In the previous chapter, the Yamadi social organisation was analysed. In the present chapter, an attempt will be made to describe and analyse the economic life of the Yanadi.

Among the Yanadi, "food and the few devices employed in obtaining it, is the focus of economic life ..." (Service: 1966:9). In addition, "food gathering is the major enterprise, of course, but more than that, it is a direct confrontation of man with nature" (Service: 1966:9).

The Yanadi Hut

The Yanadi huts are small, dome shaped, single couple edifices made of cassuara branches and thatched with palmyra leaves. They can easily be erected and shifted from one place to another in the same settlement and if necessary can be dismantled and carried to another place. They use locally available creepers like ṭĕțĭnăra, șețehăra, ăditeege for tying the branches and palayra leaves in the hut construction. This kind of compact hut protects them from cold during winter. As the huts are low when the small entrance is closed tightly, any amount of...
wind and gale cannot blow them off. Thus, the Yanadi huts are perfectly suited to the environment and to their nature of semi-nomadic life.

In the hut, the hearth is found at one place. It is made of three stones. One or two earthern pots and aluminium utensils are found by the side of the hearth. The firewood is seen on one side. If the couple has two huts, the firewood is kept in the second hut. A platform attached to the hut's ceiling with stalks is made to keep the rice and other provisions. The knives are found tucked in the roof inside the hut. One or two bottles are found hanging to the inside roof of the hut. They contain a little quantity of ground nut oil or kerosene oil. The floor of the hut is bare sand. The Yanadi have scanty material possessions. This may be due to their semi-nomadic movements. "Lesser the material possessions, easier it is to move" according to the Yanadi which they say quite often.

The Yanadi possess simple technology for survival and to gather food from the forest. They have four kinds of knives which they term as big knife (pedda katti), small knife (chinnna katti) or curved knife (vankatti), and tanga, which they use for cutting wood, forest clearance, and food collection. They have fishing implements like angler, harpoo
Sources of Survival

There are three main sources of survival. These are: (a) forest work as wage labourers, (b) food gathering and (c) fishing and hunting. All the three means of survival or economic activity are such that the Yanadi have to move from one part of the island to another. The periodic movements also become essential due to climatic/environmental changes and concomitant flowering of fruits and roots in the different parts of the island. Each of the three means of survival is described separately. First a historical perspective would be provided to understand the changes that have taken place in Yanadi means of survival.

In the early nineteenth century, the Yanadi lived totally on wild tubers, roots, fruits, fish and small game. They collected the required food and cooked or roasted them in fire. They also lived and roamed in the forest wherever they wanted to. Their direct contact with the nature was queered by the subtle intrusion of the British who employed
the Yanadi to collect chay roots and forest produce. The latter were in turn provided with rice, clothing, cigars and beedies. Cash economy was also introduced in their life a few years after that. But the Yanadi largely depended on the non-salable forest food and the inflow of cash affected their life style very little. The British were sympathetic towards the Yanadi and made efforts to ameliorate their economic conditions.

It is the British who also brought the Yanadi in contact with the local non-Yanadi, which resulted in some changes in their life style. The non-Yanadi villagers sold country liquor, provisions, etc. to the Yanadi. When the British gave a few forest coupes to be cut on contract basis the non-Yanadi contractors employed the Yanadi to cut the wood and load to the boats. A few Yanadi worked with the British in the forest works. All these brought more and more work opportunities for the Yanadi and in due course of time this relatively reduced the Yanadi dependency on forest. This type of situation prevailed till Indian Space Research Organisation took over the island in 1970.

The observations during the field work, showed that the Yanadi even now depended on the forest for their food, medicine, and hut material to a great extent. With
their close contact with both the land and water for many
generations the Yanadi know all the locations of the
island, different kinds of food and methods of their
procurement. So the wage labour only became another source
of livelihood.

Wage Labour

A large number of the island Yanadi worked with
the British and later with the Forest Department, Andhra
Pradesh State Government. Such Yanadi were to be known as
Sarkar Yanadi. The other Yanadi who worked with the non-
Yanadi Contractors were known to be Raju Yanadi. The
Sarkar Yanadi were employed for planting, digging ditches
for watering the plants, transplantation and also to
collect the seasonal forest produce like soapnut, cashewnut,
tamarind etc. This relation between the government and the
Yanadi continued till the evacuation of the island population.
At the time of evacuation the daily wage paid to adult men,
women and children were Rs. 3/-, 2.50/-, and Rs.1.50/-
respectively. The amount of work to be done was allotted
to each individual. According to the older Yanadi the
Sarkar Yanadi were not happy with this arrangement since
they worked under the strict supervision of forest officials,
which involved specific working hours. A few Yanadi used to
run away to escape the hard work and would join the contractors,
where there was no such strict working hours and supervision. But such persons were brought back forcibly for work.

The forest officials appointed a Yanadi referred as mistry and three assistants to him, referred as tinatulu, to supervise the Yanadi labourers at different work spots and to take care of attendance. It is said that mistry and tinatulu used to beat the Yanadi labourers severely to extract work from them, or when ran away from work to join the contractors. Out of harsh treatment a few Yanadi committed suicide by consuming poisonous tubers available in the forest.

The collection of seasonal forest produce such as musti fruits, tamarind, soapnut, cashewnut and sugardharala roots was also done by the Yanadi. The payments for such collection was made on the basis of collection made. The forest officials who received the collection measured it and wages were paid once in a week and transferring to their account in the co-operative stores especially opened for their welfare at Kothachem village. Here they were provided with ration needed by them against their earning and part amount of four or five rupees in cash. Further, the Yanadi labourers were provided with a pair of dhotis or sarees by the forest department.
The Balthu Yanadi worked for non-Yanadi contractors in cutting the plantations and clearing the forest. A few Yanadi families also worked for non-Yanadi as servants and to tend the cattle. The forest department also used to auction patches of casuarina and eucalyptus plantations against tenders. The non-Yanadi contractors who obtained these tenders employed the Yanadi for felling and cutting the trees. After completion of a coup the Yanadi were given feast by the contractors. Gifts of dhotis and sarees were also given on this occasion.

The Yanadi were paid by the amount of work done. It was Rs.10/- to 15/- for cutting approximately one ton of wood. They had to cut the wood and pile it up according to the prescribed measurements and this was always to the advantage of the contractor. The Yanadi were given advances in terms of rice and other provisions and a small amount of cash. The accounts were settled when a lot was completed, generally by the week end. The contractors also helped the Yanadi at the time of sickness and need, by advancing money. In most of the cases, the Yanadi could not clear the advances taken and thus continued to work for the contractors and lived under their obligation. In this disguised patronisation the Yanadi were badly exploited. No historical data are available to indicate how often the Yanadi starved during this period.
The Yanadi couple worked as an unit and therefore, the advance was given for the couple. After taking an advance, they would leisurely stay back at the hut for one or two days, and go for fishing and hunting. When the rice and provisions come to nearing to exhaustion, they along with their grown up children would go for work. They would work day and night for the advance taken. Once it is paid up, another advance was taken and this was followed by leisure period.

After the take over of the island by the Indian Space Research Organisation, the forest activities continued. So a large number of Yanadi and non-Yenadi were hired on daily wages for clearing the forest, cutting of the cane grooves, collection of the forest produce and to do newly started horticultural work. A few like old type of forest works were given to the contractors who also engaged the Yanadi and non-Yenadi. The SHAR administration classified them as male, female and child labourers (majdoors). Thus, the Yanadi became a part of labour force of multi-ethnic SHAR centre. Now individual instead of a couple was recognised as a labourer which also started the beginning of a new concept of work and leisure for them. Another fundamental change was prescribed work schedule which Yanadi never had done earlier. The Yanadi male labourers started getting Rs.4/- per day. The
irregularity of the Yanadi and also irregular works got them less weekly payments which was hardly sufficient for the maintenance of a family. Therefore, they had to go without food for at least one or two days in a week, especially on the weekends. The Yanadi who could earn enough for his maintenance by working for only two or three days, earlier, has to work now for a full one week. Owing to labour law and other regulations not all grown up boys could help their parents in earning for the family like in the past. Because of the strict work schedule they hardly found leisure to go into the forest to collect the food except on holidays. There were also many restrictions on the movements of the Yanadi in the island. All these made the Yanadi helpless and mere survival became a problem. On the other hand, they had also lost the patronisation of contractors and the forest officials. All these changes which came so suddenly brought several problems to the Yanadi.

Quickly this void was filled by new class of exploiters, that is, the shop keepers who came forward to help them by giving rice on credit and extend loan in the island or in Sullurpeta. Yanadi had no choice but to go for credit since the total earnings of the couple was insufficient to meet their bare minimum needs. At the same time, when the Yanadi missed work or could not find work,
they were totally at the mercy of these exploitors or on the forest food for their survival. In this way, the process led to continuous struggle for survival. This process was so accentuated that after the few years it became key to their survival.

Food Gathering

The smallest food gathering unit is family who go in deep forest in search of the tubers, fruits and roots. It is expected that the man and woman and their grown up children have complete knowledge about the availability of these roots and fruits in the forest. They can gather them according to the season. Since collection is done by the couple the children get early education in food gathering. The knowledge about the availability of food is fairly known to every family in a band.

The Yanadi refer the period from one Sankranti festival to another as one year. They divide the year into three seasons, hot season (endra kālam), rainy season (vēna kālam) and cold season (chali kālam). The division thus is based on the physical changes in the climate. Table 11 shows the season wise availability of food in the forest.
### TABLE 11

**SEASON-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF SALUBRIOUS PLANTS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Season</th>
<th>Vernacular name of the plant</th>
<th>Botanical name of the plant</th>
<th>Nature of the plant</th>
<th>Edible part</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hot Season</td>
<td>Yallagaddachettu</td>
<td>Stamon Tuber</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Tubers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thega (Palmyrah seedling)</td>
<td>Borassus Falbellofer</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Tubers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tāti Lunjalu (Raw palmyrah fruits)</td>
<td>Borassus Falbellofer</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Tubers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pemu (Cane)</td>
<td>Calamus rotang</td>
<td>Shrub</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Parika</td>
<td>Zizyphus ochophlia</td>
<td>Shrub</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tāti pandlu</td>
<td>Borassus flabellofer</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ēetha</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tamba</td>
<td>Canavalia species</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Seeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Curiginjala</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Seeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinta kāyalu</td>
<td>Tamarindus indica</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Raw Fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chinta gisjalu</td>
<td>Tamarindus indica</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Season</td>
<td>Vernacular name of the plant</td>
<td>Botanical name of the plant</td>
<td>Nature of the plant</td>
<td>Edible part</td>
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<td>---------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainy Season</td>
<td>Kurāku</td>
<td>Tamarindus indica</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isukadāsarāku</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chintāku</td>
<td>Tamarandus indica</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Tender leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meredu</td>
<td>Klaedendrum glaucum</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alli</td>
<td>Nemecylon umbellataum</td>
<td>Shrub</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonji</td>
<td>Glycosmis mauritiana</td>
<td>Shrub</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purudu</td>
<td>Flugga species</td>
<td>Shrub</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nalla purudu</td>
<td>Flugga leweopru</td>
<td>Shrub</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coti</td>
<td>Maba buxifolie</td>
<td>Shrub</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bodde</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Leaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponnaganti āku</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Leaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balasaāku</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Leaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nelli</td>
<td>Vitia</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Leaves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gitti</td>
<td>Pseospora spissosa</td>
<td>Water plant</td>
<td>Tubers</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaddalachettu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Water plant</td>
<td>Raw Fruits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damara</td>
<td>Lotus species</td>
<td>Water plant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaddalachettu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Season</td>
<td>Vernacular name of the plant</td>
<td>Botanical name of the plant</td>
<td>Nature of the plant</td>
<td>Edible part</td>
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<td>------------------</td>
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<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cold Season</td>
<td>Munaga chettu</td>
<td>Moriga oloifera</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Leaves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Begu</td>
<td>Zizyphus mauritiana</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kakara</td>
<td>Bittor gourd</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Raw fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boorangunjalu</td>
<td>Sorassus flabelloder</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Seeds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Krikheera</td>
<td>Rugonia mystax</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Fruits</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tega</td>
<td>Sorassus flabelloder</td>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Tubers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Yallagadda chettu</td>
<td>Stemona tubers</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Tubers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Esitigaddala chettu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Tubers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chikkudu gaddala</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Tubers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Donga Gaddala chettu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Tubers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Benda gaddalu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Creeper</td>
<td>Tubers</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
After eating a morning meal, the family goes to the forest for food collection. The man walks with a knife in his hand and his wife follows him with a palmyra basket or a cloth and sometimes a little water in an aluminium container. The children follow them with the thanga, the only implement with which they dig roots and tubers. Sometimes, they will have decided earlier where to go for collection since they would have already spotted the location of these during their previous visits. The Yanadi give importance in collecting foods in yallagaddalu and different parts of palmyra tree. They are mostly relished and also abundantly found in the forest. The family who does not have work or income, depend entirely on these items until they get work. Other forest products such as leafy vegetables, fish and small game, supplement the forest food. The Yanadi, as they collect the tubers and roots also roast part of them there itself and eat. By evening, they collect enough tubers and other foods and bring them home carrying in the palmyra basket or in a piece of cloth. The yallagaddalu will be available in plenty during most of the winter and early summer months. So, it is a common sight to see the Yanadi returning home with plenty of these during the evenings.
The creeper of Yallagaddalu grows all over the island and twines to the trunk and branches of trees and shrubs. The Yanadi through their experience know whether the tubers have fully grown, only by looking at the colour of the leaves. Since the ground is of loose sand a stick or thanga is used for digging. To make the way clear for digging, the small branches and roots of the host plants are also cut with the help of curved knife.

The palmyra trees are abundant in the island. The Yanadi use their matured leaves for thatching, eat the tender leaves (muvva or thatigadda). While moving in the forest the Yanadi are often seen cutting the small palmyra trees and taking out the tender leaves for eating. It is believed that it is good for nursing mothers since it helps to increase lactation. So a few days after the delivery the mothers make it a point to eat it.

The fruits start yielding in hot season especially from the month of April onwards. During this season, when the Yanadi go inside the forest the man climbs the tree for raw fruits and the woman and the children collect them on the ground. Later they cut and eat to their satisfaction. The Yanadi do not bring them to their settlements. So, when some one is hungry or want to eat the raw fruits go in to the forest.
The Yanadi also collect the ripened palmyra fruits when they fall from the trees. As they fall they make sound. The thud of falling palmyra fruits make the Yanadi run to collect them. They are roasted in fire till their outer skin gets charred and later broken into individual seeds. The juice from the fibre is squeezed and sucked and the seeds are collected in one place by the side of the hut. The Yanadi also eat the seedlings of palmyra. When they are in plenty, the fruits are collected and buried near their hut. Four or five months after rainy season, the seeds sprout into seedlings (thesalu). During winter and early summer period these seedlings form an important food item for the Yanadi. The seedlings are either boiled or roasted in fire and eaten, generally in the evening. The soft part inside the hard seed is considered very delicious and consumed as it is or cooked as curry and eaten with rice. Since the seedlings are raised in the settlement itself by a family, they are dug according to their need. A few Yanadi families bury the seeds for germination inside the forest which are properly protected with the help of thorny fences. These are consumed and sometimes are sold to others especially to non-Yanadi.

A variety of fruits are also available in the forest. Rose apple (neredu) is the most consumed fruit
by the Yanadi. Though available in plenty, the Yanadi collect only a little quantity they could eat at a time and do not waste them. They pick up the fruits and consume them as they walk in the forest. Whenever the children feel hungry during this season they collect in groups of three or four and go into the forest and eat as many as they want. They come to the hut with empty hands. The fruits form hardly any part of their food in the family.

The forest provides not only the salubrious food but also several poisonous tubers such as nagati gadda and panneru (nerium odorium) leaves and flowers. The Yanadi easily avoid these since they are told of these from the childhood.

The Yanadi would collect not more than they require to eat for a given day. Every day they walk a few kilometers in the forest to collect and eat the fruits and tubers and again go for collection the following day. When a tree is found with fruits the Yanadi who had seen it silently goes to it without informing others. When others come to know and join him in eating or collecting them, he cannot object to it. Because they belong to all and no one should claim them for oneself. They say,
there is no need for storing as they are readily available in the forest.

The Yanadi relish honey very much and so they extract it for family consumption. The Yanadi are skillful in spotting the beehives. They have the skill to follow the movements of the honey bees and find the tree in which the beehive is situated. The Yanadi men, women and children together go for honey collection, if they had located it earlier. Otherwise, only the man and grown up children go inside the forest and search the trees. They like the honey so much that they never want to share it with others. If a Yanadi happen to see a beehive when he is in the company of others, he keeps quiet and returns on the next day with his wife and children to collect it. During such trips into the forest he never informs even his neighbours.

When the honey is brought to the hut only the family members know about it. It is boiled well, cooled and stored in a bottle and consumed now and then by all family members. Honey is especially given to the infants, the children and there is a belief that honey enables children learn talking early and also speak clearly.
According to the Yenadi, there are four types of honey – furrow honey (Torra tene), flocking honey (Kusuri tene) branch honey (Komma tene) and stick honey (Pulla tene). Branch honey is said to be the sweetest of all the varieties. To collect this honey, smoke is raised using green leaves and is brought near the beehive. The smoke rippled the bees and they fly away leaving the honey comb. To collect flocking honey, leaves of gonji (Glycinos Mauritianum) tree are chewed and keeping it in the mouth the air is blown into the furrow of the tree where the beehive is located. The smell of the leaves make the bees to fly away and in this way the honey is collected. The furrow honey and flocking honey bees keep their hives in hallow trees and to get honey the Yenadi has to cut part of the trunk.

**Fishing**

Fishing is one of the important activities of the Yenadi family, which contributes much to their food. Fish is a common item in their diet and eaten quite often. Their fondness towards fish is expressed in their saying, "fondness towards fish is same as towards vagina" (chappasa poockessa okate).
Although Yanadi know nearly thirty two varieties of fish they catch and eat only six varieties such as jilebi, korrameenu, serisani, mauvari, telu, and moyya. They also collect prawns, crabs and matte qullulu. The simple fishing technology of Yanadi consisted of fishing trap, harpoon and angles. They use them according to the location of fishing and situation.

The fishing trap (cotha) is prepared from the stalk of narudu plant. The stalks are warmed in the fire for removing the bending and they are dipped in water for one or two days. The soaking in the water facilitates to remove the skin of the stalks and thus they become smooth. The top circular frame is made of molly creeper and the middle one with parika or mallepurudu creeper, which can easily be bended into circular frames. The stalks are tied at the top with the cane fibre. The bottom end of the sticks are sharpened. This trap is prepared by most of the Yanadi and therefore each couple possess at least one or in some cases two also. This is used for catching fish in knee deep water and is widely used among the Yanadi.

The Yanadi use palmyra basket (butta) to collect the fish. It is prepared from its leaves by every one.
The Yanadi are seen preparing it before they want to go for fishing. It lasts for two or three expeditions. Afterwards, new ones are prepared.

The Yanadi also "poison" the fish using the juice of Kadapa tree bark or raw fruits of musti tree and catch them. However, this technique is rarely used. Bailing out water and collecting the fish with the bare hands is the simplest technique used by them. Normally a jata goes for fishing as a family group. The man carries the fishing trap on his shoulder, the woman carries the basket and the children accompany them. When the Yanadi uses the fishing trap to catch fish in a ditch, pond, stream or lake, he selects knee deep water and watches the movements of the fish and suddenly keeps it over them. He can know whether the fish is trapped or not by the sound it makes by dashing against its walls to escape. When they are trapped, placing hand into the trap, the fish are caught and thrown to the bank, to be collected by his wife or children waiting there. If the shore is far, the wife or children follow him in to the water carrying the palmyra basket.

Sometimes the Yanadi may go in groups, when fishing in a stream or lake. But every one goes with his own fishing trap. They move in row from deep water towards the
shore. The fish escaped from one would be caught by the other leaving no chance for the fish to escape into deep water. However, this is not a way to collective activity and according to the Yanadi whatever one catches belongs to the individual.

A few families also own another tool, harpoon (mandam) to kill fish in shallow water and clear water. The harpoon is a 'U' shaped iron rod with small projections (barbs) downwards on either side of it. It is fixed to a long stick of about three meters. The harpoon is used for fishing in shallow water. It can be used only during day light, as the movements of the fish can be clearly seen.

The Yanadi follow the fish in shallow water and throw the mandam at it from a distance. This is a very crude technique and one can kill two to three fishes at most in a day.

The Yanadi children use line and hook (gâlam) technique to catch fish. A worm is stitched to the hook tied to a line which in turn tied to a long stick. The hook is thrown into the water and the stick is held. When the fish devours the worm and thus caught to the hook, the line along with the fish is suddenly pulled out. This technique needs a lot of patience, concentration and also a calm water pool to catch fish.
A few Yanadi men can fish in the sea with the help of special type of hooks known as katta gālem and gundu gālem. The man goes to the sea early morning with the hook leaving behind his wife to bring food to the sea. He forcefully throws the hook tied to a very long nylon thread into the sea and immediately drags the line with speed. The hook moves just under the surface of the water and the big fish swallows it thinking it for a small fish. The Yanadi pulls the line and collect the fish stuck to the hook. He goes on fishing like this the whole day sometimes, till he collects enough for the family.

The Yanadi use the gundu gālem, when the sea is calm, knowing the fish come near to the shore during that time. Families who live close to the sea watch this situation and go for fishing, but this does not contribute much to their food.

The men, woman and grown up boys in a family participate in catching of prawns, which is done with bare hands. The prawns hidden in the humus and mud are squeezed with hands and caught and put into the palmyra basket tied to one's waist. The prawns are available in Pulicat lake, Buckingham canal and a few other lakes on the island. The Yanadi couples are so fond of fish, that
they do not even go for work when they happen to see fish in a ditch on their way to work spot. They both catch the fish and go happily to their hut. They, thus feel happy to get a little quantity of fish at the cost of a day's wages.

The Yanadi know how to preserve fish when caught more than what they consume for that day. The fishes are split longitudinally and the digestive canal is thus removed and put in the salt and dried in the sun. Like this the fish is preserved for two to three days. The fish forms the substantial part of their consumption.

Hunting

Every Yanadi possess a unique knowledge of identifying the foot prints of animals and also human beings. With this knowledge they are able to identify the animal, its size, the direction in which it went. This knowledge helps them a lot in the hunting of small game available in the forest. In addition the Yanadi families domesticate dogs which accompany their master in hunting expeditions.

The Yanadi family along with a dog, follow the foot trails of a game till they disappear into the bush.
There they make noise and beat and shake the bush. If the animal is hiding there, it tries to escape from the bush and runs out. The Yanadi and the dog chase the animal and finally catch it. In tracking and catching the game the dogs are of great help. The varanus sometimes enter into furrows of trees. Then the Yanadi would cut the furrows with a big knife. Sometimes, it is chased into water and when it falls into water, it is caught. These animals include varanus, rabbits, wild cats, squirrels and some times wild bores. The Yanadi also catch the birds like wild fowl, kamujulu, bullikodi, jangupittalu, and so on.

The rabbits are caught during the rainy season when the low lying areas get submerged under water. The family and sometimes the wife's brother form a hunting group. Knowing that the rabbits hide in bushes on elevated places, they make noise and disturb them. When the rabbits jump out of the bush, they are chased and hit with sticks and killed. They also block the way of the rabbits and force them into water where they are easily caught.

In the past, the Yanadi hunted wild pigs. But now-a-days they have stopped doing so because of the fear of the SHAR security officials. However, when they
find a piglet they chase and kill it with sticks. Its
meat is shared by all the persons involved in the hunting.

Traps are needed to catch small animals like
wild cats (pumgupilli and jangupilli) and squirrel
(mentrava). The children use traps to catch animals.
These traps are kept on the regular paths of the animals
in the evening. In the morning these traps are checked.

Another method of trapping involves digging a
small pit in which a trap is fixed. Small fish is put
inside the pit to attract the squirrel. The hunter hides
behind a bush holding the other end of the trap's string.
When the squirrel puts its head inside the pit to eat the
fish the Yanadi suddenly pulls the string and catches
the animal. Similar trapping techniques are used to catch
birds like wild fowls. Another kind of bird called
jambupitalu are found in thick growth of reed near streams.
The grown up boys go for their hunting. First few enter
the thick growth of reed in the water and disturb the
resting birds. When they start flying, other boys throw
sticks at them and kill them.

The Yanadi children also have a small device called
gota to catch the cuckoo bird. With a hook and fruit the
trap is tied to a tree on which the bird regularly sits.
The bird rests over the goat and try to eat the fruit. When it does so, it gets trapped in the hook. This trap is rarely used and during the researcher's stay he never come across a single incidence of catching a cuckoo.

Economic Relations

The Yanadi could be characterized as present oriented. Even if the forest food is available in plenty they abstain from storing for future. So, they hardly have any surplus to offer to their relatives. However, on rare occasions they give rice, fish or tubers to their close consanguines and affines like old parents and siblings and in-law. The reciprocal exchange of food of this kind is a part of social obligation. But the food is offered only to the needy kins at the time when they have no work.

Resources are shared by the Yanadi on the occasions like birth, puberty, marriage and death. On such occasions the cooperation is visible among consanguines and affines of a band. So, contributions for the celebration expenditure is made.

Prior to take over the island by Indian Space Research Organisation, it was common among the Raithu Yanadi to take loan from the contractors for celebrating
ceremonies. On such occasions, Yanadi family would take loan from the contractors. For the repayment the contractor would deduct the loan from the wages of the close consanguines and affines of the person concerned. Such a method of collective sharing was also possible when a similar loan was taken from the forest officials by the Sakar Yanadi. Such an arrangement seems to be introduced by the contractors and the forest officials to bind a group of close relatives. However, this is not the pattern of the Yanadi collective behaviour which it seems was introduced by the contractors for keeping strong control over the Yanadi. In recent times especially after the take over of the island by Indian Space Research Organisation, in the absence of such patrons, each family is expected to contribute in cash or kind towards the ceremonies. It ranges from Rs. 5 to Rs.10.

In sum, the Yanadi directly depended on nature for survival. As the time passed by, many changes have taken place. These changes led to increased dependency on the non-Yanadi at the same have reduced their dependency on nature. The meagre material culture is concomitant of their semi-nomadic living. A couple or jata is the smallest unit for survival and work together for food gathering, fishing, hunting and labour work for wages.
So, a family residing alone at a place can easily survive without the help of others. Hence, the possibilities for independent living are high. The available freedom of human relationship has further fostered the independent living of the Yanadi. Analysis indicated that means of survival contracted after the take over of the island and the Yanadi were forced into cash economy. These forces have led to economic deterioration. Also some amount of collective behaviour has crept in the Yanadi life.