diet dominated by roots and tubers, which are devoid of adequate protein. These communities do have the highest occurrence of pregnancy wastages owing to the above said reason. Coomar and Raha conclude that the weak health and reduction in reproductive power of Onge was due to the change from protein rich forest food to carbohydrate rich food (1989:223). Studies on Aranadan did mention that these people have low fertility and fecundity (Luiz:1962; Viswanathan:1985, Usha: 1993). It is a fact that iodine deficiency in pregnancy results in poor foetal brain development leading to cretinism, deaf-mutes, mentally abnormal children with speech defects and poor limb co-ordination (Coomar and Raha; 1989:223). There are three deaf-mutes among the Kattupaniyan of Pathippara. This may be due to the poor iodine intake of the Kattupaniyan. Allopathic doctors, who conducted medical camps among the Kattupaniyan and other Nilambur tribes, have reported the prevalence of iodine deficiency symptoms among them.

Society

Social Organisation

Social cohesion of these communities is affected by the far and wide distribution of colonies/hamlets. The 254 Aranadan are

distributed in seventeen colonies/hamlets. The present Aranadan hamlets/colonies are not their autochthonous territories. The society got fragmented spatially and socially. When the Government assigned land for colonization of Aranadan, a kind of regrouping took place. Exogamous marriage unions do not affect the social organisation as in almost all cases the non-Aranadan spouse live with the Aranadan society. The main social functionary in the society is the *chemmakkaran*, who officiates social and religious function of the colony. But in hamlet level, no such functionary exists.

The Kattupaniyan social life is affected by the far and wide distribution of their colonies/hamlets. Ambumala and Vettilakolli are the two traditional hamlets whereas Pathippara and Chembukadavu are colonies established by the Government. These colonies enable the community to regroup and function in a cohesive manner. The Ambumala hamlet is considered as the main stem of Kattupaniyan society. The *chemmakkaran* of this hamlet patronises their tutelary deity. However, interaction with the headman of the Ambumala is very rarely made by the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara colonies because of geographical distance. Marital alliances are more frequent between the closely situated hamlets/colonies. There exists no clan division in the society.

The Pathinaicken are a more cohesive group than the Aranadan and the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara. The role of *chemmakkaran* and the concept of *chemmam* rights over a specific

territory still hold control over the society. Due to marauding of wild elephants they are compelled to abandon certain colonies. So at times, members of a *chemmam* may get fragmented and each section moves to their kins living elsewhere. Irrespective of this kind of fragmentation, the *chemmakaran* of the natal *chemmam* is invited to officiate all rituals related to social and religious rites. During deaths it is he who decide where the corpse has to be buried. Thus, it is seen that social cohesion and territorial affinity is more intact among the food gatherer-hunter communities living inside the forests, like Pathinaicken and Kattupaniyan sections of Ambumala and Vettilakolli than among the ruralised sections of the Kattupaniyan (Chembukadavu and Pathippara) and the Aranadan.

There exists no clan division in these societies. The smallness of the population size limits the scope of mate selection. Endogamous clan organisation can cause further restriction in mate selection. *Chemmam* group (territorial group affinity) identity is highly manifest in these societies and this *chemmam* identity serves the community with a kind of descent and inheritance pattern. Membership in a *chemmam* by birth or through identifying with the territory from an early age gives a member a kind of belongingness and right in the *chemmam* and thereby control over natural resources of the *chemmam* territory. It shows that the Pathinaicken and Kattupaniyan communities are primary food gatherer-hunter in the recent past and now these communities are greatly influenced by the mainstream.

Division of Labour: Age- Sex

Nuclear family is the basic socio-economic unit among these societies. Division of labour by age and sex is well defined. N.w.f.p collection, which requires climbing on tall trees and trekking to distant places are undertaken by men only. Cooking, fetching water, digging and gathering from surroundings etc., are carried out by females. At times men too dig certain tubers, which requires hours of vigorous labour. The cash required for obtaining household articles like rice, condiments, clothes etc., are earned by the labour of both men and women.

Children by the age of 5 or 6 develop the necessary skill for living in forests. They collect roots, tubers, n.w.f.p, firewood etc. By the age of 13 or 14, the boys become independent in their economic pursuits. Adolescent boys become an age set and occasionally visit neighbouring *chemmam* territory and halt for weeks together. These kinds of social visits pave the way for mate selection. This is particularly applicable to Pathinaicken and Kattupaniyan.

Marriage and Kinship

The tribal communities' smallness in population size limits the scope of mate selection. Among these communities matrilateral cross cousin marriages are preferred to such alliances with any other kin relations. Preferential mates of marriageable age are rarely available. In the lifetime of an individual, serial monogamous relationships with a number of partners, who are not preferential mates takes place. Hamlet

exogamy is rarely observed. Marriage between members of prohibited relationship is noted. Frequencies of such marriages are more among the Aranadan and minimum among the Pathinaicken.

The Aranadan prefer cross cousin marriages, but due to lack of cross cousins within marriageable age, they have no reluctance to marry paternal or maternal parallel cousins. Such relationships do not give any structure to the society. Thus, the status and role of uncle, brother-in-law, sister-in-law etc., had no relevance in these societies. The marital ties are found very brittle. Frequent desertions and re-marriages are common. Society takes no interest in the stability of marriages. Serial monogamy is the practice. An Aranadan woman on an average has marital relationship with more than three individuals in her lifetime. Similar is the case of males too. The smallness of Aranadan population often results in the occurrence of prohibited degree marriage relationships. In 1962, A.A.D Luiz reported, "the custom of father marrying daughter is found among the Aranadan". The genealogical analysis of the entire population along with several case studies did reveal that there occurred one instance of a man living with a woman, who happens to be the daughter of his deceased wife's early marriage. It can be categorically stated that there exists no custom of father marrying his daughter.

Among the Kattupaniyan, though cross cousin marriage is preferred to, different types of marriages such as parallel cousin marriage, uncle-niece marriage, levirate, sororate etc., are observed. A man or woman may select his or her cross cousin for his/her first

marriage and later, after desertion, marry his or her parallel cousin. Marriage alliance within the local group is often noted. A case of a man marrying his step-sister is noticed in Pathippara. One case of sororal polygyny is also reported. Spouses are taken from the major tribe Paniyan, when spouse selection becomes difficult. The Pathinaicken too prefer cross cousin marriage. But parallel cousin marriages do occur. *Chemmam* exogamy is observed rarely. When compared to Aranadan and Pathinaicken, the Kattupaniyan could maintain endogamous marital relationship within the group.

Marriage between very close kin is very common among the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara. The objections to such alliances do not last long. As time passes on, after initial objections, most of such marriage unions get social acceptance. Yengoyan's (1968:198) study on Australian aborigines holds that, it is highly improbable for a tribal unit with exceedingly small and fragmented population to maintain stated marriage rules, instead flexibility in local organisation is a must for their survival.

The availability of mates with an ideal age difference is not much among these small tribal groups. Younger men marrying elderly women and elderly men marrying younger women are not rare. Onge Study (Coomar and Raha, 1989:221) is relevant in this situation also. Among these communities, a girl immediately after puberty may start marital alliance with a widower or a divorcee, who may be twice her age. Similarly a man in his early twenties, after assessing his poor marriage prospects with preferential mates may enter into alliance with a

divorcee or a widow, much elder to him with encumbrances by her earlier marriages.

The study shows that small endogamous tribal communities have no choice in mate selection within socially acceptable kin group. As the size of the society becomes larger, the chances of mate selection from preferential kin increase. It can be derived that only after the populations grow beyond 1000 or so, the society can ensure proper spouse selection within preferential relationships. The society also couldn't impose tribal endogamy and other restrictions usually followed in the selection of spouses. Circumstances make these tribal societies to select their mates even from both patrilineal and matrilineal first cousins. The Aranadan as an ethnic group has become a non-entity. Exogamous marital unions ease out the social conflict of mate selection from close kins.

Exogamous Marriages and Cultural Identity

The opening up of forests for a variety of purposes intensified the culture contact with outsiders. The non-tribal labourers engaged in forestry operations and plantation activities have no qualm to enter into marital alliance with these tribal groups. The Aranadan who inhabit the rural areas are having more opportunity to come into first hand contact with non-Aranadan. Out of 56 couples among the Aranadan, in the case of 16 couples, one of the spouses is a non-Aranadan. Except one, all other non-Aranadan spouses live in the Aranadan colony. It is observed that the relationship with non-tribals is transient and the Aranadan women are often deserted by their non-Aranadan husbands'.

The children born out of such a marital union are reared by the Aranadan mother. The offspring born out of Aranadan- non-Aranadan marriages thus socially become Aranadan. There is only one case where the children of an Aranadan woman are treated as non-Aranadan. School educated girls among the community have opined that they prefer to marry non-Aranadan owing to their menfolks' drunkenness, quarrelsome behaviour and illiteracy. But how far this view is going to last is a matter to be assessed in future.

The Kattupaniyan were found having marital alliance with Paniyan tribe with whom they share a common origin. At the time of survey there were three Kattupaniyan-Paniyan couples. In Chembukadavu a Kattupaniyan male married a Wayanadan Kadar woman. She had been ex-communicated by her people as they claim a superior social status. There are also instances of Kattupaniyan women having cohabitation with non-Kattupaniyan men. These relationships often end in desertions after the birth of one or two children. The burden of the rearing of children is undertaken by the Kattupaniyan society. Among the Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli, marital relationship with non-Kattupaniyan seldom exists because the neighbourhood is devoid of non-Kattupaniyan population and there exists an insulation of forest environment.

It is observed that in the past the Pathinaicken is the only group who entered into exogamous marriage alliance with the Cholanaicken of the area. But the Cholanaicken consider themselves superior in social status and they are wife seekers rather than wife givers (Viswanathan,

1985:64). Now it is seen that three Pathinaicken males are having marital alliance with Cholanaicken females. Recently, Pathinaicken-Paniyan marriages have become very common. There are 22 Pathinaicken-Paniyan couples. The maximum number of Pathinaicken-Paniyan marriages took place in Uchakulam and Punchakolli colonies. In Uchakulam colony, the Pathinaicken families live side by side with Paniyan families. At Punchakolli area more than ten Paniyan families are settled along with them. Three marriage relationships with Scheduled Caste Cheruman community and a single case of marriage with Scheduled Caste Kanakkan community are also reported. These non-tribal families enter the forests to avail labour opportunities in teak and rubber plantations, forest labour, road construction etc. There is an instance of Pathinaicken marrying an Allar. These aspects show that diminutive tribes are eager to have marital alliance with similarly placed groups who can thrive in forested habitat. In all these cases, children born are considered as Pathinaicken and the couple shares the same cultural milieu.

Marriages between Aranadan-Cheruman, Kattupaniyan-Paniyan, Pathinaicken-Paniyan etc., reveal that among small tribal communities, exogamous alliances often take place when they come into first hand contact with a compatible culture. These relationships serve many purposes in these societies. Firstly they provide suitable spouse apart from prohibited relationships. They solve the problem of lack of a women of appropriate age groups. Most important of it is that the couple resides with the tribal community itself. The children of such marriages grow up with the territorial groups' cultural milieu and forest

ecosystem. In social and religious practices they are identified with the territorial groups (*chemmam*). Thus, exogamous marriage in fact solves the lack of spouses within marriageable relationships. The residence among the *chemmam* people and the forest ecosystem play a decisive role in maintaining the cultural identity of these tribes. Thus, these cultures can be considered as the creations of a forest ecosystem. The society members are not much bothered about the exogamous nature of their mate selection, but they look into whether the exogamous spouses live along with them in the forest habitat or not. The study also shows that the food-gatherer hunter tribes living in isolated territory couldn't maintain endogamy. Hence acquiring mates from neighbouring similarly placed communities often takes place. Since these populations live in isolated tracts, exogamous spouses reside with them and the children grow totally identified with the tribal community. Residence and growing up in the forest ecosystem make them effective members of the society.

Social Control Mechanism

All these communities are politically acephalous. A kind of territorial authority or hamlet level headmanship is seen operating. The headman who is generally the eldest member of the territorial group or hamlet, wields authority over social, political and religious matters of the territorial group or hamlet. He officiates life cycle rites and religious ceremonies.

The headmen among the Aranadan are found ineffective in imposing authority. They are not able to give any kind of effective

leadership in dealing with non- tribes. There exists no mechanism to punish the erring members or social offenders. Perhaps, in this society such customary norms are yet to emerge. The minuscule nature of the population of a hamlet also doesn't give any strength to headmanship. The majority of the Aranadan headmen are addicted to liquor.

But, among the Pathinaicken and to a great extent Kattupaniyan, the headman inspires awe and respect as he is considered to be the custodian of deities, the malevolent and benevolent spirits, and is capable of inflicting retributory punishments. A show of disrespect and disobedience can cause the displeasure of the headman. It is believed that the headman through his mercenary spirits can inflict punishment in the form of accidents, health maladies, natural calamities and undue sufferings. The headman also acts as a medium of communication with the supernatural world.

Thus, the most important tenet of the social control mechanism is the belief related to the supernatural beings and retributory punishment likely to be inflicted by the headman. He is considered as the custodian of the spirits and deities. So doing any harm to him will invite the wrath of the ancestral spirits and deities. This belief helps him in controlling the community. While describing the role of the Cholanaicken headman (*chemmakkaran*) as socio-political head, priest and tribal healer, Viswanathan (1985) stated that the headmen command authority mainly because of the belief that disobedience can invite retributory punishment inflicted using command over spirits and deities by the *chemmakkaran*.

Religious Practices

These societies worship ancestral spirits and sylvan deities. They also worship certain local Hindu deities. Their religious behaviour has similarity with local non-Brahmin Hindu castes. They believe that an annual propitiation ceremony is unavoidable for keeping the ancestral spirits and deities appeased. They conduct ceremonies with gaieties and celebrations depending upon their financial condition. The Aranadan are found lamenting that, for the last few years they couldn't conduct such propitiation ceremonies. The Aranadan were not able to maintain mechanical solidarity even in religious matters.

The Pathinaicken, however, are able to arrange annual propitiation ceremonies, but not regularly. *Chemmakkaran*, who officiates religious rites are considered as a medium of communication with the deities. A small shrine with icons is a common scene in Pathinaicken hamlets. The annual propitiation ceremonies conducted are similar to that of the local temples. Breaking of coconuts as in the Hindu temples of the area is one such ceremony.

The Kattupaniyan shows minimum influence of Hindu religious rites. They remain animistic to the core. In religious observances, they keep their tribal identity. Their neighbourhood mainly constitutes the Christians. The Kattupaniyan consider Christian religion totally alien to them. Similar is their attitude towards Islam

The intense alien culture contacts have tremendous impact on the religious practices of these small tribal communities. These communities have constant contact with Muslim and Christian populations. Attempts of conversion to Christianity could not yield any results. Though beef eating is a taboo, these days, a few Aranadan and Kattupaniyan youths occasionally take beef from local restaurants. The Aranadan identify more with non-Brahmin Hindus of the area rather than with the Christian and the Muslim population.

Within the last fifty years or so, Aranadan and Pathinaicken communities have started visiting local Hindu temples. They are not averse to pilgrimage to distant pilgrimage centres either. The Aranadan males do undertake pilgrimage along with Hindu co-labourers to Lord Ayyappa temple, Sabarimala, which is a major pilgrim center of the Hindus. This pilgrimage practice could develop among them possibly because of the presence of a large number of forest labourers who undertake Sabarimala pilgrimage. They also observe fast and ritual purity for 41 days like any other pilgrims. It is believed that the worshipping of this deity could ensure safety from wild animals and calamities. During the fasting period, abstinence, avoidance of women in menstrual pollution, vegetarianism etc., are practised. Indeed, these are tribal ways of religious observances. Such compatibility makes an easy assimilation of Hindu religious practices possible.

None of these tribal community members have exposure to Hindu sacred scriptures viz., Ramayana, Mahabharatha, Bhagavatha, etc. It does not prevent them from identifying with the local Hindus in

religious life. These communities' religious beliefs and practices are having much commonality with that of the local non-Brahmin castes. Hinduisation process is complete in the case of Aranadan. This process has gone a long way in the case of Pathinaicken too.

Development Programmes : Impact

Housing and Drinking Water

For the last twenty-five years or so, the Government has taken up schemes to provide houses to these communities in permanent settlements. So far they haven't shown much interest in housing schemes meant for them. This is because, the Pathinaicken and Kattupaniyan societies were semi nomadic till recently. They used to shift campsites for better n.w.f.p collection, as and when wildlife disturbances occurred, when resources of an area get depleted etc. In the case of Aranadan, the family instability owing to serial monogamous relationship does not enable an individual to live in a permanent location. They also lead nomadic life in the forests during n.w.f.p collection season. Often the houses remain vacant or unoccupied particularly during peak collection periods.

The official perception is that housing is one of the felt needs of the tribal society. Houses were provided during 1970s and 80s. These community members have not taken any interest in the upkeep of their houses and the unoccupied ones get dilapidated quickly. In locations like Chembukadavu, concrete houses were provided instead of tiled houses. Such constructions are welcomed by them. The

availability of permanent houses, in the long run can positively influence these groups' family life, rearing of children, material possession etc. The Pathinaicken have started demanding well-built concrete houses inside the forests, which can withstand elephant marauding. Aranadan and Kattupaniyan are yet to show the desired interest in housing.

The traditional hamlets or camp-sites of these groups are situated on the banks of rivulets or streams. During summer, after a day's pursuits, family members camp near a water source. The water sources of the Pathinaicken and a section of Kattupaniyan are devoid of chances of pollution as these groups live inside the forests. Certain colonies were provided with bore well or open draw well. Yet, they depend mostly on rivulets/stream water. The chances of the spread of water borne diseases are increasing as these communities are pressurised to settle down in colonies. Extension education for the use of safe drinking water is required.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

These communities are at a pre-agricultural level of technology. The local group shares the natural resources of the area and the exploitation of the resources depends on the individual's work habits and physical ability. The Government have provided saplings of coconut, coffee and agricultural implements to start planting of usufructs. In certain colonies animal husbandry programmes were also undertaken by supplying goat units, poultry units etc. Irrespective of intense contact with non-tribes for decades, the Aranadan and

Kattupaniyan community members have not taken any interest in the agricultural and animal husbandry practices of their neighbouring communities. Occasionally, they do work in the non-tribal farms as field hands. The above attempts have failed because these tribal communities' traditional wanderlust as forest nomads prevails. They wouldn't eat the meat of domesticated animals. Milking is alien to them. They were not habituated to the consumption of milk and milk products. Apiary can be successfully implemented. These communities may be given more opportunities for successful experience in agriculture and animal husbandry practices.

Education

Literary rate of Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken is 22 per cent, 14 per cent and 31 per cent respectively. It is observed that their literary rate is far below than that of the State average i.e., 95 per cent. The main reason for the educational backwardness of these societies is the lack of proper infrastructure for education. The Aranadan and Kattupaniyan children become drop-outs at the lower primary level. The Pathinaicken are found enthusiastic in sending their children to Model Residential School (MRS), at Manjeri, 40km away from their habitat. This School provides accommodation, food and classroom teaching. The Pathinaicken like this MRS facilities as they opine that once the children start studying in the MRS, there takes place a perceptible change in the childrens' demeanor. MRS students perform better in scholastic achievements too.

On the other hand, the Pathinaicken think that sending children to local primary schools with hostel facilities is a mere waste. The local primary schools do not give proper class room learning situations. Hostels functioning in rented buildings could not provide proper accommodation and food. Hence they are not keen in sending their children to local schools. The single teacher schools started in remote, and isolated hamlets also couldn't generate much interest among the parents. Annually out of the 1009 population, the number of children to join schools does not exceed 25. For these children, the Government may provide MRS education, considering the small population size of these communities.

Social Contact and Problems

These tribal communities have shown different patterns in their reaction to the mainstream. The Aranadan never try to assert themselves in the mainstream society. They continue their shy and elusive life. The Kattupaniyan population too do not involve themselves in any of the mainstream social, cultural or political activities. The Pathinaicken, who are living inside the forests maintain a robustness in dealing with non-tribes.

The untouchability practised against the Aranadan community and their present position in the regional social hierarchy has also been studied. Perhaps, the habit of eating python flesh made them a despicable group to all non-Aranadan. Their interaction with the neighbouring population is minimum. Even when they live in

Government sponsored multi- ethnic colonies, they are found inactive in the social life of the colonies. The Aranadan non-Aranadan marriages are a boost to the morale of the community. Exogamous marriages have become quiet frequent. However, pathological traits such as alcoholism, broken family situation, straying of women, beggary etc. are noted. Irrespective of several Aranadan non-Aranadan marriages, this community continued to be in the rock bottom of the social hierarchy of the area.

The Kattupaniyan section living in Ambumala and Vettilakolli so far had minimum contact with the mainstream and they led an isolated life in the past. This food gathering hunting Kattupaniyan establish a kind of barter relationship with non-tribes for obtaining outside food articles. This relationship led to their specialisation in n.w.f.p collection. The developmental programmes implemented for them in the sphere of health, education, housing, drinking water etc are slow in yielding the desired results. On the other hand, the Kattupaniyan section living in Chembukadavu and Pathippara are a much exposed group. Alcoholism, malnutrition, straying of women, beggary etc., are reported from these settlements.

The Pathinaicken experiences a crisis in cultural identity. The Pathinaicken had a lesser degree of alien culture contact and thereby a lesser number of problems too. Those who enter the forests for labour could establish marital relationships with Pathinaicken women and once the labour period is over these men leave the place. Viswanathan (ibid) reported that during 1976-80 period, owing to the pressure of non-

tribal labourers in the Cholanaicken-Pathinaicken habitat(Karulai range) Cholanaicken couldn't find girls from Pathinaicken for marriage. He also reported that these unions ended in desertion. It may be noted that contact with similarly placed groups helps in obtaining mate selection leading to exogamous marriages and survival of the society.

Survival issues: Health Care

The tribal communities under study are having poor hygiene and sanitation practices. They are habituated to open-air defecation. Earlier, such habits did not create much health problem due to the semi-nomadic nature. These groups are now attracted to colonies established by the Government. Even, in the rehabilitated colonies they continue the practices and this can cause major health problems in future. Health problems are reported when semi nomadic food gatherer-hunter tribes are coerced to settledown in colonies. After establishing colonies, helminthiasis is reported from the Onge, the Andaman tribe (P. C. Coomar and M.K. Raha, 1989: 223). Personal hygiene habits of Aranadan and Kattupaniyan are highly deplorable. Extension education and increase in literacy rate can bring in desired changes among these communities in future.

A good number of males and females among the Aranadan, and similarly, among the Kattupaniyan of Chembukadavu and Pathippara are addicted to spurious country liquor. But the Kattupaniyan living in forest habitat viz., Ambumala and Vettilakolli, and Pathinaicken to a

great extent are not seriously affected with such addictions because these sections continued to have an isolated existence from the settlers. Smoking and chewing of tobacco are rampant among these populations too. Youths and children among these communities may be given health education to prevent the spread of alcoholism and minor vices.

The Kattupaniyan of Ambumala and Vettilakolli have to walk 14 km and 10 km respectively, from their settlement to reach the nearest primary health centre, which is situated at Akampadam. Health facilities are offered to them free of cost. But, they are reluctant to avail allopathic medicine, because of the difficulty in reaching the PHC. Among them 80 per cent childbirth take place in the settlement itself with the assistance of traditional birth attendant. They do not show any enthusiasm in seeking the help of allopathic doctors, until they are desperately ill. They do not know anything about hospital procedures like registering name, consulting doctors etc. Even if medicines are prescribed and provided free of cost, the administration of it will not be in the desired manner. Viswanathan (1985) reports that the tribal communities do not have therapeutic recipes for treating maladies, which are newly contracted, and they do not have even a name to refer it. So, the intervention of PHC authorities is a must for treating communicable diseases.

Educated women among these populations' may be given training in attending child birth. Healthy practices related to delivery care may be imparted. Supplementary diet may be given to the both mother and the child for the first three years after birth. Nutritional

supplements to ameliorate protein calorie malnutrition, iodine, vitamin A and C deficiencies etc., may be looked into. The PHC authorities, private doctors etc. may be informed about the diminutive size of the individuals and the requirement of differential treatment for them. These populations may be exempted from family planning targets by the District medical authorities.

Seventy per cent of the children among these communities are affected with scabies. Medical examinations did reveal the occurrences of sexually transmitted diseases, tuberculosis, leprosy etc. The spread of these diseases can be attributed to alien culture contact. These communities do not attach any social stigma to leprosy patients. The patients are neither treated with allopathic medicines nor are they segregated. So the chances of further spreading of the disease remain. Similar is the case with tuberculosis and sexually transmitted diseases. Thorough medical examination of these cases is required and prompt treatment may be given to all the afflicted persons. Since the population is small, serial monogamy, straying of women etc., are common and there exist congenial social factors for the spread of STD. Thus, periodical community health survey for detecting the prevalence of various communicable diseases and appropriate treatment may be arranged.

The socio-economic and cultural factors affecting family life may also be tackled by ensuring regular food and social security measures. At individual, group and community level, their social and cultural issues need to be studied for taking up appropriate action. So Action

Research followed by ameliorative measures can bring back the cultural identity of these groups.

Summing Up

In this section a review of the objectives and hypotheses are made. The first hypothesis deals with the origin of hunter-gatherer tribal groups. It states that *'a major tribes' section or a groups' continued geographical isolation in a territory leads to the emergence of a new group with distinct cultural identity'*. In the beginning of this chapter the data related to this aspect are discussed and it can be concluded that this hypothesis is valid.

The second hypothesis is based on the sharing of natural resources of a habitat. It delineates that *'when there are more than one food gathering, hunting tribal communities to share the natural resources of a habitat, the communities tend to specialize in different resources within the ecosystem'*. The data presented reveal tribal communities under study for their subsistence specialize on certain resources of the habitat. This kind of specialisation of resources helps these communities to avoid conflict and prevent over-exploitation of resources. Thus, this hypothesis is also found valid.

The study could throw light on the causes for the small population size of these communities. Post-puberty sterility spell, pregnancy wastages, higher neonatal mortality etc., are attributed to diet dominated by roots and tubers, and poor intake of protein calories. Harsh life in the forest, frequent childbirth and breast-feeding and malnutrition make the women vulnerable to early death. Unnatural deaths constitute major causes of mortality. Thus, these communities

have relatively low life expectancy. In addition to this, permanent family planning measures undertaken by a number of males and females in the younger age group have also checked the population growth. These findings are valuable for planning health care strategy for the diminutive tribal communities of the country.

The study gives better insight into the social life of the primitive food gatherer-hunter communities. These communities do not have a clan organisation or well-defined social structure to regulate mate selection, kinship pattern, descent and inheritance. Local group identity in fact determines the descent and rights over resources of an area. In the realm of marriage, cross cousins are preferential mates. There are also instances of parallel cousin marriages, sororate, levirate etc. Marriage unions are very fragile and serial monogamy is the practice. Frequent desertions and remarriages by both men and women affect the family life and the upbringing of children.

Exogamous marriage unions do take place wherever these tribal communities have first hand contact with other tribes/castes. These exogamous marital unions enable the communities to ease out the pressure of the lack of a suitable spouse selection. Thus, the third hypothesis, which states that *'among the diminutive tribal groups, owing to the lack of socially accepted mates for marriages, exogamy or hitherto prohibited marriage relationships, may occur'* is found valid.

The data related to marriage alliance show that exogamous marriage relations took place mainly when diminutive communities came into contact with tribes/ castes with which they had commonality.

The Aranadan-Cheruman, Pathinaicken-Paniyan marriages are cited as examples of this. This aspect substantiates the validity of the fourth hypothesis that *'when diminutive tribal communities come into continuous contact with mainstream population, the tribal societies tend to develop conjugal relationship with the communities/ castes with which they have a commonality'*.

The fifth hypothesis states that *'opening up of so far isolated territories of diminutive tribal communities results in an overwhelming impact of the mainstream cultures. In this process the tribal cultures tend to lose their identity'*. The study finds that, even if exogamous marriages takes place, the post-marital residence is with the tribal community in, the forest environment. Continued living in the forest ecosystem makes the couple and their children effective members of the host group and thus no loss of cultural identity takes place. But on the other hand, there occurs an overwhelming impact of mainstream cultures over those sections which are exposed and thus tend to lose their identity.

The sixth hypothesis states that *'as a result of exposure to mainstream technology and economic behaviour, the tribal societies are making quantum leaps to modernity losing all intermediary stages'*. The overall social settings of Nilambur Valley and the mainstream cultures interacting with these populations could not provide adequate data to test this hypothesis. But the study did show that the tribal communities under study are highly susceptible to alcoholism and minor vices. Social pathology such as broken family situation, straying of women, beggary etc., are common. Even the technological change is a slow process in these communities. Even if an individual acquires new technology, he has no opportunity to make use of it. Their traditional skill of tree climbing is utilised by

the mainstream population for coconut and arecanut climbing. So there occurs no collective quantum leap in the technological, realm, but technological mobility does occur at an individual level. So this hypothesis is modified to this extent.

The data and analysis made could give a descriptive account of the interrelationship between the ecology, economy, society and culture of three tribal communities viz., Aranadan, Kattupaniyan and Pathinaicken of the Nilambur Valley. The demographic characteristics and the various causes for the small population size of these communities are revealed by the study. The study could examine the survival issues of these tribal groups in the eco-cultural context. Developmental aspects are also discussed. The conclusions drawn earlier in this chapter after cross cultural analysis may be seen as national and universal in application. Thus, the study could do justice to the objectives outlined.



THESIS ON
THREE TRIBES OF NILAMBUR VALLEY :
**A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Economy,
Society and Culture**

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THESIS ON
THREE TRIBES OF NILAMBUR VALLEY :
**A Study in Interrelationship Between Habitat, Economy,
Society and Culture**

Submitted to the
UNIVERSITY OF CALICUT
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in
ANTHROPOLOGY

by
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JANUARY 2001

GLOSSARY

- Adiyanthiram* --- Annual ancestral propitiation ceremony conducted by the Pathinaicken.
- Alai* --- An area beneath a jutting out rock where natural differential weathering had produced space suitable for shelter. Such rock shelters or *alais* are found along the banks of rivulets.
- Andunercha* --- Annual offering given by the Aranadan to their Goddess, *Thamburatti* for curing diseases. The offerings include rice, certain curries, betel leaves, tobacco, lime and beaten rice.
- Attamvaipu* --- Post-burial ritual performed by the *chemmakkaran* of the Aranadan in order to know whether the soul of the dead is pleased or angry with the living ones.
- Beedavekkal* --- Magico-religious rites performed by the *chemmakkaran* of the Pathinaicken for curing illness.
- Chemmakkaran* --- Headman of a *chemmam* i.e., hamlet/ territory among the Aranadan and the Pathinaicken
- Chemmam* --- Term denoting the territory of a local group among the Pathinaicken.
- Chemmi* --- Headman of a hamlet among the Kattupaniyan
- Chilambu* --- An anklet with bells; worshipped by the Aranadan, along with the images of other deities.
- Chittal* --- A temporary hut erected by the Kattupaniyan, at the time of confinement.

<i>Chodala</i>	--	Burial ground of the Kattupaniyan
<i>Daivakotta</i>	--	The divine basket in which the Pathinaicken keep the images of deities, spirits and other sacred objects.
<i>Daivapura</i>	---	Sacred hut of the Pathinaicken. <i>Daivakotta</i> is kept within it. Stones and metallic images are also installed in it.
<i>Gudimana</i>	---	A temporary hut erected by the Pathinaicken, to segregate girls during menstrual period.
<i>Gudimanamadiyath</i>	---	Ceremony conducted by the Pathinaicken to celebrate menarche of a girl.
<i>Kakkapula</i>	---	Ancestral propitiation ceremony conducted by the Kattupaniyan, on the 16 th day, after the death of a person.
<i>Koottupura</i>	---	Place where the Pathinaicken barter their n.w.f p with the non-tribes.
<i>Kudamani</i>	---	<i>Bronze bell</i> ; worshipped by the Aranadan, along with the images of other deities.
<i>Maladeivam</i>	---	Hill-deity, worshipped by the Aranadan, the Pathinaicken and the Kattupaniyan.
<i>Mathramcheyyal</i>	---	Magico-religious rites performed by the <i>moopan</i> or <i>chemmi</i> of the Kattupaniyan for curing illness.
<i>Moontanman</i>	---	Among the Pathinaicken, the groom's <i>chemmakkar</i> hand over <i>kanappanam</i> (bride-price) to the bride's <i>chemmakkar</i> , before tali tying ceremony. On such occasions the <i>chemmakkar</i> are called <i>moonamman</i> denoting 'third party'.
<i>Moopan</i> or <i>Chemmi</i>	---	Headman among the Kattupaniyan of a hamlet.

<i>Nalivekkal</i>	---	Magico-religious rites performed by the <i>chemmakkaran</i> among the Aranadan, for curing illness.
<i>Neeruneelal</i>	---	Post-burial ceremony conducted by the Pathinaicken on the seventh day after the demise of a person.
<i>Pandal</i>	---	A temporary shield or cover made by the Aranadan, for getting protection from Sun and rain.
<i>Pira</i>	---	The dwelling unit of both the Aranadan and The Kattupaniyan. Among the Aranadan, <i>pira</i> also denotes seclusion hut during confinement and menstruation.
<i>Poya</i>	---	The divine basket made of reed or rattan in which the Kattupaniyan keep the sacred objects like <i>mami</i> (bronze bell), <i>kinnam</i> (bronze plate) and red clothes. They also keep images of deities and spirits in it, covered in red clothes.
<i>Pula</i>	---	Ritual segregation observed for a specific period by close kins at the time of birth, puberty and death among the Aranadan, the Pathinaicken and the Kattupaniyan.
<i>Pulamana</i>	--	A temporary hut erected by the Pathinaicken, at the time of confinement.
<i>Thaithal</i>	---	Flattened bamboo used for various purposes.
<i>Therandukalyanam</i>	---	Puberty ceremony conducted by the Aranadan
<i>Thettupanam</i>	---	Fine against the mystical retribution feared for social offences or violation of taboo among the Kattupaniyan.

- Thoomakuli* --- Puberty ceremony conducted by the Kattupaniyan.
- Thulasithara* --- A platform raised in front of the dwelling hut, for planting *thulasi* (*Ocimum sanctum*), which typifies a Hindu custom of the area.

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FAMILY SURVEY SCHEDULE

Family Particulars

Name of the tribe:
Name of the hamlet/settlement:
Name of the informant/woman:
Year and Date:

Taluk:
Panchayat:
Village:
House No.

Sl. No	Name of the household members	Relationship to the head of the household members	Age	Sex	Marital status S/M/W/D	Education	Occupation	Adoption of F.P. if any	Remarks

PARTICULARS OF ALL M/W/D PEOPLE

Sl. No.	Name	Name of Natal hamlet	Age of marriage/ marriages	Destitute since how long	If divorcee since when	Or any other status

MATERIAL ASPECTS

Type of house

Details of Landholding: Wet/Dry/only house site

Wages: M/F

Ration card:

Beneficiary Schemes if any:

Development Schemes: IRDP/ITDP:

FERTILITY HISTORY- (GUIDELINES)

Name of the tribe:
Name of the hamlet/settlement:
Name of the informant/woman:
Year and Date:

Taluk:
Panchayat:
Village:
House No.

-
1. Name of the woman:
 2. Age:
 3. Community:
 4. Educational qualification
 5. Family type
 6. Family size
 7. Age at menarche
 8. Details about menstrual circle (regular/irregular)
 9. Age at menopause
 10. Age at marriage
 11. Type of marriage (endogamy/inter-tribal/ non-tribal)
 12. Whether the couple is related to each other:
 13. If so-how (cross cousins/parallel cousin/specify the relationship)
 14. Present Status (S/M/W/D/RM)
If M/D/RM:
 15. Details about husband/husbands:
 16. Age at first pregnancy
 17. Total number of Children: Details
 18. Details about Abortion cases
 19. Details about Stillbirths
 20. Duration of breast feeding
 21. Duration of post-partum taboo
 22. Details on neo-natal death
 23. Details on Infant Mortality
 24. Details on Child death(within 14 years)
 25. whether adopted any family planning measures
 26. If so- Who (husband/ wife/both)
 27. which method (indigenous/modern)
 28. Attitudes towards family planning
 29. Remarks:
-

FERTILITY HISTORY RECORD

Name of the tribe:
 Name of the hamlet/settlement:
 Name of the informant/woman:
 Year and Date:

Taluk:
 Panchayat:
 Village:
 House No.

Details of Parents	No. of Conceptions	Reproductive wastages		Live Births				Total living children	Remarks
		Abortion - I or UI	Stillbirth Male - Female	<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>			
				Name- Age-	Ed- C.Status	Name-Age-	Ed- C.Status		
				S/M/W/D	S/M/W/D	S/M/W/D	S/M/W/D		
<u>Mother</u> Name: Age: Chemnam S/M/W/D									
<u>Father</u> Name: Age: Chemnam S/M/W/D									

S	--	Single	M	--	Married
W	--	Widow	D	--	Divorcee
I	--	Induced abortion	UI	--	Un Induced
Ed	--	Educational Status	C.Status	--	Current Status

RECORDS OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS

Name of the tribe:
Name of the hamlet/settlement:
Name of the informant:
Year and Date:

Taluk:
Panchayat:
Village:
House No.

BIRTH

Sl. No.	Child Name & Age	Mother Name & Age	Father Name & Age	Dt. & Place of Birth	Type of Attendant	Remarks
1.						
2.						
3.						
4.						
5.						

DEATH

Sl. No.	Child Name & Age	Mother Name & Age	Father Name & Age	Dt. & Place of the occurrence	Cause of Death	Symptoms	Remarks
1.							
2.							
3.							
4.							
5.							

MORBIDITY PATTERN

FAMILY SURVEY SCHEDULE

Name of the tribe:
Name of the hamlet/settlement:
Name of the informant:
Year and Date:

Taluk:
Panchayat:
Village:
House No.

INCIDENCE, PREVALENCE AND NATURE OF TREATMENT OF:

1. Smallpox
2. Leprosy
3. Respiratory trouble
4. Jaundice
5. Whooping cough
6. Dysentery
7. Scabies
8. Odema (pitham)
9. Mumps
10. Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STD)
11. Mental illness
12. Elephant attack
13. Snake-bite
14. Suicide
15. Accident

Name	Age	Sex	Marital Status S/M/W/D	Month and Year (Morbidity case)	Nature of the disease	Medicine Used	Remarks

Notes:

PHYSICALLY HANDICAPPED: (When? How?)

1. Blind
2. Deaf-mute
3. Dumb
4. Lamé

Notes:

COLLECTION OF NON-WOOD FOREST PRODUCES(n.w.f.p) & ROOTS AND TUBERS

GUIDELINES

Name of the tribe:

Name of the hamlet/settlement:

Name of the informant/woman:

Year and Date:

Taluk:

Panchayat:

Village:

House No.

-
1. Local Name
 2. Botanical Name
 3. Available months
 4. Available Area
 5. Name of the tools used for collection
 6. Materials used for the preparation of tools
 7. Preparation of tools
 8. Is there any specialist in tool making?
 9. No. of people engaged in collection activity
 10. If it is a group activity- How they are related?
 11. Collection time (day/night)
 12. Is there any ritual before going for collection?
 13. If so- Why?
 14. Who conducts? When?
Give details:
 15. Average collection per head
 16. Whether given to Tribal Co-operative Society?
If so details:
 17. Rs/ Kg:
 18. Collection procedure
 19. Storage
 20. N.w.f.p: Useful part?
 21. Roots & Tubers: consumption method
 22. Remarks
-

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