CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ORGANISATION

In the previous chapter, an attempt was made to discuss the field work and the experiences gained. In the present chapter, efforts will be made to describe and analyse the social organisation of the Yanadi.

According to Conklin (1964:26) "in ethnography significant categories and relations are derived from intracultural analysis; they are not determined by the application of a previously designed typological grid". It is therefore, an attempt has been made to analyse the social organisation of the Yanadi based on, "such concrete relations as a local group of people and the kinds of objects and events the members of this group treat as culturally significant" (1964:26).

Kin Groups

The Yanadi broadly dichotomise all human beings between the Yanadi and the non-Yanadi and among the Yanadi into relatives and non-relatives. They refer relatives as "our man" or "our relative" (mā manisi or mā banēvi). They refer the non-relatives as "our men but not our relative" (mā vālla manisi kāni mā manisi kādu). A Yanadi considers another Yanadi as his relative when he traces his actual
relationship or he has the knowledge that he is a relative, even though he may not be able to trace his actual relationship. A Yanadi refers another Yanadi as non-relative when he cannot trace his relationship and has no knowledge about it. The Yanadi further divide their relatives into "close relatives" and "distant relatives". A close relative is one whose relationship a Yanadi can easily trace. The Yanadi recognise another Yanadi as a distant relative when he has knowledge about the relationship but unable to trace it.

The Yanadi consider relatives like father's father and mother, mother's father or mother (grand parents), father, mother (parents), father's and mother's siblings, their siblings and father and mother-in-law as important close relatives. The distant relatives include grand parents' siblings, spouses' parents-in-law and their siblings. The distant relatives become close relatives after marriage. Hence, the level of relationship continuously changes over period of time.

The Yanadi divide close relatives into two groups—consanguines (cayadulu) and affines (sambandulu). Cayadulu or sambandulu are kin groups consisting of the persons related by patrilineal descent. Each group can marry in either of the groups. Therefore, these groups are agamic kin groups vis-a-vis affines. The consanguines are arbitrarily
divided as very close and distant consanguines depending upon the actual relationship. Sons of the same father and mother, sons of the second father and mother, and brother's sons are considered very close consanguines. The children descended from the grand parents are considered as distant consanguines. The mother's brother and father's sister's husband, who are related by blood, are considered to as "preferred affines". The Yanadi related by marriage are viewed as potential affines.

FIGURE 1
FIGURE SHOWING DICHOTOMOUS DIVISION OF RELATIONSHIPS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-Yanadi</th>
<th>Yanadi Relative</th>
<th>Non-relative</th>
<th>Distant Relative</th>
<th>Close Relative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Consanguines</td>
<td>Affines</td>
<td>Close Consanguines</td>
<td>Preferred Consanguines</td>
<td>Potential Consanguines</td>
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</table>

The Figure-1 provides a graphic representation of dichotomous division of human beings and the Yanadi.
Lineage: The Yanadi is divided into a number of exogamous groups called intiperu. An intiperu is considered to be descendants of a common male ancestor and they are referred to as lineages in the anthropological usage. The lineages are smaller in size compared to the consanguinal and affinal groups. As the lineage is exogamous, one should not marry within his own lineage. Twenty seven lineages are identified among the Yanadi in Sriharikota. A Yanadi divides all the lineages into two distinct categories; one consanguinous lineages in which he should not marry and the second, affinal lineages in which a person can marry.

Within the set of affinal lineages, there are those lineages where marriages are preferred like those of mother's brother or father's sisters' husband. There are other lineages in which marriages are negotiated in case of non-availability of girls in the preferred lineages.

Spatial Distribution of the Yanadi: Settlement Pattern

The Yanadi are distributed in different settlements. Each settlement is inhabited by both consanguinal and affinal groups. The Yanadi refer this entire group as a Jamathan (band). Thus band is a closely knit group of consanguines and affines. The consanguinal or affinal group has two or more lineages each. Lineage is composed of a few families (jata). The jata literally means couple. Hence, the term
couples will be also used to represent a family. The spatial distribution of the Yanadi are graphically represented in Figure-2.

![Figure-2: Graphic Representation of Kin Groups.](image)

The largest landmass conceived by the Yanadi is Sriharikota island. However, a person is identified with the settlement (ooru) in which he/she lives. Each settlement has a name and is generally associated with a non-Yanadi village prior to 1970. This ooru, is essentially a non-Yanadi village indicating the sedentary living. If a Yanadi is living near a ooru, he/she identifies his/her settlement with the non-Yanadi ooru. But a separate Yanadi settlement is referred to by the Yanadi as "our huts" (mā gudiselu). The non-Yanadi call the Yanadi settlement as "huts of the Yanadi" (Yanādolla gudiselu). The analysis indicates that the concept of ooru essentially reflects a sedentary living of the non-Yanadi, hence it cannot be applied to the Yanadi.
settlements. This distinction also reflects the difference that exists between sedentary living and that of nomadic living.

Further the Yanadi make distinction between temporary settlement inhabited for short duration while working as forest labourers and stable settlement where often they return after completion of the forest work. Such stable settlements though not permanent are considered by non-Yanadi as the village (iyor) of the Yanadi. It is because of this reason quite often an outsider feels that the Yanadi live in villages like non-Yanadi which is far from truth.

It is observed that the Yanadi choose their settlement locations on the elevated places as the low lying areas get flooded during rainy season. Thus, the topography of the island has direct bearing on the emergence of the settlements.

Each settlement is inhabited by a band as said earlier. The huts in any settlement are spread over in clusters. A cluster of huts is occupied by a Yanadi, his married sons and sometimes married daughters. In any settlement, the huts of the older Yanadi are situated in South and West directions and that of younger Yanadi in East and North directions. This rule is based on the
Yanadi world view discussed in chapter VI. This rule is followed mostly in the clusters where the huts are erected very near to each other. The clusters located too apart generally ignore this rule.

Each cluster has easy accessibility from all directions as they are separated from each other. The Yanadi feel by maintaining distance from each other, they can avoid quarrels. According to their belief, a hut should not directly face the 'temple hut' (chenchuvāri gudi). Therefore, the scattered clusters are very convenient to erect the temple hut. The temple hut should be always in South or West direction, erected a little away from the cluster to avoid pollution from the menstruating and delivered women.

The huts in any cluster are erected in semi-circular shape since the Yanadi like to maintain seclusion (chātu). Thus, the huts in any cluster usually have a common place in front of their huts. This is utilised for relaxation, chit chat and also to share grinding stone and mortar. Owing to the physical proximity, the Yanadi can relax in their respective huts and talk to each other. Generally, each couple has one hut and in few cases more than one, especially if there are grown up children to the couple. The map-4 provides the notional map of a Yanadi settlement.
NOTIONAL MAP OF A YANADI SETTLEMENT
The frequent shifting of the Yanadi huts from place to place within the settlement bring changes in the settlement pattern. The change of location is necessitated due to the factors such as quarrels among couples, death, disease, pregnancy and bad dreams. When a Yanadi is often haunted by bad dreams or diseases in a place, he changes the direction of his hut in the same place. Even then if he continues to get bad dreams and diseases, he shifts the hut to another location in the settlement. This continues until he gets rid off the bad dreams and diseases. The allegation of adultery forces a couple to shift the hut. When a woman becomes pregnant and if her parents are in another settlement, the couple moves there for delivery. Death of a Yanadi in a settlement also forces few families to move to another location in the same settlement or sometimes the entire settlement moves to another place. The epidemics like small-pox or measles, break the entire settlement as the Yanadi disperse to different locations in the forest on such occasions.

The analysis shows that there is a continuous change in the location, position and composition of the Yanadi settlement pattern thereby showing its nomadic character.

**Family (Jata)**

The Yanadi family consists of husband, wife and their unmarried children. It is also the smallest unit which
performs all activities like food collection, fishing, hunting, hut erection, and ritual performance. Thus, family is the minimal social as well as economic unit among the Yanadi.

Interaction in a Yanadi family can be characterised as relaxed, informal and direct. The mode of marriage, described later does not affect the role relationships between husband and wife. Though wife does not refer her husband by name, but the husband may refer his wife by name sometimes. The sense of equality is maintained in all their activities and women enjoy comparatively a better status. The wife is expected to cook food, bring water, clean the hut and its surroundings, look after the children, use money and provisions judiciously besides working along with her husband to earn for the family. She should also keep warm water ready whenever her husband would like to take bath. The husband is expected to work hard and earn sufficient to eat and provide clothing. Unless it is forced upon, the husband and wife always move together in the forest and go together for food collection, fishing, hunting and to work as labour. Even for provision purchase, they go together to Sullurpeta or other villages adjoining the island.

The spouses have exclusive sexual rights over each other. They can have sex wherever and whenever they like either in the hut or in the forest. The spouses are expected
to confine in their huts and not expected to visit the huts of their potential mates and not talk to them in the presence of their spouses. Whenever, they go for some work individually, they should return quickly. When a spouse is suspected of fidelity, the other spouse keeps an eye on her/him and this leads to argument between them. But this is confined only to their hut. Rarely a husband beats his wife for disloyalty because of the scarcity of women to marry in case if she deserts him. The wife shows indifference to her husband if he is suspected of 'going to a girl' (having liaison with another girl) and shows her disapproval by avoiding cooking food, keeping warm water ready for his bath and also refusing to go to work with him. After a serious argument, they live separately for some time with their respective parents. Sometimes, the elders of the couple succeed in arranging a compromise and therefore the couple start living together again. The decision to get separated rests entirely with the individual spouse. Normally, the children of the couple will not prevent a couple from getting separated. Generally, the children live with mothers and the responsibility to look after them lies with their second husbands if they marry, which occur in almost all cases.

As long as there are no quarrels between the wife and husband their relations are cordial and they spend their
time together both in work and at the hut. Though, theoretically husband's position is regarded as one of the superior the behaviour of equality can be seen among them. The cordial relations are manifested by putting his/her head on the lap and looking for lices and also by joking and laughing while talking to each other. Both husband and wife drink arrack (country liquor) and toddy together. All decisions regarding their familial matters are taken jointly. Thus, the entire gamut of relationships between husband and wife is primarily based on equality and mutual consent.

The parents treat their children as almost equals. Father and grown up sons exchange smoke (beedies or cigars) and arrack and toddy and the grown up girls are also offered the drink. As a normative behaviour, the children are expected to respect their parents and not use obscene words against them. A remarkable sense of equality can be seen among them in sharing and distribution of food. Generally, when the food is ready, all members of the family regardless of age and sex gather at the hearth with their individual plates. The food is served by the mother according to the individual desire and need. Every member of the family has to clean his/her plate before and after eating the food.

Parents are generally aloof about the matters of their children, especially their adolescent children. The
children go for work or not, depends upon their choice. So also the sons are at liberty to spend a part of his earnings on either clothes or drink and the daughters on clothes and the bangles. However, children would give some part of their earning to their parents. If the parents treat with harsh words, the son conveniently leaves the hut and starts living with his mother's brother's or father's sister's or sister's hut. Theoretically the girls are also at liberty to do the same but because they are married early, such possibility does not exist. The parents are not expected to show their unhappiness with the couple with whom the boy stays. The sons and daughters are unconcerned with the matters of separation or remarriage of their parents and also in their quarrels and misbehaviour.

The relationship between mother and daughter is based on mutual obligation and it is very different from that of between mother and son. The mothers exercise relatively more control over their daughters. The daughters comply with the requests of the mothers like bringing water, cooking food and looking after the younger siblings. Owing to their higher utility in running home the relationship between the mother and daughter is of equality and comradeship. Expression of the opinions and desires mark their relation and they freely gossip together.
Though the parents arrange the marriage of their children, it should be with their consent. The parents are not responsible for misdeeds of their children before or after the marriage. Therefore explanations are demanded for the misbehaviour from the individuals concerned in which the parents are least involved.

The relationship between siblings is friendly. Normally younger siblings are expected to oblige the elder ones. But in reality it is not so. They eat, play, gossip and sleep together either with their parents in the same hut or in a separate hut.

The Yanadi do not loan their tools such as knives, fishing implements to others. Even in the family, one has to take the permission of the individual to use his/her tools. If at all they give them, the Yanadi expect something in return. For example, if a Yanadi lends the fishing trap to another Yanadi he expects a few fish in return. Every Yanadi expects that the implements lent if lost or damaged the same should be replaced. The tools and articles belonging to other Yanadi should not be touched or given to others without owner's permission. Even the wife, son or daughter of the owner takes no such liberty. The Yanadi respect and recognize the individual ownership of the possession.
The analysis shows that the family relationships are based on equality, individual freedom and respect for the individual possession.

Sex

The premarital sex is not approved by the Yanadi. But they occur without the "knowledge" of the aloof parents and is common in the life of every Yanadi grown up boy and girl. The grown up boys and the girls who are potential spouses joke with each other. Both the boys and girls symbolically sprinkle water on each other to express their desire. Such boys and girls are known to be trying to involve in sex. While playing a few games they try to hug each other or chase each other. While playing hide and seek (annemoosi) the boys and girls pair off according to their choice and indulge in amorous activities like hugging, embracing, kissing, touching the breasts and also sexual intercourse in a nearby bush or in a hut. It is observed that the encouragement for sexual act comes from both the girl and the boy. In the night, few boys and girls sleep in the same hut where a pair indulge in sexual activities when other children fall asleep. Though, commonly it is known to other children, seldom it is brought to the knowledge of the elders.

Uddagiri a Yanadi boy narrates his experience of premarital sex at around the age of fourteen with a girl who
had not attained menarche at that time. "I was staying near the sea coast near the work spot. The settlement had nearly twenty families. I stayed with my sister's family. As they were having a single hut, I was sleeping in a hut along with other children of the settlement. A few girls were also sleeping in the same hut. Among them Shakuntala was showing interest towards me. When I stayed back at the hut, she also stayed in the hut. She would pinch my ears and hands now and then. One day she also held my penis. As the other children were there, I just hugged her and held her breasts. One night she lied down by my side, and when all children fell asleep I indulged in sexual intercourse with her. When I coupled with her, she bleded".

A boy of about thirteen years by name Panneraiah narrated to the researcher how tired he was when he 'drove the cart' (copulated). "I stay at the hut to look after my younger siblings. My mother's younger brother's wife who has not attained menarche quite often stayed back at the hut. When the elders went for work, I and the girl played together. We went into the hut and closed the entrance. We then indulged in sexual intercourse. I tried my level best to penetrate my penis into her vagina (pooda). I became very much tired of the sexual intercourse and within a few minutes I departed".
Puberty

The Yanadi girls when get the first menses try to hide it from the parents and others. However, the playmates find it out and inform the girls' mother. In some cases the mother comes to know it by observing the blood on girl's skirt. Sarojamma narrates her experience when she had her first menses. One day she went to the forest to collect food along with Kannemma (50) and a few children. She was not feeling well on that day. Kannemma also asked why she was looking dull. She was not feeling like eating the fruits in the forest. She was just looking at the other children when they were collecting fruits and eating them. Her eyes were reeling. When they were returning home, she followed them. Blood started flowing from her vagina. She tried to hide it. Her skirt became wet. Kannemma suspected that she might have attained menarche. On the way, she tried to uncover her skirt to see. But Sarojamma did not allow her. Finally Kannemma saw the menstrual blood flowing along her legs and later informed it to Sarojamma's mother.

When a girl attains puberty her parents inform the girl's mother's brother (menamma) if he is in the same settlement or send message if he is in another settlement. The girls menamma erects a small hut near the girl's parents hut generally known as 'seclusion hut' (chātu gudise) in anthropological literature. The girl is given bath and the
clothes are changed. The menamāma and his wife (menatta) carry her and put her on a cloth spread in the seclusion hut. They say to the girl "you should not move from here until we come. You should not sleep during day time". The mother gives the girl her plate to take food, a comb and the vermilion.

In case the girl has no menamāma or if he expresses his unwillingness to involve in their matters because of some quarrel between them earlier, the Yanadi ask father's sister's husband to erect the hut. If both of them are not willing to do so, the parents of the girl ask any affine available among them to play the role of menamāma almost by 'purchase' (konesukovadam).

The grown up boys who are potential mates to the girl assemble near the seclusion hut and joke with her. They comment that yet another "new pot (chatti) got bored". During the confinement period, the girl's age mates give her company and chit chat with her to keep her awake.

**Puberty Ceremony**

The Yanadi conduct puberty ceremony (seekadimpu) on the ninth day after the appearance of the menarche. Both the consanguines of the girl's parents and affines contribute towards the expenditure of the ceremony.
On the early morning of ninth day, the menamama burns the seclusion hut. Turmeric water is sprinkled over the girl and the articles with her to purify them. She is then given a ritual bath and washed clothes to wear. Now the menamama takes her to her parents' hut. The puberty ceremony is conducted in the night, as a matter of convenience to all. The relatives are invited to the ceremony, one or two days earlier. On this occasion two persons, one consanguine and another affine of the girl's father go around inviting the relatives. The consanguine invites the affines of the girl's father and the affine invites the girl's father's consanguines. They distribute betel leaves and nuts as a token of invitation.

The ceremony starts with the mālam. The food is served to all the relatives. Afterwards all of them assemble under the pendal at her parents' hut, which was erected by her menamama.

At this juncture the menamama goes into the hut to bring the girl to the pendal who is expected to disappear from the hut that time. So he does not find her there. Then he asks the parents of the girl, "where is the girl?". The parents of the girls say "after burning the seclusion hut, you yourself put her in the hut. We do not know where she has gone. You go and search. Then the menamama and his wife
symbolically search around the hut in the settlement. Finally when found, they carry her to the pendal. Under the pendal, a cloth is spread and she is asked to sit on the cloth. The presentations like pithu (edible made of rice flour) brought by the relatives are placed in front of the girl. The symbolic search is to justify the obligation and importance of menaṭta towards the girl. Also the claim he has over his sister's daughter who could be his son's preferred mate.

The girl's menaṭta first perform nailing ceremony followed by five or seven women relatives like father's sisters, father's brothers' wives and sisters. The relatives offer cash "presentations" (chadvimpulu) to the girl. It ranges from Rs.1 to Rs.5. She then distributes the pittu to all the relatives assembled. This is an occasion of fun and laughter for the young boys and girls. The girl offers 'empty hand' to potential mates and pittu to her brothers. Sometimes, the girl puts small stones in the pittu and offers to the potential young mates. This act of the girl separates the consanguines and affines.

Marriage

The selection of spouse is limited within the Tanadi tribe of the island, that too, preferably within the close relatives. By prescription, one is expected to
marry outside one's lineage but the first preference is given to mother's brother's children. Only as second preference, a Yanadi would choose a spouse outside this boundary.

The girls are married immediately after they attain menarche; on an average, at the age of thirteen or fourteen. Boys are married when they get moustach and beard and therefore they are married at an average age of about sixteen to eighteen. It is observed that there is difference in the age at marriage between a boy and a girl. Hence husbands are older than their wives at the time of first marriage.

No sooner, a girl attains menarche a competition starts between different relatives of the girl to marry her off. As said earlier the girl's menamama can marry her to his son. Otherwise, he plays an influential role in the marriage of the girl. The aspirants, as a rule should approach him, if they wanted to marry her. If parents are approached they would say "we have nothing to say. The girl's menamama has to be contacted. It depends upon him". In reality, both the parents and menamama of the girl decide the match. However, the consent of the girl determines the final decision. No amount of persuasion and pressure can make a girl accept a boy whom she does not like. Among the Yanadi the girls are in more advantageous position to choose a
husband as there is a scarcity of females among them.

When the boy and the girl express their consent to marry the relatives of the boy meet the relatives of the girl on a mutually convenient day, at the former's hut, to conduct the pillakutam ceremony (gathering for the girl ceremony). The boy's parents, his memamama and other close relatives include the boy's party and similarly that of the girl. The boy's relatives offer arrack or toddy to the girl's relatives on this occasion. These two parties sit across each other outside the hut.

The pillakutam ceremony starts in a dramatic fashion. An experienced person from the girl's side would question the boy's party "who are you and why have you come to our hut". An equally experienced person from the boy's side would tell them in the same fashion dramatically, that "we have come here to ask for food". One of the girl's relative would then say "Bring food and give them". Immediately the boy's relative would say "No, no. We do not want food. We have come to ask for a lamp as our hut is dark". The girl's relative pointing out to a person of his group would say, "Give them a lamp". Immediately the elder says "No, no. We do not want a lamp. We came to know that there is a girl in your hut. So we want to marry her to our boy". Then the girl's relative would say, "Our girl is very rough. She
beats every one of us. She may also beat you". The boy's relative would say, "We can adjust with her and make her sober". The girl's relative would finally say "Our girl is blind, deaf, and lame and so cannot do any work". The boy's relative would say, "Even then we are ready to accept her". Both parties go on talking jokingly and when this part is over, the consent of the boy and the girl is asked in the gathering. This also involves a lot of fun and laughter. The boy and the girl are asked to say their consent loudly so that all the relatives may hear it clearly.

After these 'negotiations', they decide whether to conduct marriage (pendli) ceremony or to 'exchange the betel leaves and nuts' to mark the marriage. However, in most of the cases, the marriage is marked by the exchange of betel leaves and nuts. In only a few cases, they conduct the marriage (pendli) ceremony in a similar way as that of the non-Yanadi of the island.

Exchange of Betel Leaves and Nuts: After the negotiations, the parents of the girl ask the boy "when we become old, will you provide us food? When we go to the places beyond seas, will you also accompany us? Will you take 'sour water' along with us"? The boy says 'yes' to all these questions. Then the girl's menamama asks the boy, "can you look after
her well? Can you provide her with food and clothing?"
The boy says in affirmation.

Afterwards menamama of the boy and that of the
girl sit facing each other. They exchange a plate of betel leaves and nuts. As one hands it over, he announces loudly
that the girl belonging to such and such lineage is given
to the boy belonging to such and such lineage. Similarly
the boy's menamama says, that the girl of such and such
lineage is taken by the boy belonging to such and such
lineage. This is repeated thrice. The boy then distributes
the betel leaves and nuts to all the relatives assembled
there. The boy presents a sari to the girl and in a few
cases to her mother also. The girl and the boy then onwards
start living together in a separate hut.

From the above description it is clearly indicated
that a Yanadi has obligative responsibility towards parents
as well as parents-in-law to look after and to provide food
to them. It is often heard from the Yanadi that, "We want to
'live' by giving our girl to a hard working boy who can
provide us food", thereby clearly indicating the equal
status given to both of parents.

Marriage by Service: There are a few cases where a boy
stays with girl's parents and assists them, even well before
the girl attains menarche. This custom is followed to ensure getting a wife. The boy tries to win the girl's favour by giving her bangles, clothing and arrack and toddy. They live in a separate hut and go together for food collection and fishing in the forest. When the girl attains menarche, the boy bears the expenditure of the puberty ceremony. He is also to offer her a sari and sometimes one to her mother. After this ceremony they maintain their own hearth.

Elopement: The Yanadi elope when the boy's and girl's parents fail to approve their decision of marriage. Sometimes, they run away to distant settlement without the knowledge of their parents. After staying there for few months, they return to their settlement, and the parents are forced to accept them as husband and wife. Similarly, when a man and woman live together for sometime, even without any ceremony they are considered as married.

Separation (divorce)

Separation (alāda) process involves only the husband and wife. The separation follow re-marriage immediately in almost all cases. One of the important reasons for separation (divorce) is the strained relations between husband and wife because of fidelity. It slowly leads to separation. Another reason is the lack of capacity in the husband to satisfy his wife sexually. Disputes between
the husband and his parents-in-law, even under the intoxication, leads to the separation. Separation is used as a revenge well reflected in the threat, "We will take back our girl".

The couple also seek separation when one of the spouses is lazy and irregular in earning for the family. In addition to these bio-social and economic reasons, there are reasons connected with the beings of invisible world leading to separation. The important among them is, if a spouse suffers from some prolonged illness soon after the marriage the illness is attributed as disapproval of the marriage by the gods or ancestors. Under such circumstances, the couple are forced to accept separation to save the sufferer from the wrath of the beings of the invisible world. This indicates the influence of invisible world on the life of the Yanadi.

Death

The death among the Yanadi is an occasion when the sorrow is shared in the band. On the day of death all the Yanadi in the band abstain from cooking food and going to work. The news is conveyed to the relatives in the other settlements jointly by a consanguine and an affine of the dead person. The consanguine informs the affines of the dead Yanadi and vice-versa. The sticks in their hands indicate
that they are going to inform the death news. One of the close affines either menamana of the dead Yanadi or wife's brother 'supervise' the burial and the post-funeral rituals.

The pyre is carried by two consanguines and two affines. The dead Yanadi's close consanguine either son or brother performs all the rituals. The dead body is buried by keeping it upside down and the face facing East. The close consanguine first drops the sand in the ditch and turns back without seeing the ditch. Same is followed by other relatives. After burying the dead, all of them go to a water pond where they wash their hands, feet and face. The close affine and close consanguine take the cigars and beedies brought by the consanguines of the dead and distribute them to their respective consanguines. If any person is left by mistake it could lead to quarrel. On such occasion, it is important to reestablish his relationship with the dead person. After smoking, all of them return to the hut of the dead person. They salute the lamp lit and kept in the hut and go back to their respective huts.

The consanguines of the dead person become ritually impure during this period. They conduct paluposukovadam and nunnaham or karamanthram ceremonies to return to the pure state.
Fōlu pōsukovaḏam: The chief agnate prepares sweet rice which is placed on a leaflet (devistri). He lite a lamp over the rice, places it outside the hut of the dead person and the chief consanguine offers coconut and camphor. The female relatives of the dead person assemble near devistri and salute it and dip the finger in the milk put there in a pitcher.

The close affine keeps the leaf plate in a basket which in turn placed on the shoulder of the close consanguine. All of them reach the place where the dead body was buried and it is offered with coconut and camphor. From there they come to a water pond. Milk is poured on the shoulders of the four Yanadi who have carried the pyre to remove the 'weight' due to the carrying of the dead body. The cigars or beadies are given to every relative present there. Later they return to the settlement and share the sweet rice.

Jumvāham: This is performed when a child dies and is conducted on the sixteenth or twenty-first day after the death. The close affine prepares a kalcham, a pitcher decorated with coconut leaves, turmeric and vermilion and coconut placed over it. The clothes of the dead person are placed in a plate. A small round ball (shala) is prepared with turmeric powder and is placed on a leaf. The kalcham, and shala on either side of the plate having
clothes are placed in the hut. Besides them, a lamp (pramica) is lit of which light should not extinguish. Therefore, a person has to watch it constantly. This is called an impure kalcham (mylakalcham). Throughout the night milam continues. In the morning, the impure kalcham is mixed in the water pond by the close consanguine accompanied by all the relatives.

The close affine and consanguine approach a Brahmin and get chanted water or 'pure water' (sudivellu) from him. This water is brought and sprinkled on the dead man's hut and thus it is purified. The close consanguine again prepares the sweet rice and also the kalcham as described earlier. This kalcham is considered to be pure kalcham. The close consanguine carries both of them to a water pond accompanied by all the relatives. He offers coconut, camphor and the kalcham is mixed in the water.

The close affine asks all the dead man's consanguines to stand in a row and sprinkles the pure water over them. They are then considered to be free from pollution (antu). All of them take bath in the ditch, return to the hut and share the sweet rice.

Karamanthram: The karamanthram is conducted when the married Yanadi die. The procedure of this ceremony is
similar up to the preparation of pure kalacham as in punyāhama. After this the close consanguine carry the pure kalacham and deviṣṭri to a water pond accompanied by all the relatives. The close affine erects a small pond near the pond, under which the pure kalacham and deviṣṭri are kept. The close consanguine offers coconut and camphor to them. Afterwards they are mixed in the pond water. The consanguines of the dead person are asked to stand in a row. Each of them is presented a 'cloth' (revūgudda) by each of their five categories of affines. They are:

Menamāma : Mother's brother
Menabādestham : Father's sister's husband
Menalludu bādestham : Sister's son
Pillanichchina bādestham : The relative who has given a girl to him or to his son or to whom he has given his daughter and
Ādapādучu bādestham : Sister's husband (See Figure-3)

While presenting the cloth each person say "I have given/taken a daughter son from so and so and therefore, I am giving the cloth". Afterwards all the relatives are served with food.
FIG 3. GENEALOGICAL REPRESENTATION OF FIVE CATEGORIES OF AFFINES
The analysis presented so far indicates the Yanadi maintain dichotomy between affines and consanguines in which mother's brother play a very important role on every occasion. Individuals' choices of both the sexes are equally respected by relatives and members of band.