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PART V - B (3)

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

A MONOGRAPH

on

YATAS

Office of the Director of Census Operations ANDHRA PRADESH HYDERABAD

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FOREWORD

The Constitution lays down that "the State shall promote with special care the educational and economic interest of the weaker sections of the people and in particular of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation".

To assist States in fulfilling their responsibility in this regard, the 1961 Census provided a series of special tabulations of the social and economic data on Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

The lists of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes are notified by the President under the Constitution and the Parliament is empowered to include in or exclude from the lists, any caste or tribe. During the Census Operations, the enumerators frequently face the problem of identifying the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In the President's Notification, though in some cases, the names of the sub-castes and sub-tribes and synonyms are given, there are many cases where such names have not been provided in the list. The Census enumerators, therefore, require guidance about the acceptance or rejection of claims that they come across during the operations of some communities to be treated as sub-castes or sub-tribes of the notified Scheduled Castes or Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose, the Census organisation has thought it wise to undertake detailed ethnographic studies in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India. This is also in conformity with the past Census tradition of presenting authentic ethnographic account of Indian communities.

For conducting the ethnographic studies, a number of ancillary operations are undertaken by the Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General, India as well as the staff of the Directors of Census Operations in the various States. These ancillary operations include; (i) compilation of available information on each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe and preparation of bibliography in respect of them; (ii) preparation and interpretation of maps showing distribution of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes over time and space; and (iii) special studies on cultural, technological and economic changes taking place among the various tribal communities.

Dr. B. K. Roy Burman, Deputy Registrar General, Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit, assisted by Shri N.G. Nag, Officer on Special Duty, and Shri A.M. Kurup, Research Officer, is coordinating all these studies at the Central level. At the State level, the Director of Census Operations and his staff are collaborating in conducting the field investigations and preparing the report. Shri P.S.R. Avadhany, Deputy Director, supervised the study at the State level and Shri Ch. Purnachandra Rao, carried out the field investigation on this Community and prepared the draft. I avail of this opportunity to extend my warm thanks to all my colleagues who have undertaken various studies on different aspects of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of India.

> A. CHANDRA SEKHAR, Registrar General, India

P R E F A C E

As an adjunct of 1961 Census, preparation of ethnographic monographs on a number of selected Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status and ethnographic glossaries on all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes have been taken up by the Census Organisation.

In India the Census Organisation has a long tradition of undertaking ethnographic studies. Besides, there are certain reasons why, for its own operational purposes, it is necessary for the Census Organisation to take up such studies. During Census Operation, the Census Organisation is required to make a complete enumeration of all the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the country. The ethnographic studies are required to establish the identity of the various communities including their segments. The social boundaries of various communities are not always rigid, they are in a state of flux. Ethnographic studies are required to keep track of these changes as well, otherwise comparison of consecutive census figures would give altogether wrong picture in respect of them. There is another aspect of study in respect of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in which the Census Organisation, as well as the welfare and planning agencies are interested—it is ethno-demography. In 1961 Census, separate tables were prepared in respect of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes on the following items :--

- i) industrial classification of persons at work and non-workers by sex,
- ii) age and marital status,
- iii) education,
- iv) religion,
- v) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Castes,
- vi) persons not at work classified by sex and type of activity for Scheduled Tribes,
- vii) mother tongue and bilingualism for Scheduled Tribes.

The data available in these tables are to be analysed in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe, so that the historical and cultural factors responsible for the demographic pattern can be identified and the impact of the emergent demographic pattern on the social structure can be determined.

The insight gained by the Census Organisation, through ethnographic studies of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes will be useful for interpretation of the demographic pattern for the country as a whole. Recent studies show that in India, even now, it is difficult to correctly appreciate the various social and economic process without reference to caste. On the other hand, in the interest of ultimate national goal, caste is not being recorded in census, except in case of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. The insight gained through ethno-demographic studies of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes is, therefore, of invaluable help for census. At the same time, such study is very much useful for planning of development activities among the castes or tribes concerned. For instance, if the census shows that great deal of diversification of occupation has taken place among the Parayans of Kerala, it is important for the planners to know whether the community consists of a number of disconnected segments or whether it means that a great deal of individual mobility is taking place where the main focus of community is other than traditional occupation. Again when among the Bauris of Orissa, it is found that a very high proportion of the population is engaged in agricultural labour and next to them a high proportion is found in cultivation and also that there is considerable diversification of occupation, the following questions of sociological and practical importance arise:-

(a) What is the historical relation between the agricultural labourers and the cultivators among the Bauris of Orissa? The Census data suggests one of the two possible developments, namely, (1) bulk of the Bauris were cultivators and by a process of degeneration of their economy have become agricultural labourers, (2) on the other hand it is also possible that the bulk of them were agricultural labourers and through a process of improvement of their economic condition, many of them have become cultivators.

(b) The fact that a considerable diversification of occupation has taken place, suggests that the economy has not remained in stagnant condition. Here, it is to be examined whether the diversification is the result of upward mobility, or downward mobility, or even horizontal mobility, and what is the actual process by which the diversification has taken place.

(c) That social dimensions corresponding to the diversification in economic life have to be examined. It is also to be examined whether inspite of diversification of occupation, the ethos of a particular occupation, for instance agriculture, continues to be dominant. In that case, diversification might have created problems of adjustment in values and attitudes.

Instances can be multiplied, but it is not necessary. What have been stated above, are enough to bring out the significance of ethno-demographic studies for planners.

The above dimensions of ethno-demographic studies have evolved through stages. In 1960, at the instance of Shri Mitra, the then Registrar General of India, a questionnaire for collection of ethnographic data was circulated among the Census Directors. In October, 1961, the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit was set up in the office of the Registrar General of India, to coordinate the ethnographic studies and a few other ancillary studies, like village surveys, handicraft surveys etc. In December, 1961 a study camp was organised in Delhi, where the personnel engaged in ethnographic studies, handicrafts studies and other social investigations in the offices of the Census Directors, participated. In the Study Camp, it was considered that the ethnographic notes would mainly aim at making an objective assessment of the state of development of the different Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes in the context of the changes taking place in technology, economic organisation and total culture pattern of the country. It was further suggested that the primary focus of the study should not be on the exotic elements of the cultures of the different castes and tribes. It should be on the efforts of the communities concerned, to adjust to the modern conditions of life. In the light of the above decisions of the Study Camp, rapid ethnographic studies have been carried on by the staff of the

Directors of Census Operations as well as by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General of India, in different parts of the country. These rapid surveys have brought out a number of methodological and operational problems. In May and June, 1966, two Ethnographic Study Camps were held at Kurseong and Hyderabad, where personnel from the Office of the Registrar General of India as well as from the offices of the Census Directors participated. In the Study Camp at Kurseong, the Secretary, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, and Director, Tribal Welfare, West Bengal, In these Study Camps, an integrated frame for preparation of also participated. ethnographic notes was discussed and adopted. A copy of the same may be seen at In addition to the studies in respect of each Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Annexure II. Tribe separately, a number of subsidiary studies were undertaken by the Handicrafts, and Social Studies Unit of the Office of the Registrar General of India, for gaining insight into a number of problems of general nature, which have bearing on the different aspects of the lives of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes of the country. These subsidiary studies are as follows:----

- 1. Shifting cultivation in Santal Parganas of Bihar and Garo Hills of Assam.
- 2. Pattern of Rehabilitation of displaced tribals of Rourkela.
- 3. Socio-economic Survey of the Scheduled areas of Rajasthan.
- 4. Socio-economic developments among the hillmen of North-East India.
- 5. Social structure and cultural orientation of Christians converted from Scheduled Castes.
- 6. Traditional rights of scavenging as claimed by scavengers in urban areas.
- 7. Grouping of castes and tribes with reference to occupation and inter-group and intra-group comparative study on the basis of the data available in earlier censuses.
- 8. Social mobility movements among the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes.

On the basis of each of the subsidiary studies indicated above, a separate monograph is under preparation. It is also proposed to prepare separate monographs on a few Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and ethnic groups with special status in each State. Besides, ethnographic glossaries are proposed to be prepared in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. For this purpose about one lakh references have been indexed.

The present Report on the Yatas, a Denotified Tribe in Andhra Pradesh is one of the monographs proposed to be brought out by the Census Organisation. A detailed investigation on the community was undertaken by Shri Ch. Purnachandra Rao, of the Office of the Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, It was finally edited by the Editorial Board consisting of Shri P. S. R. Avadhany, Deputy Director of Census Operations, Andhra Pradesh, Shri A. M. Kurup, Research Officer and myself.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to all the colleagues who collaborated in this project.

Shri H. L. Harit, Investigator, who is looking after the compilation of information from published sources in respect of all Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and other special ethnic groups of India deserves mention.

Shri A. Mitra, the Registrar General of India for 1961 Census, whose farsighted initiative is responsible for social investigation in a large number of fields including ethnography, deserves thanks of all students of Indology. I have been benefited not only by his inspiration, but also by his valuable suggestions in connection with the ethnographic studies as well as the other studies, conducted by the Handicrafts and Social Studies Unit.

The tradition built by Shri Mitra, has been continued by Shri A. Chandra Sekhar, the present Registrar General of India. Under his guidance, the scope of the Social Studies by the Census Organisation has been further expanded. In spite of his other preoccupations, he has gone through the final drafts of the ethnographic notes and given a number of valuable suggestions. I avail of this opportunity to express my gratefulness to him.

B. K. ROY BURMAN

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Fig. 1. A male from Yata community



Fig 2 A middle aged Yata woman

Name, Identity, Origin and History:

The Yatas or Yatollu are toddy tappers by profession. They are mainly found in Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts of Andhra Pradesh and also in Ganjam district of Orissa State. Other names by which this caste is called in various parts of Andhra Pradesh are Settibalija, Idiga Indras and Gamandla. It is said that the variation in names is purely regional and marital alliances between them are much appreciated especially in East and West Godavari districts. They are known as Yatas or Settibalija Yatas in Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts, as Idigas or Indras in East and West Godavari districts, and Gamandla in Nellore district. In Srikakulam district another section of this community known as Segidilu who call themselves as Srisayanulu (who are found in Sompeta and Itchapuram taluks) also engage themselves in tapping toddy and date palm trees. Though it is accepted as a sub-division among the Yatas, yet both the sections have claims of superiority over each other. They are also known as Donga Yatas and included in the list of ex-criminal tribes. Donga Yatas are not found in Srikakulam district and are rarely found in Visakhapatnam. Donga Yatas were a criminal tribe in Visakhapatnam district before the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in Madras State in 1948. The prefix 'Donga' in Telugu language means 'thief' and the Yatas acquired this title because of their criminal propensities. Though they were classified as a tribe in the Criminal Tribes Act. this section of community is considered and treated as a caste. In the District Gazetteer of Vizagapatam Yatas are described as a caste.

Regarding the etymology of the word 'Yata' Pentiboyina Pydaiah, a resident of Srikakulam town, belonging to the Yata caste suggested the following probability. The Yatas, Pydaiah opined, were originally tappers of '*ita*' (date palm) trees and hence were called '*itollu*'. The term '*itollu*' should have taken the form of 'Yatollu' in local usage in course of time. In order to earn stable income out of the occupation as also to utilise the man power potentialities to the optimum point, he said, these people should have taken to tapping or drawing toddy from palmyra trees also. Later, the main occupation of palmyra and date palm tapping had been subsidised by mat weaving, rope making, preparation of godugulu (umbrellas), 'chetalu' (winnows) and rekalu (water cases) baskets, etc. from palmyra leaf. In this connection the observation of Thurston and the remarks in the Gazetteer of Vizagapatam are worth mentioning. Thurston mentioned about the Yatas as follows:

"The Yatas are the toddy-drawers of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. The caste name is a corrupt form *ita*, meaning date palm, from which the toddy is secured"

In the Gazetteer of Vizagapatam district, it is mentioned that:

"toddy is obtained from the palmyra and date palms The toddy drawers are usually of the Yata and Segidi castes" (Gazetteer of Vizagapatam, Vol. I. P. 191).

The District Gazetteer of Vizagapatam also corroborates the derivation of Yata from 'ita' as follows:

"The Yatas, the toddy-drawer caste, number nearly 49,000, or more than in any other district. Their name is supposed to be a corruption of *ita* the date palm" (Gazetteer of Vizagapatam, Vol. I P. 82).

When a Yata man is confronted with the question of his caste, his immediate response would be that he is a Settibalija. They call themselves Settibalija Yatas whereas others call them as Yatollu. The prefix Settibalija seems to be of a recent origin and perhaps it is an attempt to elevate their social status.

While going for toddy tapping, a Yata man carries a wooden ladder, a wide band which is passed round the body at the back (waist) and round the tree. He wears thick, soft leather to protect his body and keeps a grummet of coir (cocoanut fibre) to keep the feet near together. He also carries one or two toddy pots. So, a Yata is, easily distinguishable only when he is out for toddy tapping with his paraphernalia. Otherwise, he is like any other man in the village (Fig. 1 & 2).

Distribution and Population Trend

In Srikakulam district, Yatas are found in several villages. In the taluks of Cheepurupalle and Salur, there is a sprinkling of Yatas in almost all the villages. In Srikakulam taluk and Rajam sub-taluk and in the Panchayat Samithi area of Ranasthalam, they are found in several villages. In Palakonda Panchayat Samithi, they are found in Palakonda and Totavada. They are also found inhabiting the villages of Devadi, Yathapeta hamlet of Gottipalle, Yatlabasivalasa and Rallagodayavalasa in Narasannapeta Panchayat Samithi area.

In Visakhapatnam district 5,450 Yatas* are inhabiting 26 villages of Pendurthi Panchayat Samithi area and about 1,000 Yatas are inhabiting 20 villages of Bhogapuram Panchayat Samithi area. In the Panchayat Samithis of Srungavarapukota, Bheemunipatnam, Nakkapalle and Narasipatnam, they are found in most of the villages. Out of the 80 villages in Kotauratla Panchayat Samithi, they are inhabiting 60 villages. In Nellimarla Panchayat Samithi area, they are found in Jammupeta, Vallapuram, Nellivada, Keratam, Kondavelagada, Nadupuru and Buradapeta villages. In Kasimkota Panchayat Samithi area, Kasimkota, Kannurupalem Atcherla, Narasingabilli, Patipalle, Munagapaka, Nagulapalle, Thotavada, Sithanagaram and Thagarampudi villages are inhabited by Yatas in considerable numbers.

Demography

Separate population figures of Yatas are not available for the 1961 Census, as caste-wise enumeration was not done for Denotified Tribes. Population figures of Yatas available for 1891, 1901, 1911, 1921 and 1931 Censuses are given below :

Particulars		Persons	Males	Females
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)
1. Madras, 1891	Census Report	49,223 ·	•••	
2. Madras, 1901	Census Report	52,696	•••	
3. Madras, 1911	Census Report	50,411	21,517	28,894
	Ganjam	2,611	1,289	1,322
	Vizagapatam	47,601	20,133	27,468
4. Madras 1921	Census Report	45,805	17,716	28,089
	Ganjam	2,959	921	2,038
	Vizagapatam	42,726	16,736	25,990
5. Madras 1931	Census Report	3,283	1,643	1,640
	Ganjam plains except Chicacole. Parlakimedi			
	and Tekkali	531	138	393
	Chicacole	2,021	1,018	1,003
	Parlakimedi	340	183	157
	Tekkali	312	259	53
	Salur, Srungavarapukota, Viravalli, Pala-			
	konda, Gudur and Golugonda taluks	26	17	9
	Vizagapatam Agency	53	28	25

Statement I

POPULATION OF YATAS 1891 to 1931 CENSUSES

* Source : Reports from Tabsildars of different taluks of Visakhapatnam.

Source: 1. Census of India, 1891 – Volume XV – Madras – Tables A to El British Territory – Tables for Feudatory States and A Caste Index (Madras : 1893) P-110.

- 2. Census of India, 1901 Volume XV Madras Part I Report (Madras: 1902) P. 185.
- 3. Census of India, 1911 (Volume XII, Madras, Part II Imperial Tables,) P. 120 (Madras 1912).
- 4. Census of India, 1921 Volume XIII Madras Part II Imperial and Provincial Tables (Madras: 1921) P. 123.

5. Census of India, 1931 - Volume XIV - M adras - Part I Report, (Madras: 1932), P. 353 and P. 358.

The variation in population figures from 1891 to 1921 is as shown below:

Statement II

VARIATION IN THE POPULATION OF YATA AND ITS SYNONYMOUS CASTES (1891-1931)

N	ame of the Caste/Tribe or Race	~ 	Persor	ns in the	ousands		Pe:	rcentage	Decreas		···· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	+) -) -~
		1931	1921	1911	1901	1891	1911 1921	to	1901 1911	to	1891 1901	to
1.	Yata	3	46	50	5 3	49	(—)	9.1	(—)	4.3	(+)	7.1
2.	Idiga, Arya, Hihida, Settibalija	*	153	261	231	155	(—)	41.3	(+)	12.9	(+)	49.7
3.	Indra Arya, Hibida, Settibalija	•	6 9	57	39	85	(+)	21.0	(+)	45.4	(—)	54.3
4.	Segidi	34	58	56	54	60	(+)	3.4	(+)	5.1	(—)	10.4

There is an increase of about 7.1% in Yata population from 1891 to 1901. The population totals of Yatas in 1891 and 1901 were 49,223 and 52,696 persons respectively. During the 1921 Census, 45,805 persons were returned of whom 38.68% are males and 61.32% are females In 1931 only 3,283 persons are returned thereby showing an enormous decrease of 92.83% from the 1921 Census figure. The proportion of males and females at the 1931 Census are 50.05% and 49.95% respectively.

No specific reasons are given in the 1931 Census Report for the sudden significant decrease in the population of Yata from 1921 to 1931. However, a few probable reasons for abnormal variations or violent fluctuations in the populations of different castes or tribes specially in the Agency tracts are indicated in a few places in the 1931 Census Report. At one place it is mentioned :

"Agency tracts are empty and fluctuations marked as always among primitive tribes" (Madras, 1931, Part 1, P. 46).

This reason may be valid for Yatas also who mainly inhabit the Agency areas of Srikakulam and Vizagapatam. It is stated at another place.

"Energy expended in pursuing euphemistic caste synonyms bears a strong resemblance to that involved in hunting a will o' the wisp and is as profitable. Sorting for caste is really worthless unless nomenclature is sufficiently fixed to render the resulting totals close and reliable approximations. Had caste terminology been the stability of the religious returns caste sorting might be worthwhile. With the fluidity of present appellations, it is certainly not. Censuses can deal usefully with facts, not with fashions. (P. 336).

Elsewhere it is mentioned in connection with certain castes that :

"A glance at the figures shows that pronounced or even wild oscillation is almost the rule, its violence far transcending any possible effects of normal forcesWhen caste names are shed fike garments there is little point in an enumeration which must perforce go by name. The sole value of this table is in its illustration of the fluidity of caste nomenclature and the consequent meagre value attachable to the individual caste totals" (P. 334).

Thus the fluidity of caste names (P. 332) may be another reason for the variation in the population of the Yatas also. As the populations of other communities like Ediga, Endra and Segidi which are considered as synonyms to Yata do not show abnormal rise, it may be assumed that Yatas were enumerated under some other names or might have not been enumerated in the Agency tracts.

For preparing this ethnographic note on Yatas, field work was done during January, 1966 by canvassing schedules in 20 households in all, in Srungavarapukota, in Srikakulam town, Korachawada village in Pathapatnam taluk, Cheekati Sompeta in Sompeta taluk of Srikakulam district and Vontithadi Agraharam, a village near Vizianagaram town, and Pendurthi village of Pendurthi Panchayat Samithi in Visakhapatnam taluk of Visakhapatnam district. Fourteen tables have been prepared on various aspects

* Only 22 persons reported as belonging to Idiga caste and 67 persons as belonging to Indra caste.

Source: Census of India, 1921 - Vol. XIII, Madras, Part I - Report, (Madras 1922) (P. 162.)

depending on the data collected from the field and the tables are appended to the note.

In the 20 households of the five habitats of Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts covered by the survey, there are 92 persons of whom 42 are males and 50 are females; the sex ratio thus works out to 840 males per 1,000 females (1,190 females per 1,000 males). As can be seen from Table II, there are 16 males and 26 females in the age-group of 0-14 years; 12 males and 10 females in the age-group of 15-34 years; 11 males and 10 females in the agegroup of 35-59 years and 3 males and 4 females in the age-group of 60 years and above.

Table IV shows the marital status of the surveyed population by sex and age-groups. 22 males and 22 females are in married status, 18 males and 22 females are unmarried whereas 2 are widowers and 6 are widows. Among the 18 never married males

16 are in the age-group of below 14 years and 2 are in the age-group of 15-34 years whereas all the unmarried among the females are below 14 years of age. Among the 22 married males, 10 each are in the age-groups of 15-34 and 35-59 years and 2 are in the age-group of 60 years and above. Of the 22 married females, 4, 10 and 8 respectively are in the age-group of 0-14, 15-34 and 35-59 years. The four married females in the age-group of 0-14 years show the prevalence of child marriage to some extent. Of the 2 widowers, one each is in the age-group of 35-59 and 60 years and above. Among the 6 widows, 2 are in the age-group of 35-59 years and remaining 4 are in the age group of 60 years and above. There are no divorces or separated persons among the sample households. The statement below shows the marital status of the surveyed population by sex break up.

Statement III

MARITAL STATUS BY SEX BREAK UP

Marital Status		ales	Females		
Marita Status	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
Never Married (Unmarried)	18	42.86	22	44.00	
Married	22	52.38	22	44.00	
Widowed	2	4.76	. 6	12.00	
Total	42	100.00	50	100.00	

Family, Clan and analogous divisions of Yatas

In the Caste Index of Census of India, 1891 (Vol. XV) 25 sub-divisions among the Yatas are recorded. They are:

- 1. Chalagadu
- 2. Chenchu
- 3. Chepvadalu
- 4. Cheila
- 5. Chettu
- 6. Chinna
- 7. Chitti
- 8. Desasta
- 9. Egirevandlu
- 10. Gandla
- 11. Gudi
- 12. Idiga
- 13. Indra

14. Itu

- 15. Kallutise
- 16. Kamma
- 17. Kammara
- 18. Ratti
- 19. Sankaram
- 20. Segidi
- 21. Salgolla
- 21. Daigon
- 22. Turaka
- 23. Turaku
- 24. Varnabrashtan
- 25. Venapalakulu

Among the surveyed households 3 gotras and 19 surnames were recorded. The 3 gotras are:-

- 1. Nagendra (Snake God or Emperor of the kingdom of snakes)
- 2. Ganga (River Goddess)
- 3. Bhatturajula (Panegyrists)



Fig. 3 Hutments of Yata in Srungavarapuketa

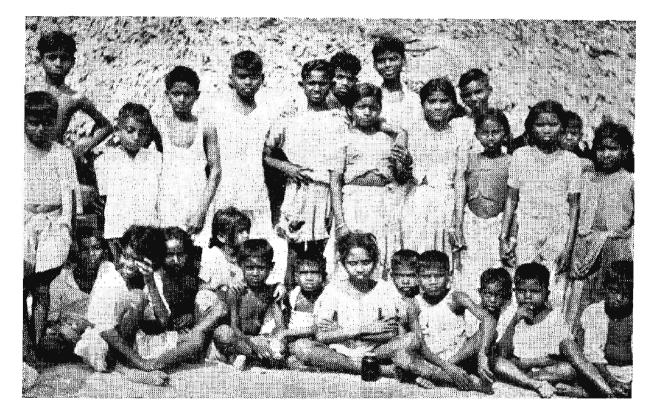


Fig. 4 A group of Yata children in their usual dress

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The surnames under each of the *gotras* are as shown below:

I. Nagendra gotram

- 1. Gompa
- 2. Boddu
- 3. Chettiboyina
- 4. Chelluri
- 5. Bothala
- 6. Patnala
- 7. Saripalli
- 8. Kolisi
- 9. Mudasala
- 10. Summa

II. Ganga gotram

- 1. Gedela
- III. Bhatturajula gotram
 - 1. Nunasa
 - 2. Nadigottu
- IV. Surnames of which gotras are not known.
 - 1. Pentiboyina
 - 2. Kolli
 - 3. Irusi
 - 4. Godollu
 - 5. Yerrollu
 - 6. Batina

Family type and size of households

Among the 20 households surveyed, there are 10 simple families¹, 8 intermediates² and 2 joint families³. Of the 10 simple families, 5 each are having 2 or 3 members and 4 to 6 members and of the 8 intermediate families, one household is with 3 members, 5 households are with 4 to 6 members and 2 households are with 7 to 9 members. Among the 2 joint families, one each is with 4 to 6 and 7 to 9 members. In all, there are 6 households with 2 or 3 members; 11 households with 4 to 6 members and 3 households with 7 to 9 members. (Table VI and VII). The average size of the family works out to 4.6 persons.

Dwellings, dress, food, ornaments and material objects

The dwellings of Yatas are mostly purillu or vasillu and in a few cases gudiseillu (Fig. 3). Palmyra is used for poles, beams, rafters, etc. and palmyra leaves are used for roofing. The purillu or vasiltu have mud walls on the four sides. The houses are square in shape if they contain ontinittadi (single central pole) or rectangular if they contain more than one central pole. All the materials required for house construction are locally available and hence the cost of construction of the houses is comparatively low. i. e., ranging from Rs. 50 for a guidseillu to R. 200 or Rs. 300 for a purillu. With the exception of a few well to do agriculturists, purillu or vasillu is the common pattern of house construction for people of other communities also in these areas. Generally the houses contain 2 or 3 rooms. Except the kitchen room which is also used as dining room, the other room or rooms are used as store room-cum-bed room. There is no taboo regarding the location of the main gates of houses in the areas where field studies on Yatas have been conducted. Main gates usually face the streets or other common passages or are fixed at other convenient places.

House construction is inaugurated on an auspicious day after consulting a Brahmin Purohit. In the central part of the plinth, a pit is dug and the pole to be fixed into it is smeared with turmeric paste and applied with vermilion marks. One or two copper coins and 9 varieties of cereal grains (nava dhanya) are kept in the pit and then the pole is fixed into the pit. A cocoanut is broken and the cocoanut pieces are distributed among the invitees. This ceremony is called *Punadi*. Again at the time of erecting the door frame of the main gate called dwarbandhamethuta, a cocoanut is broken. Finally when the construction of the house is completed, a Brahmin Purohit is again consulted for an auspicious day for the housewarming ceremony. The labourers and caste people engaged in the construction of house as also relations and caste people the entertained at a vegetarian feast. The are Brahmin priest recites mantras ceremoniously and then the members of the household enter the house. This ceremony of entering a newly constructed house is called grihapravesa or intloki cheruta.

- 1. Simple type of family consists of husband, wife and unmarried children, if any.
- 2. Intermediate type of family consists of married couple and unmarried brother (s) / sister (s) and one of the parents.
- 3. Joint type of family consists of married couple with married son (s) / daughter (s) or with married brother (s) / sister (s).

Womenfolk smear the houses with dung and make decorations with 'muggu' (lime drawings) once in a week on any day except on Friday and Sunday. A few women smear their houses twice a week. Every day, before sunrise, the houses are cleaned with broom and the front yards are sprinkled with dung water and lime drawings are made. Afterwards, the houses are swept once or twice with a broom. Once in a year either for Sankranti or Deepavali festivals, the walls are plastered with mud and white washed.

Dress

Men of the old generation do not wear shirts usually except when they go out on travel or on festive occasions. They wear only *panchetu* or *dhotis* of 6 cubits length as lower garments. They keep on an upper cloth called towel or *tuvvalu* on their shoulders. Men of the present generation wear and shirts as upper garments. Towels are worn on the shoulders or around the head as turbans.

Womenfolk wear sarees of 12 to 14 cubits length as lower garments. One end of the saree is taken over the shoulder and left hanging behind. Wearing of blouses or jackets to cover the breasts is uncommon among the womenfolk of these parts and Yata women are no exception to this plactice. Very few women of the caste can be seen wearing blouses. The dressing pattern of children does not differ from the children of other castes. (Fig. 4)

Ornaments

Men do not wear any ornaments except silver or gold rings which are worn rarely. Women in married status wear silver or brass toe rings called mattelu; silver or brass anklets called kadiyalu, glass bangles and marriage locket called pusti or satamanam the insignia of marriage. Nanu a stiff gold ornament weighing 8 to 15 tolas is worn around the neck by women of all ages and all communities irrespective of marital status (Fig. 1). Kammal made of gold and studded with precious stones and also worn to the helix as ear ornaments and mukkupulla or addakammi made of silver or gold are worn to the nose by the womenfolk. Brass bangles are worn by all women (Fig. 5). Unmarried girls wear all ornaments except toe rings and marriage locket. Widows do not wear glass bangles marriage locket, toe rings, anklets and vermilion mark. Koppu is the common hair style for women (Fig. 6). The hair is parted into two parts and knotted behind on the neck. Flowers are worn on the plait by unmarried girls and on koppu by women in married status.

Tattooing is common among the womenfolk; various types and designs of tattoo marks can be found on the arms, legs and on the foreheads. It is said that in the past, males also used to have tattoo marks. But of late, this practice has been given up by them. Apart from the decorative value, tattoo marks are said to act as curative and preventive measures for pains in the joints of the body.

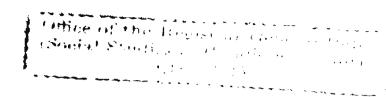
Food

Chodi ambali (gruel made of finger millet), rice and bajra (pearl millet) are the common cereals used for food. Brinjals, beans, bottle gourd, bitter gourd, snake gourd and brown hemp (hibiscus cannabinus) are the common vegetables eaten by the people. Redgram and greengram dal are also commonly relished by them. Non-vegetarian dishes are relished by them depending on the availability of meat, etc., ranging from once in a day to twice a week atleast. Flesh of goat, sheep and pork are consumed by them. Among the birds, chicken, goose and doves are eaten by them. Fish of all varieties are a part of their meal now and then. Beef and meat of dead animals are never relished by the m. On festival occasions special preparations like arisalu, garelu pongadamulu and chuppeelu are made and relished by them. Date palm and palmyra toddies and country liquors to the accompaniment of non-vegetarian dishes are enjoyed by Yata man on important festive occasion like Sankranti, Deepavali, Dasara, etc. The habit of drinking tea or coffee is prevalent among some families. Usually tea or coffee is taken early in the morning and in the afternoon, if possible. But several cases where tea or coffee is drunk, they are used as substitutes for one meal in a day. Fig. 7 shows their kitchen and Fig. 8 shows the storing vessels.

It is said that habit of drinking toddy and liquor was very common in the past. Now, with the imposition of prohibition of tapping date palm and palmyra toddies and drinking toddies and liquors, this habit is reduced to some extent. Yet, it is prevalent among the Yata men folk among who drink atleast once in two or three days.

Environmental sanitation, hygienic habits, disease, treatment and leisure

The sanitary conditions enjoyed by the Yatas are similar to those obtaining for other residents of the villages. They keep their houses clean and decorate them well. People take bath once in a day with hot water to keep themselves in good health. Rearing





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Fig. 5 Brass bangles worn by Yata women of all ages



Fig. 6 Hair style of Yata woman

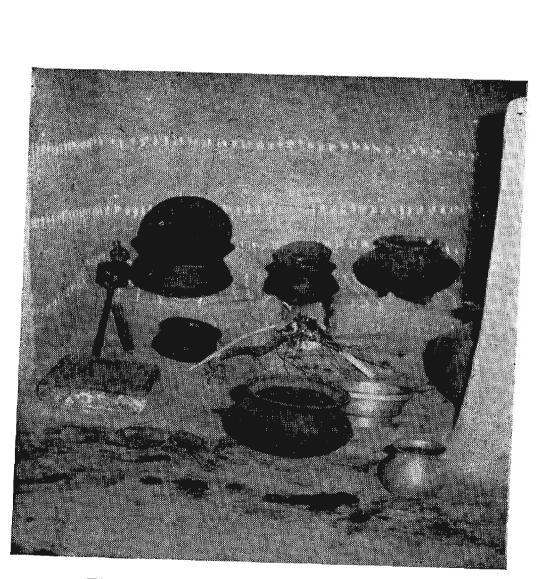


Fig. 7 Kitchen in an Yata household

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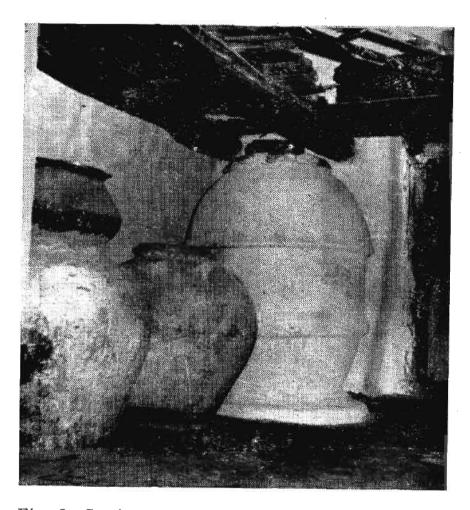


Fig. 8 Storing articles in an Yata household. The first three from the left are earthen ware and the last one is made of bamboos.



Fig. 9 An Yata man attending to the preparation of *rekalu* (water cases)

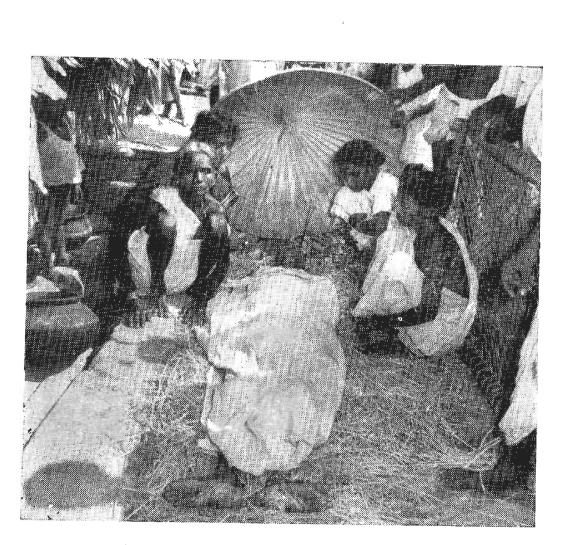


Fig. 10 An old man on his last journey

cattle is a rare practice among the Yatas and stagnation of dirty water is uncommon. Washerman wash the clothes of Yatas daily once or 3 or 4 times a week depending on the practice in the village. Common minor ailments are treated by the native doctor and major diseases are got treated at the Government hospital in the neighbouring urban centres or at the Primary Health Centres.

Men find a little leisure soon after returning from toddy tapping at noon and relax for an hour or so. During summer season, they sleep in the afternoon provided they do not have any work. Women engage themselves in the household industry of mat weaving, preparing umbrellas of palmyra leaves, water cases (rekalu or chetalu), baskets, and stitching borders to sieves and winnows, besides attending to casual and agricutural labour and household duties of the kitchen. So, womenfolk do not find much leisure generally. Children play toys, golilata (play with marbles) and billata a game played with a stick of 2 to 20 feet and another small stick of 6 inches. All these are indigenous and age old games.

Language and Education

The only language known to the Yatas of both Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam disticts is Telugu. It is spoken within the household as also with outsiders. Literacy and educational standards among the Yatas are very poor.

In the field survey conducted, among the surveyed population of 92 persons, only 5 among the 42 males are literates whereas literacy is nil among the females. Except one person who is educated up to the III form (VIII standard) all the remaining 4 literates are educated up to the primary level only (Table V).

Economic Life

In the past all Yatas lived exclusively on their traditional occupation of preparation of *neera* and the preparation of palmyra leaf products like basket making and mat weaving. These traditional occupations and skills are known as 'Yatapani'. At present as the income from their traditional occupation is not sufficient for their maintenance they have taken up various other occupations like cultivation, agricultural labour, casual labour, industrial labour, rickshaw pulling, dish washing in hotels, etc., to supplement their incomes. All women of Yata community generally attend to the work of *nallu moyula* (border stitching for) *jalledalu* (sieves), *chetalu*

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(winnows) and rekalu (water cases) (Fig 3). Women also sell in their houses the toddy prepared by their men to the customers. Grown up children assist their parents by way of taking care of their tiny kids when their parents go out for work. All the 20 households covered by the survey have yathapani as their traditional occupation. The implementation of Prohibition Act in the composite Madras State in 1948 affected the economic life of the community. However, tapping of toddy and date palm trees is being carried on without being noticed by the prohibition staff or sometimes even with their unofficial consent. This is happening because they could not change their age old occupation, all of a sudden. However, some of them have taken to other occupations. The contemporary main occupations of the 20 surveyed households are as shown below:

Statement IV

	Name of occupation		Number of households
	(1)		(2)
1.	Traditional occupation of toddy date palm tapping, mat weav preparing rekalu, nallu moyuta		9
2.	Casual labour		3
3.	Agricultural labour		4
4,	Cultivation	•••	1
5,	Industrial labour (jute industry)	- • •	1
6.	Rickshaw pulling	•••	2
	T	ntal	20

Casual labour, agricultural labour, yathapani cultivation and Government service (Class IV employee) are taken up as subsidiary occupations by some households (Table XIV).

Workers and Non-workers

The following statement shows the workers and non-workers among the surveyed population by sex and age-groups.

Statement V

		Males	1	Females
Age-groups	Workers	Non-workers	Workers	Non-workers
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
0-14	1	15	3	23
15-34	12		6	4
3 5–59	10	1	8	2
6 0 and above	e 3		2	2
Total	26	16	19	31

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62.00% among the males and 38.00% among the females are workers. Among the 42 males, all the 16 non-workers, except one in the age-group of 35-59 years, are in the age-group of below 14 years by which age physical firmness to withstand hard works cannot be attained. Among the 31 female non-workers 23 belong to the age-group of below 14 years and 4, 2 and 2 women respectively are in the age-groups of 15-34, 35-59 and 60 years and above.

The occupational pattern of the 45 workers (26 males and 19 females) is as shown in the statement below.

Statement VI

WORKERS BY CCCUPATION AND SEX

	Name of occupation	Male workers	Females workers
	(1)	(2)	(3)
1.	Toddy tapping	3	
2.	Yathapani (weaving of mats, preparation of <i>rekalu</i> (water cases), umbrellas, etc.	9	10
3.	Cultivation	1	1
4.	Agricultural labour	3	4
5.	Casual labour	4	4
6.	Industrial labour (jute)	2	—
7.	Rickshaw pulling	2	
8.	Hotel cleaner	i	
9.	Class IV employee (Govern- ment service)	1	
	Total	26	19

Life Cycle (birth, marriage and funeral rites)

It is customary among the Yatas in all the places where field surveys are conducted to take the expectant mother to her parents' house during the seventh month for the first delivery. The expectant woman's parents bring some special preparations which are intended to be distributed among relatives and neighbours to signify that the woman is pregnant. They offer pasupu kumkum (turmeric powder and vermilion) to their daughter and take her to their houses. This offering of special preparations and pasupu kumkum is called sarepettuta which has some sanctity attached to it. The expectant woman is retained until delivery or returned back after a few days and taken again a few days before delivery and retained until delivery. Usually subsequent births take place at the expectant woman's husband's house. When the labour pains are complained by the woman, the services of an experienced caste woman or a native midwife called mantrasani of the village are requisitioned. The

mantrasani attends on the delivery and gives bath every day to the child until final bath is given to the mother and the child on the 9th or 12th day, as the case may be. Her services are remunerated by paying about Rs. 5 to 10 or by offering an old or new saree. If she is a caste woman, she is also fed daily after giving bath to the child. The delivered woman is given heat generating preparations like vorasamanu or karamdinusuu or karamsamanu to keep her in good health for about a week. On the 9th or 12th day, purification bath is given to the mother and the child with the water brought by the womenfolk of the caste.

Special care is taken for the first delivery to fulfil the wishes of the woman about the desire to eat some special preparations like *garelu*, *ariselu*, *mutton*, etc. During the post natal period she is given food only once until 4 or 5 days and twice until one month, so that she is free from any complications of indigestion, etc. The woman is taken back to her husband's house on the 21st or 29th day of the first month or during 3rd month. She is offered a saree and two blouse pieces by her parents. The women are taken to hospitals for protracted or difficult deliveries or else if the hospitals are very nearby.

Naming ceremony for the child also takes place on the 9th or 12th day soon after the purificatory bath. An old woman of the household or of the neighbouring household first calls the child with the name suggested by the parents wishing long life for the child. If it is a female child, the paternal aunt brings ornaments to the child and asks her brother (child's father) to give the child in marriage to her son. If it is a male child, maternal uncle or maternal grandfather gives ornaments to the child. A goat or sheep is sacrificed and relatives are treated to a feast. Poor people offer only a chicken and invite a few caste people to a feast. The expenditure on this function known as *barasala* ranges from Rs. 50 to Rs. 100usually.

The usual names for male children are Suryanarayana, Pydithalli, Sannasi, Appalaswamy, Appanna, Pydaiah, Sathyanarayana, Simhachalam, etc. Some of the common names for female children are Mutyalamma, Yellamma, Appalamma, Pydamma, Ramulamma, Simhachalam, Suramma, Puramma, Lakshmi, Yerramma, Sundaramma, etc.

In the evening of the 9th or 12th day when the mother and child are given purificatory bath, the mother, accompanied by the *mantrasani* or a caste woman is taken to a nearby well or stream. A frog is taken out and is washed with water; after applying turmeric powder it is marked with vermilion. The frog is worshipped to ward off the child and the mother from any accidents in water. This is called gangapuja (worshipping the Goddess of water). On the same day the child is cradled.

Tonsure ceremony is observed for both male and female children also before the completion of one year of age or during the third or fifth year. This ceremony takes place in a temple before the deity. Votive offerings are usually made to Sri Suryanarayanaswamy of Arasavilli, Appalaswamy of Simhachalam or at Narasimhaswamy's temple or Sanyasi's temple. The maternal uncle initiates the scissoring of the hair for the child and then the barber gives a clean shave to the head. Relatives are entertained to a feast. Those who cannot afford to go to the deity perform the ceremony in the name of the deity and preserve the hair until a later day for offering it to the deity when they visit the concerned place.

Special ceremonies at the time of initiating the child to solid food (cooked rice) and learning are not observed. The child is fed by the parents whenever it exhibits an interest to take solid food.

Girls attain puberty usually between 12 to 15 years. Soon after attainment of puberty, a washerman is called on to perch a cloth. She is made to sit on the cloth in a corner of the house which is precluded from the gaze of males. She is given first bath on the fifth day before Sunrise. Relatives bring special preparations for her. Caste women in married status bring blouse pieces, copra, betel leaves, arecanuts, turmeric powder and vermilion in a plate and offer them to the girl. This is called pasupu kumkum thechuta. The period of pollution is 8 days and she is given oil bath on the 9th day. She is given new clothes and then is allowed to enter the house. During these days, she is served food and water in separate utensils which are not touched by others.

Marriage

The usual age of marriage for males is between 16 and 21 years whereas for females it is between 8 and 16 years (Table III gives the details of age at first marriage). Betrothal for girls takes place on the 9th or 12th day, *i. e.*, the day called *barasala* on which the child is named and her father's sister (paternal aunt) offers her gold or silver ornaments according to her capacity and asks her brother to

give his daughter in marriage to her son. She obtains word from her brother, usually. This is the formal betrothal. The child's father also keeps his word; breaking the promise is supposed to bring misfortune to the father. Thurston records the following in this regard:

"The custom of menarikam, according to which a man marries his maternal uncle's daughter is the rule. If the girl, whom a man claims in accordance with this custom, is not given to him, his mother raises such a howl that her brother is compelled by the caste man to come to terms. If he still refuses to give up his daughter and bestows her on another man, the protest of his sister is said to destroy the happiness of the pair" (E. Thurston Vol. VII, P. 436).

The types of marriages prevalent among the Yatas are: (1) pendli or lagnapu pendli (first marriage for both the boy and the girl); (2) maganali (second marriage for the woman, her first husband being alive) and (3) marumanuvu (widow remarriage).

Gotra is the criterion for contracting marriages. Marital relation between the persons of same gotra is prohibited. The permissible partners for marriage one's mother's own brother's daughter are : (menarikam), one's father's own sister's daughter (eduru menarikam) and one's own sister's daughter (menakodalu). Except in Vontithadi Agraharam a village near Vizianagaram town, the bridegroom's place is reported to be the venue of marriage. Marriage takes place for one day only. The marriage proceedings are more or less same as those observed by the other caste Hindus. The Brahmin Purohit officiates at the marriages and his services are remunerated by paying Rs. 5 to Rs. 15 depending on the economic status of the bridegroom's parents. Marriage booths are erected either 3 days before or on the same day of marriage in the early hours and the booths are festooned with mango leaves. On the marriage day, the bridegroom's party proceeds to the bride's place to get the bride to the groom's place. The bride's party is welcomed by offering panakam (jaggery water). The toe nails of the bride and the groom are solemnly pared by the barber and then they are given oil baths. They are made to wear new clothes and are seated on planks facing east, the bride to the left of the groom. At the auspicious time called subhamuhoortham, the Brahmin Purohit keeps a paste of jaggery and cumin in the bride's and groom's hands and asks them to keep the paste on each other's head. Then the Purohit shows the marriage locket called satamanam or mangalasutram to all people who touch it as a mark of blessing. Afterwards, he asks the groom to tie the marriage locket around the neck of the bride. Then thalambralu (sacred rice) are poured by the bride and the groom on each other's head. Relatives offer presents and gifts in kind and cash to both the bride and groom. Nagavalli, a ceremony wherein a wooden toy is kept in a cloth cradle hung in between the couple seated on a cot and lullabies are sung by womenfolk is performed the following day. In the morning of the following day, they are taken in procession to a temple where they offer a coconut to the deity and return home.

If the girl attains puberty before marriage, consummation is celebrated on the same day or on the 3rd day. If the girl does not attain puberty before marriage, consummation takes place on the 9th day after the attainment of puberty or a later day suggested by a Brahmin Purohit.

If a woman already married divorces or is divorced by her husband and marries another man, this type of marriage is called *maganali*. There is a saying that 'mogudu vadalithe muppayi roopayilu, ali vadalithe aravayi roopayilu' which means that if a husband divorces his wife, he has to pay Rs. 30 to his wife or her parents whereas if a woman divorces her husband, she has to pay Rs. 60 to her former husband. If a woman who has divorced a husband marries another man, the woman and the man are summoned before the caste council and the man is made to pay Rs. 60 to the former husband and has to entertain the caste people.

The widow remarriage known as marumanuvu is simple in procedure. The man and the widow who are marrying again are made to wear new clothes and seated on either side of a rolu (mortar) and the groom ties the marriage locket around the neck of the woman. Neither a Purohit nor musical instruments are needed for this marriage. Only the younger brother's widow is a permissible partner for remarriage among the Yatas of Pendurthi of Visakhapatnam taluk and Vontithadi Agraharam, near Vizianagaram whereas in Korachawada near Pathapatnam town and Srikakulam town of Srikakulam district both younger and elder brother's widows are permissible. In some cases wife's elder sisters (if they are widows) are permissible for marriage whereas in some places they are not permissible for marriage. Younger sisters of the wife are permissible for marriage, if the first

wife is barren or suffers from prolonged illness. With the consent of the wife, younger sister of the wife can be married and is a permissible partner in Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts among the Yatas as also among other communities.

Death customs

Cremation is the common practice to dispose of the dead among the Yatas, provided the economy of the household permits the cost of firewood required. Otherwise, burial is resorted to. Children below 10 years and those who die of epidemic diseases like cholera, smallpox, etc. are buried. The corpse is given hot water bath and is wrapped in a new cloth. It is kept on a bier which is borne by 4 people on the four corners to the funeral ground, accompanied by musical instruments like dappulu and bajalu. A Sathani priest conducts the obseguial ceremonies. They observe pollution for 11 days and on the twelfth day, the bath removes the pollution. An old man on his last journey can be seen in Fig 10.

Chinnadinam (initial obsequies) is performed on the third day by sacrificing a chicken on the the grave or cremation place. Final obsequies are observed usually on the 12th day. A goat or sheep is sacrificed and relatives are treated to a non-vegetarian feast, after taking bath and seeing a lighted candle at the place where the deceased breathed his last. If the deceased is a man leaving his wife behind him she is made a widow on the 12th day (day of final obsequies) by a caste widow who breakes her bangles, erases the vermilion on her forehead and removes the marriage locket. The expenditure on obsequies ranges from Rs. 100 to Rs. 200 usually.

Religion

Tha religion of Yatas is undoubtedly Hinduism. They celebrate the Hindu festivals of Sankranti, Deepavali, Ugadi, Vinayakachaviti, Sri Rama Navami, Sivaratri, Dasara, etc. The housewives decorate the houses well for all Hindu festivals; all members of the households take oil baths and wear new or washed clothes and worship the concerned deities. They worship Lord Siva, Rama, Krishna, Vinayaka, etc. of the Hindu pantheon. There is no presiding deity exclusively worshipped by this caste.

The beliefs held by them and the practices observed by them are same as observed by other caste Hindus of the area. While starting on travel to other places, they observe omens. It is considered a good omen if one comes across a woman in married status, or a bull or cow or a Sudra (man of the fourth class in the Hindu caste hierarchy) with a stick in his hand. To come across a cat or a Mala or Madiga man with a spade and a crowbar is considered a bad omen. Sneezing once at the time of starting a new venture or a travel to another place is considered inauspicious and the journey is stopped for sometime. To see a woman in married status, one's wife, a toddy tree or a coconut tree or one's face in a mirror on first sight after getting up from bed is considered auspicious and lucky. While starting a new venture or a social ceremony, a Brahmin Purohit is consulted for the auspicious time.

Structure of Social Control and Leadership

The Kulapanchayat or the Caste Council at the village level is the chief agency of social control among the Yatas. The caste headman is called Kulapedda or Nayudu (Yata Naidu) or Maistri. The headman is assisted by one or two other elderly men of the caste in resolving the affairs brought before the Caste Council. The caste council settles inter and intra-household disputes, maganali cases, divorce and separation cases and at the time of celebrating fairs of the village deities (Gramadevatha Jatharlu), the caste elders collect contributions from the people of the caste and give them to Village Panchayat, which is also known as Gram Panchayat. It has powers to impose fines on the wrong doers and sets apart the funds so collected for renovation of temple or community dinners. etc. If the caste council is not able to resolve the disputes successfully, the cases are taken to the village headman or village elders. However, it has been noticed that the caste councils are functioning effectively and have enough control over the members of the caste.

Social Reforms and Welfare

The social legislations or reforms like prohibition of child marriages, land reform measures like imposition of ceilings on agricultural holdings, tenancy legislation are unknown to this community. But the legislation imposing prohibition of date palm and palmyra tree tapping has adversely affected the economic life of the community since its implementation from 1948. Several toddy tappers of the caste had to take up other occupations all of a sudden. But a good number of the toddy tappers carried on their age old economic pursuit secretly. However, their economy fell on bad days. Very recently, *i. e.*, since November, 1965, the Andhra Pradesh State Government has decided to permit the tappers to tap *neera* (sweet toddy) and *neerabhavans* are permitted.

Inter-community relationship

Albeit in the past the Yatas were treated with suspicion because of their criminal propensities, their position in society has undergone some changes recently. Earlier their fidelity was doubted; their social movements were restricted; and their presence was considered as anti-social by higher caste Hindus. But now the rigidity in the behaviour pattern of higher castes has given place to a mood of compromise. At present Yatas enjoy the services of Brahmin during rituals in all places except in the Panchayat Samithi areas of Nellimarla, Pendurthi, Bheemunipatnam and Bhogapuram of Visakhapatnam. In Srikakulam district, Brahminical services are not available in the Panchayat Samithi areas of Rajam, Palakonda and Narasannapeta. In other places Brahmin Purohit comes and officiates over the functions. Yatas are supposed to cause pollution to any higher caste Hindu by touch or proximity only in a few places in Narasipatnam Panchayat Samithi area. No Brahmin takes food cooked by Yatas. But Brahmins and other higher Hindu castes take water from Yatas in the taluks of Srikakulam and in the Panchayat Samithi areas of Cheepurupalle, Palakonda and Narasannapeta of Srikakulam district. In Visakhapatnam district except in Bheemunipatnam and Kasimkota Samithi areas Brahmins and other higher caste Hindus take water from Yatas. Yatas accept water and food from Brahmins and other castes, viz., Vaisyas, Kapus, Telagas, Naidus, and Karnams but refuse to take them from Malas, Madigas, Rellis and from Scheduled Tribes. They are not deprived of the services of barber, washerman, water carrier, tailors any where. Yatas are not required to render the traditional service to any caste and they do not refuse to sell their palmyra leaf products or neera to any section on grounds of caste distinction. They are not debarred from the use of public conveniences such as roads, ferries, wells or schools. Their entry into the temple is never questioned now-a-days except in some villages of Bhogapuram Panchayat Samithi in Visakhapatnam district. In Nakkapalle Panchayat Samithi of Visakhapatnam district they are engaged to drag the chariots carrying deities during festivals. Yatas are having access to shops to which the other caste Hindus hotels and are admitted. While buying articles or provisions,

they need not stand at a distance. They are having access to all places of public entertainment or amusement. At such places they are allowed to mix with other people and no separate place is set apart for them. Wherever any building used for charitable purposes and maintained wholly or partly out of the revenues of the Government or funds of local committee is provided, Yatas are permitted to use it. An educated member of Yata is always treated on par with the members of higher caste Hindus during the ordinary social intercourse. Except in Srikakulam taluk of Srikakulam district, they are considered as depressed only on account of their ignorance, illiteracy and poverty. Yatas are not considered as untouchables either in Srikakulam or Visakhapatnam districts. Yatas of Srikakulam and Palakonda taluks in Srikakulam district and those - in Visakhapatnam district except Bhogapuram and Srungavarapukota Samithi areas are aware of the Untouchability Offences Act.

Yatas have better social status in society unlike Malas, Madigas, Saprus, Chachatis and Rellis of the same area and they do not suffer from any social disabilities.

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TABLES

[The Tables presented in the following pages are based on the data collected in respect of 20 households surveyed in Srikakulam and Visakhapatnam districts during January 1966.]

TABLE I

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.

POPULATION BY SEX

Name of community	Males	Females	Total persons
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Yatas	42	50	92

TABLE II

POPULATION BY AGE-GROUPS AND SEX

oup ·	Per		
I Contraction of the second seco	Males	Females	Total
)	(2)	(3)	(4)
-14	. 16	26	42
-34	12	10	22
-59	11	10	21
+	3	4	Δ
tal	42	50	92

TABLE III

PERSONS BY AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

Age-group	Males	Females
(1)	(2)	(3)
0-10	1	13
11-15	. 6	12
16-20	12	3
21-25	4	
26-30	_	-
31-35	1	-
Total	24	28

13

TABLE IV

	Males				Females			
Marital Status	0-14	15-34	35-59	60 +	0-14	15-34	35-59	60 +
(1)	(2) (3)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
Never Married	16	2	_		22	—	-	
Married		10	10	2	4	10	8	—
Widowed		—	1	1			2	4
Divorced/Separated	-			-		-	-	-
Total	16	12	11	3	26	10	10	4

MARITAL STATUS BY AGE-GROUPS AND SEX

TABLE V

LITERACY BY AGE-GROUPS AND SEX

	Mal	les	Females		
Age-group	Literates	Illiterates	Literates	Illiterates	
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
0-4	_	9	-	12	
5-14	1	б	—	14	
5-34	2	11		10	
5-59	-	10	—	10	
50 +	2	1	-	4	
lotal	5	37	_	50	

N. B. :- Among the 5 literates 4 are educated upto primary standard and one is educated upto III Form.

TABLE VI

Family type	No. of households
(1)	(2)
Simple	10
Intermediate	8
Joint	2
Others	
Total	20
ТАВЬ	E VII

FAMILY TYPE BY SIZE OF HOUSEHOLDS

			Ν	lumber of member	S	
Family type	-	1	2 or 3 (3)	4 to 6 (4)	7 to 9 (5)	Total (6)
(1)		(2)				
Simple			5	5		10
Intermediate	•	•••	1	5	2	8
Joint	•			1	1	2
Total			6	11	3	20

TABLE VIII

Name of village/town	Name of gotra	Surname	No. of households	Wife's surname	
(1)	(2) .	(3)	(4)	(5)	
. Somavarampet (Srikakulam town)	Not Known ,,	Pentiboyina Kolli	1 1	Drusi Drusi	
. Korachawada	Nagendra	Gompa Boddu Chettiboyina Chelluri Bothala	4 1 1 1 1	Goddollu Yerrollu	
Sompeta (Chellati Sompeta)	Gan ga	Gedala	1		
Vontithadi Agraharam	Nagendra	Patnala Saripalli Kolisi Mudasala Summa	1 1 1 1	Saripalli	
Pendurthi	Bhatturajula	Munasa Nadigottu	1 3 1	Saripalli Bathina and Chettib o yina	
		То	tal 20		

GOTRAS AND SURNAMES AMONG YATAS

.

WORKERS AND NON-WORKERS BY SEX AND AGE-GROUPS

		Workers		Non-v	Non-workers	
Age-groups		Males	Females	Males	Female	
(1)		(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
0-14		ĩ	3	15	23	
15-34	•	12	6		4	
35-59	•	10	8	1	2	
60 +		3	2		2	
Total		26	19	16	31	

TABLE X

ANNUAL FAMILY BUDGET

S. No.	Household income	Household expenditure	Deficit	Surplus	Balanced budget	Borrowing durin current year
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.		Rs.
1.	2,210.00	2,200.00	•••	10	•••	•••
2.	1,080.00	1,061.00	•••	19		
3.	950.00	900.00	•••	50		
4.	800.00	800.00	•••		1	•••
5.	600.00	800.00	200.00	•••	•••	200.00
6.	1,000.00	1,000.00	•••	•••	1	
7.	400.00	400.00	•••		1	
8.	870.00	1,096.00	226.00	•••		120.00
9 .	925.00	9 76.00	51.00		••• /	400.00
10.	540.00	565.00	25.00		•	40.00
11.	2,100.00	2,100.00	•••	•••	1	
12.	1,400.00	1,500.00	100.00	•••		100.00
13.	1,200.00	1,200.00	•••		1	
14.	1,140.00	1,354.00	214.00			300.00
15.	1,014.00	1,188.00	174.00	* •••	•••	•••
16.	924.00	980.00	56.00	• • •	• • •	390.00
17.	635.00	635.00	•••		1	
18.	900.00	900.00	•••	•••	1	•••
19,	840.00	1,339.00	499.00			200.00
20.	784.00	944.00	160.00			200.00
Total	20,312.00	21,938.00	1,705.00	79	7	1,860.00
	D	D 000 50				

Per capita income = Rs. 220.78

Per capita expenditure = Rs. 238.46

TABLE XI

PER CAPITA INCOME RANGES BY NUMBER

Per capita income ranges	Number of households	
(1)	(2)	
Below Rs. 50		
51-100	1	
101-200	8	
201-300	4	
301-400	4	
401-500	2	
501-600	1	
Total	20	

OF HOUSEHOLDS

TABLE XII

HOUSEHOLDS BY ANNUAL INCOME RANGES

Annual Income range	Number of households
(1)	(2)
Below Rs. 300	••••
301-600	3
601-900	6
901-1,200	8
1,201-1,500	1
1,501-2,000	•••
2,001 and above	2
Total	20

,

Table XIII

Cause of indebtedness	No. of households	Amount	
(1)	(2)	(3)	
		Rs.	
Marriage	5	1,100	
Household industry	1	400	
Domestic expenses	1	200	
Current year's (1965-66) borrowing to meet domestic expenditure	9	1,860	
Total	16	3,560	

INDEBTEDNESS BY CAUSE AND AMOUNT

Table XIV

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY AND SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS

S No.	Traditional occupations	Contemporary occupations		households chan- raditional occu- pations		iary occupations of households
(1)	(2)	(3)		(4)		(5)
1.	Toddy tapping, mat wea- ving, preparation of re- kalu (palmyra water con- tainers) nallu moyula (stit- ching of winnows and fans), basket making, etc. 20 households	 Rickshaw pulling Casual labour Agricultural labour Cultivation Industrial labour Traditional occupation (Toddy tapping, mat weaving etc.) 	2] 3 4 1 1 : 9	11	tion 3 1 Cult 1 Cov	ial, agricultura
	Total		20	11	15	

ANNEXURE I

EXTRACT OF THE CASTE INDEX FROM CENSUS OF INDIA 1891(VOLUME XV)

Note :- The names of main castes are printed in small capitals and those of sub-divisions in ordinary type. The sub-divisions of each caste are given after the caste name. The letters in the second column denote the religion, thus :

A = Animistic	J = Jain
Ag = Agnostic	M = Musalman
$\mathbf{B} = \mathbf{B}$ uddhist	N, S = Not stated
Br = Brahmo	P = Parsis
$\mathbf{C} = \mathbf{Christian}$	T = Theist
H = Hindu	

The third column gives the strength of the caste and of each important sub-division. The letter, and number in the fourth column show the class and group respectively in which the caste has been classified Vide Chapter X of the Report.

ste and sub-castes	Religiou	Strength	Class and group
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Yata	Н	49,223	D. 36
Chalagadu			
Chenchu			
Chepvedalu			
Chetla			
Chettu			
Chinna			
Chitti			
Desasta			
Egitivandlu			
Gandla			
Gudi			
Idiga			
Indra			
Itu			
Kallutise			
Kamma			
Kammara			
Ratti			
Sankaram			
Segidi			
Salagolla			
Turaka			
Turaku			
Varnabrashtan			
Venapalakulu			

Annexure [I-Contd.

CASTE INDEX

stes and o-castes	Religion	Strength	Class and Group
(1)	(2)	. (3)	(4)
Idiga	Н	154,277	D . 36
Abani			
Agasali			
Alaga			
Amepativandlu			
Arava			
Asal			
Badagalorn			
Badda			
Balija			
Bandi Idiga			
Banige			
Barava			
Bedgi			
Bellapu			
Berija			
Beriki			
Besta			
Bhatraju			
Bollu			
Boya			
Budu			
Chelladi			
Chetti			
Chettugilu			
Chevadi			
Chiki			
Chokkam			
Chundu			
Damugandu			
Dandu			
Dasari			
Desasta			
Dodda			
Domaval			
Edamapaita			
Eddulu			
Gamalla			
Gani			
Gauda			
Gaudanigar			
Gedda			

Annexure I-Contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IDIGA—Contd.		<i>.</i>	
Giche			
Goddour			
Goshta			
Gottilla			
Gotuvari			
Gukyalaru			
Gundrati			
Gurikigollaru			
Hambalaru			
Hendamaruva			
Indra			
Irula			
Janaka			
Jati			
Jignuri			
Jilladi			
Joddu			
Jonni			
Kabbili			
Kadan			
Kaika			
Kajanudar			
Kalali			
Kalayi			
Kallu			
Kamparaju			
Kangotra			
Kannadi			
Kantavadu			
Kapu			
Karvaraiyar			
Kasa			
Kaskoli			
Katla			
Katto			
Kayil			
Koru Setru			
Kottu			
Kshatriya			
Kulabrashtu			
Lukar			
Made			
Malai			
Malaiyalar			
Malliyavaru			
Manchi			

Annexure I-Contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Idiga—Contd.			
Mannudlavaru			
Manupu		, ,	
Marakatta			
Marameri			
Marichetlu			
Markaruttal			
Marukuntla			
Marulu			
Marunatu			
Marumatu Mashti			
Masnu Matimoladam			
Muraga Muthu ru			
Muthuru Muttaloru			
Nadigadda			
Nagarattar			
Nagaravannan			
Naikulu			
Namadari			
Nangapu			
Nasamu			
Nese			
Odalai			
Odde Declara			
Pachiga Dedu			
Padu Dagadal			
Pagadal P akanati			
Pala			
Palle			
Pambaikkaran		6,964	
Pariah			
Pattiriyan			
Patupalavadu			
P avuttar			
Pazhayan			
Pedda			
Pendamaru			
Pennabadi			
Perla			
Potagudla			
Potukuleru			
Pudu			
P ullur			
Rajamahendram			
Rajuttala			
. J			

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Annexure I-Contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
IDIGA—Contd.			
Ravikaleni			
Ravikatodiga			
Redivela			
Sadaru			
Sagina			
Sajjana			
Salla			
Sankari			
Sarayakkaran			
Sasanam			
Sedyakkar			
Senamu			
Senapati			
Sengundan			
Serada			
Shanan			
Segidi			
Singalar			
Sirkar			
Surigani			
Svayam			
Svakiyam			
Syasamuru			
Syasurleru			
Tlavaru			
Tamil			
Tanda			
Tatta			
Telaga			
Telugu Tirunamatter			
Tota			
Turugu			
Tutte			
Uru			
Uruman u			
Vabana			
Vade			
Vadla			
Vadlaguntla			
Valayalkavarai			
Vanniyan			
Velama			
Veru			
Vinchata			

Annexure I-Contd.

(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Indra	Н	85,373	D. 36
Arava			
Balija			
Chetti			
Chetlugiche			
Desasta			
Gamalla			
Idiga			
Shanan			
Senapati			
Sudra			
Turpu			
Uru			
Vaduga			
Yata			
Ita Kodudu	Н	62	D. 36
Segidi	Н	59,866	D, 36
Aruva			
Chatra			
Chittu			
Danasalakula			
Desasta			
Gadikala			
Gangavamsam Ozniari			
Ganjari Hasalu			
Indra			
Itakallu			
Kallu Ammuta			
Kapu			
Kellakopalakoni			
Kallukopakam			
Nagavamsam			
Odia			
Pedda			
Punigolla			
Senapati			
Sondi			
Sudra			
Felaga			
Foddi			
Furpu			
Vanapalakulam			
Vanenesale			

4

ANNEXURE II

FRAMEWORK FOR ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDY

I Name, Identity, Origin, and History

- 1 Name; Synonym; sub-caste/sub-tribe as in President's Order and in other published sources such as Census Reports, Monographs etc. grouping with other castes and tribes during various Censuses. Affinity with other castes and tribes according to recognised authorities.
- 2 Etymological significance of the name; names by which the community is referred to by (a) others and (b) isself.
- 3 Identification of the community by occupation or any other way of life.
- 4 Myths and legends connected with the origin and history of the community and its segments; historical references and popular beliefs about history and migration of the community.

II. Distribution and Population Trend

- 1 Area where found; population and concentration in the State and outside; physical aspects of the areas of concentration.
- 2 Numerical strength in 1961 and population variations during 1901-1961; sex ratio; agegroups and rural-urban distribution in 1961.

III. Physical Characteristics

1 Racial Stock; appearance and affinity with other known communities.

IV. Family, Clan, Kinship and other Analogous Divisions

- 1 Family, size (observed and published), Types, residence after marriage, descent, lineage and its economic and religious function and inheritance.
- 2 Clan/gotra and sub-clans; names, etymological meaning, clustering of clans, belief and mythology about origin, status among clans, clan and regulation of marriage (preference and prohibition), occupation and clan, clan and

rituals, clan and food (restrictions, prescriptions etc.).

3 Others: Phratry, Duel organisation, like moieties etc., as in 2 above.

V. Dwelling, Dress, Food, Ornaments and other Material Objects Distinctive of the Community

- 1 Settlement : Village site, location, settlement pattern (agglomerated, nucleated, dispersed, sprinkled, isolated, amorphous, star-shaped, horse-shoe-shaped, linear, rectangular, circular or ring-shaped etc.) and variations; regional pattern vis-a-vis pattern of the community.
- 2 Neighbourhood pattern on the basis of religion, caste (Caste Hindus, untouchables) and tribes etc., with segregations, if any, and the basis thereof.
- 3 Dwelling unit: compound, entrance, source of water, the use of different parts of the house (latrine, cattle shed, isolation huts etc.); shape (square, round, irregular etc.); storeys; nature of floor, plinth; wall; roofing, thatching; ventilations and doors; materials used; decorations and embellishments; temporary structures.
- 4 Dress including head gear and foot wear used ordinarily, on ceremonial occasions and special occasions, sex-wise and according to majority or minority; dress of priests and office bearers: variations.
- 5 Ornaments: use; material used; from where obtained; variations according to sex and age.
- 6 Personal decoration : tattooing; mutilation (chipping of teeth, etc.); hair cutting ; how done, purpose, attitude and variation according to sex and age.
- 7 Food and drink : Materials (staple and other), prescriptions and prohibitions, fuel. utensils and mode of preparation; practices connected with serving and taking of food; preservation of food rituals, if any.

- 8 Equipments connected with economic pursuits, religion and ritual; how procured, material used, construction and purpose.
- 9 Other household equipments. As above.
- 10 Equipments connected with recording of time, space and weight and their methods of use: A^s above.

VI. Environmental Sanitation, Hygienic Habits, Disease and Treatment

- 1 Environmental sanitation, settlement, disposal of night soil, garbage etc.
- 2 Hygienic habit: cleanliness of body, teeth, dress, houses, utensils etc.
- 3 Diseases : Incidence ; local names; interpretation of the causes; symptoms; diagnosis and cure-persons and methods involved.
- 4 Modern systems of medicine and attitude of the community towards it.

VII. Language and Education

- 1 Ancestral Language : Classification according to Grierson, persistence of ancestral language and literature.
- 2 Mother tongue: Classification according to Grierson; bilingualism and multilingualism; regional language.
- 3 Information collected during 1961 Census on language and literature.
- 4 Education and literacy : Traditional and modern attitude, information collected during 1961 census—literacy and levels of education.

VIII. Economic Life

- 1 Economic resources : Land, community land, individual ownership and types of land possessed and land utilized.
- 2 Forest wealth: Flora and fauna; nature and extent of right in the forest; forest utilization.
- 3 Fishery, Livestock and others.
- 4 Working force: Sexwise, urban and rural variations and comparison of the same with the region.
- 5 Non-workers.

- 6 Industrial classifications : Details as collected in the field and comparison with that of the 1961 census figures, traditional occupation and changes in the pattern; main and subsidiary occupations.
- 7 Forced labour, bonded labour, patron-client relationship (jajmani), mode of payment.
- 8 Seasonal migration connected with occupation recruitment, formation of working groups.
- 9 Nomadic movement : Cycle and occupational pattern.
- 10 Shifting cultivation : method, implements and equipments, produce, participation, cycle of rotation, measure to regulate shifting cultivation and its impact.
- 11 Terrace cultivation : As above.
- 12 Income and expenditure : Sources of income, extent, expenditure on food, clothing, house, education, social functions and others.
- 13 Other aspects of economic life.

IX. Life Cycle

A. Birth

- 1 Beliefs and practices connected with conception, barrenness, still birth, miscarriage, abortion, child death, regulation of sex, etc.
- 2 Prenatal and natal practices : Residence, diet, work, toboos, etc., delivery place, assistance equipments used in delivery, position during delivery, severance of umbilical cord (who does and how done), disposal of placenta.
- 3 Post natal practices : Confinement and segregation, ceremonial pollution, diet for mother and child, rituals.
- 4 Protection and care of child and training.
- 5 Attitude towards birth of child, preference about sex, preference about number, segregation of sex, etc.

B. Initiation

- 1 Initiation ceremony; descriptions.
- 2 Premarital sex relations within the community, outside the community, sanctions and taboos.

- 1 Age at marriage for both sex; prohibited degrees of relationship, preferences, widow remarriage (preferences and taboos).
- 2 Civil status and social status.
- 3 Types of marriage: Monogamy, polygamy (Polyandry and polygyny).
- 4 Selection of spouse : Qualities valued (for bride and groom) mode of selection, procedure.
- 5 Modes of acquiring mate: By negotiation, force, intrusion, elopement, etc.
- 6 Terms of settlement : Payment of bride price, dowry, service, exchange, adoption, etc.
- 7 Ceremonies connected with marriage : Details including who presides over the marriage and services of functional castes.
- 8 Statistical data as per 1961 Census.
- 9 Divorce : Reasons and procedure.

D. Death

- 1 Concept about death, measures to ensure future well being of the soul, measures to avert harm by the spirits.
- 2 Methods of disposal : Burial, cremation, exposure, floating on water, etc.
- 3 Preparation for disposal of dead, informing friends and relatives, treatment of the dead body, digging of pit etc. for disposal; how carried, who carry, who accompany, place of disposal, methods of disposal, norms and taboos.
- 4 Ceremonies connected with disposal.
- 5 Death rites : Details.
- 6 Monuments : Tombs, megaliths, etc.
- 7 Pollution : duration, restrictions in work, food, dress, shaving, hair cropping, sex life etc.; removal of pollution.
- 8 Mourning : mourners and duration,

X. Religion

- 1 Deities : supreme deity, benevolent deities, malevolent spirits, presiding deities of village and other aspects of life including occupation, clans, gotras etc.
- 2 Place of the deities in the regional pattern and Brahmanical and other traditions.
- 3 Rituals and concepts associated with the panthe on.
- 4 Spots associated with the deities, pilgrim centres and methods of worship.
- 5 Religious functionaries.
- 6 Calendar of festivals and their observance.
- 7 Concept of soul, hell, heaven, rebirth, transmigration of soul, etc.
- 8 Sects and denominations : Name, distribution, beliefs and practices etc.
- 9 Statistical information.

XI. Leisure, Recreation and Child Play

- 1 Use of leisure time : For male, female, children and adult ; seasonal variation in leisure time.
- 2 Recreations their mode and extent, for males, females and children.
- 3 Leisure and recreation with reference to work.

XII. Relation among Different Segments of the Community

Recognised segments—name, basis (territorial, ceremonial, social, prestige, religion, sect, education, age etc.); Inter-relationship among various segments; status of the segment; status of women.

XIII. Inter-community Relationship

- 1 Ceremonial relationship : Service by Brahmins, traditional service by castes like barbers, washermen etc.
- 2 Pollution by touch or proximity to high Caste Hindus, use of well, admission to temple.
- 3 Secular relationship : Model for other communities ; dominance due to economic resources, political status, social status, etc.

4 Bridge role, buffer role, alliance and antagonism of the community.

XIV. Structure of Social Control, Prestige and Leadership

- 1 Social control: Levels of social control, community level, regional level, hereditary, special functionaries etc., social control by other agencies.
- 2 Mode of acquiring offices.
- 3 Control exercised by traditionally recognised leaders, functionaries of statutory bodies of the region, powerful individuals belonging to the community, etc., at the regional level and local level.
- 4 Relationship between spheres of social control and agencies of social control.

- 5 Leadership : For social change, for technological change, for political action and for other organised activities at the community level, regional level and local level.
- 6 Social prestige : Method of gaining social prestige (by performing ritual, merit of feast, associating with historical association etc.) symbols of social prestige.

XV. Social Reform and Welfare

- 1 Social reform movements: Intensity; reasons (for raising social status, establishing traditional norms, for westernisation, etc.); history and import of the movements.
- 2 Social welfare : Agency, religious organisation community as a whole Govt. Official and nonofficial, role of the social welfare measures and impact.

XVI. References cited and other Bibliography

GLOSSARY

Billata	A game played with a stick	Maganali	•••	Second marriage for wo- man, her first husband
Chetalu	Winnows			being alive
Chodi ambali	Gruel made of finger millet	Marumanuvu	•••	Widow remarriage
Dwarabandhamethuta	-	Nanu	•••	A stiff gold ornament
	the house	Nallumoyuta	•••	Border stitching for sieves
Dappulu	Trumpets	Nagaval' i	•••	A marriage ritual
Godugulu	Umbrellas	Purillu or Vasillu	•••	Hut
Gruhapravesa or Intlokicheruta	House warming ceremony	Pendli or Lagnapu- pendli	•••	First marriage for both the boy and the girl
Gangapuja	Worshipping the goddess of water	Pan a kam		Jaggery water
Mattelu	Toe rings worn by married women	Rekalu Ontinittadi	••••	Water cases Single central pole