PATHINAICKEN

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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 Vettakurumbar) ……

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6-1</th>
<th>Distribution of Pathinaicken</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Ranges</strong></td>
<td><strong>Panchayat</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Kalikavu</td>
<td>Chokkad</td>
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<td>Karulai</td>
<td>Amarambalm</td>
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<td>Karulai</td>
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<td>Vazhikkadavu</td>
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<td>Edakkara</td>
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<td>Vazhikkadavu</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
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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), kathbi (knife), choonda (hook and line), vala (net), eni (ladder) etc. Kothuvadi is used for digging roots and tubers. Kodali and kathbi 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 tharappapullu (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 infront of the chest. The Cholanaicken women cover the upper half of the body by a long cloth, tucking beneath the armpits and tying it infront. 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), savalu (Dioscorea spicata), noora (Dioscorea oppositifolia), noopamu or mothakka, koyana, kavala, kavathu, koova and venni. Most of these items come under the family Dioscoreaceae. They identify four kinds of venni viz., choZavenni, pathivenni, gasvenni and palvenni. It is observed that choZavenni 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 mohakka, 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 facultida), mudungavalli (Bryonopsis sp.), barutpati (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), koolelembu, karadielambu (found in earth) uthelambu (seen on anthill), mookanelambu (seen on dead cheru wood), ottanalambu (found on dead oli tree wood), choolatambu (seen on all kinds of dead wood), abbalambu (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 uthalambu 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, kakukumvally 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, keytha, 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.

Noli (crab) and amayi (tortoise) are caught as food items. Varieties of crabs viz., puuzhanollu (found in flowing water), gundunollu (found in wet areas beneath rock), chokkanollu (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 (kattamayo). 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. *Karimkurang* (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. Moreover, cutting down trees is an offence as per forest laws. So, such trapping techniques are seldom resorted these days. The animals hunted also include *udambu* (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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl.No.</th>
<th>Local name</th>
<th>Botanical name</th>
<th>Season</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Then</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>Mar-June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Then mezhuku</td>
<td>N.A</td>
<td>Mar-June</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Cheenikka</td>
<td>Acacia concinna</td>
<td>Jan-Mar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Kanchirakkuru</td>
<td>Strychnos nux-vomica</td>
<td>July-Sept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Mullilakkay</td>
<td>Zanthoxylum rhetsa</td>
<td>July-Sept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Nelli (gooseberry)</td>
<td>Phyllanthus emblica</td>
<td>Nov-Feb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Maramanjal</td>
<td>Coscinium fenestratum</td>
<td>Aug-May</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Kattu kurumulaku</td>
<td>Piper argyrophyllum</td>
<td>Nov-Feb</td>
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The Pathinaicken are highly skilful in collecting honey from huge trees. They identify four kinds of honey viz., *perumthen*, *thoduve*, *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), *kabthi* 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 *kabthi* 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 *Poonikotta* 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), kattapuli (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 otyara, 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 otyara. 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 theses 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 complaint 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 *manjakooov* (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.I.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 Dhodlapotti, Mundakkadavu, Pattakarimpu and Punchakolli are now studying in Model Residential School (known as *Ashram school*), exclusively meant for Kattunaicken (including Cholanaicken and Pathinaicken) children. Parents show enthusiasm in sending their children to this *Ashram 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 *Ashram 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Gr.</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Female</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>14.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-14</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>18</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>58</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>1</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6.14</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>35-39</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>5.91</td>
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<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
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<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>6.14</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>15</td>
<td>3.41</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>55-59</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.82</td>
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</tr>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>103</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>440</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group (years)</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Sex ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>690.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-44</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>1189.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45 and above</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>703.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>232</td>
<td>208</td>
<td><strong>896.55</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

194
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 Pattakanimpu 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Group (years)</th>
<th>Number of Mothers</th>
<th>Total Pregnancies</th>
<th>Reproductive Wastages</th>
<th>Live Births</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Abortion</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-19</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>44*</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29*</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-39</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>68*</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40-44</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-49</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>109</strong></td>
<td><strong>328</strong></td>
<td><strong>32</strong></td>
<td><strong>138</strong></td>
<td><strong>122</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 leishmaniasis'. 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 chemmakkan. 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 dairapura (a single room sacred hut, in which deities are kept) and the chemmakkan 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 *chemmakkar*an 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 sister) 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 (*gudimanamadiyathi*) is conducted. All relatives are invited for a feast, in which *chemmakkar*an 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 *chemmakkar*an handover *kanappanam*
(bride price) to the bride’s *chemmakkaran*. 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 *chemmakkaran* of the settlement. If the dead one belongs to another *chemmam*, his own *chemmakkaran* is consulted before proceeding with burial rites.

The relatives of the dead must get permission from the *chemmakkaran* 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 *chemmakkaran* of the Pattakarimpu colony to bury the body in Pattakarimpu and at the same time the *chemmakkaran* 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 neerunneelal. Almost all Pathinaicken of the nearby settlements gather for neerunneelal. 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 chemmann 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 kinggroup may be living. Earlier each patrilineal kin group had its own territory or chemmann as roaming ground for n.w.f.p collection. Now the concept of chemmann has no significance as the area had been converted into teak plantations. However, each chemmann represents the place to which they belong. Marriage within the same chemmann is prohibited. It shows that though the Pathinaicken community is endogamous in nature, they follow chemmann 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, disobayence 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 chennakkarar 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 as 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 form 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 woman.

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 divorcée. $F3$ is the chemmakkaran 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 divorcée. 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, Minnutty 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 Kuppmala 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 *chemmakaran*. It shows that though many changes have occurred in the way of life of Pathinaicken due to the contact with outsiders, the *chemmakaran* 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 *dai nakotta*, 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 *daiapura* (sacred hut) where the *daiakotta* 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 *daiapura* 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 *daiapura*. 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 Pathinaicken 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 malevolant spirits. A deceased soul of a chemmakkaravan 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 chemmakkaravan 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 chemmakkaravan 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 chemmakkaravan for curing illness is called beedavekkal. It is usually done by the chemmakkaravan of the chemmann in which the patient belongs. When a person falls ill, the relatives approach the chemmakkaravan for conducting beedavekkal. If the illness is not very serious, the presence of the patient is not a must for performing beedavekkal. The chemmakkaravan sits in the front of his house facing
east. In front 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 (Abras 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 maladeivam kept in divine baskets by majority of families. In settlement like Ingar, though now deserted, the daivapura 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 daivapura 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 chemmakkan and possesses its own daivappura. For every social event they consult with their own chemmakkan. They still approach their chemmakkan whenever illness occurs. Most of them do not approach the allopathic doctor unless the illness is seriously felt.