

Demography of Cholanaickan, the Cave-men of Kerala - India

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Cholanaickans, a tribe of hunters-gatherers from Kerala State in India were investigated from the demographic aspect. On the basis of data from many years the dynamics of changes of the group structure was presented. Special attention was devoted to the mating system and reproduction.

Introduction

Human populations confine themselves to a network of 'gene pools' and thus differ in size, composition and mating patterns due to geographical barriers, cultural and ethnic differences. Populations which are small, endogamous, relatively isolated 'demes' are of particular interest, since, isolates provide an opportunity to study the effects of different environmental factors on human populations. Many human isolates live in extreme conditions which promote fast changes in the demographic and genetic structure. Small and completely isolated populations give scope to describe, in detail, the changes in the genetic composition of the group. Primitive isolates, tribals like hunters and gatherers are of particular importance, since these mendelian populations, to a great extent, reflect the conditions similar to those in which human evolution had taken place. The demographic para-

meters needed for the understanding of the genetic structure of primitive groups are very scanty, as most of the primitive groups are declining in number; some of them are either on the way to extinction or are being fast acculturated. WHO experts have stressed the necessity of undertaking urgent investigations on small communities to understand the specific genetic problems. Recently, there arose a global interest on the primitive groups to record the range of variation in the demographic variables, so as to answer the contention on the degree of association between genetic and reproductive attributes. Studies of this nature also help us to ascertain the genetic implications of certain demographic trends, as the population structure of most of the primitive tribes deviates from the conventional pattern.

Even though there are a number of difficulties to carry out investigations among the primitive groups due to lack of written records, ignorance of age concepts, reluctance to mention dead relatives etc., a few studies carried out among the tribes o

South and North American Indians and a few European and African populations are now available to us.

The advantages of studying primitive groups are of many kinds — the possibilities of discovering unusual diseases, abnormal frequencies of rare variants, epidemiological consequences as a result of isolation, ecological adaptation and for demonstrating evolutionary forces, especially drift and selection, as emphasized by WHO experts [1964, 1968]. Following the above perspectives, population geneticists carried out studies among the breeding isolates, primitive populations of finite number, religious isolates and geographical isolates.

In India, many human populations are 'demes' or mendelian isolates, at socio-cultural, geographical and linguistic levels. Some of them are tribes and others are castes, and religious communities. A few investigations have been carried out among the Indian tribes such as Pahira (Basu 1969), Kota [Ghosh 1970; Basu 1972], Kolam (Murthy et Ramesh 1980), Car Nicobarese [Gopal et al. 1977] and Gujjar [Negi 1978].

The habitat of the Cholanaickan lies in between 10° - 15' and 12° - 11' North latitude and in between 25° - 52' and 27° - 54' East longitude on the Ernad taluk of Malappuram district of Kerala State. The Cholanaickan mainly inhabit the Nilambur valley of this district. The valley is about 60 kilometres from Malappuram, at the altitude of 4000 feet (1200 m) above sea level. The temperature ranges from 80° to 90° F (26.7 - 32.2° C) throughout the year. Gales are also experienced during the months of May, June and July. The Nilambur forest has three forest ranges, namely Nilambur, Karulai and Chungathara. The Cholanaickan are inhabiting only Karulai and Chungathara ranges of Nilambur forest.

The Cholanaickan means the kings of

the forest and broadly referred to as cave-dwellers by the non-tribals. The Cholanaickan are strongly built. Their skin colour varies from dark brown to whitish brown. They are of short stature. Their hair is black and curly in nature. They still remain geographically isolated from rest of the country and thus are genetically isolated. The Cholanaickan inhabit 10 different *tсенmam* (territories) spread over in two ranges, and each group is identified by the *tсенmam* which they inhabit. The limit and boundary of each territory is marked by natural barriers like hills, rivers, trees, rocks etc. The members residing in each *tсенmam* share the resources of the territory. Each *tсенmam* has a leader known as *tсенmakkaran*. His authority is supreme in socio-political and religious spheres. Each *tсенmam* is further sub-divided into a number of *naadu* which facilitate easy demarcation and identification of the entire territory. Each *tсенmam* is autonomous and viripatrilocal. The economy of the Cholanaickan is purely primitive in nature, where the production is mainly for subsistence. The traditional subsistence activities like hunting and gathering are still the backbone of the subsistence management which directly influence the customs and practices. The subsistence activities are of direct and indirect subsistence. In addition to the gathered products, food is also acquired through collection of minor forest produce and through its transaction. Articles like clothes, iron implements, and other commodities are procured through barter.

The Cholanaickan practice territorial exogamy, where one has to find a mate from another territory. On reaching adulthood, one moves out of his natal territory and enters into marital alliance. They practice three types of unions, such as *oppamaladu* (sexual union), *edipytyodu* (elopement) and arranged marriage. Nuclear family is the common pattern.

Material and methods

Field work has been carried out by the first author, for a period of 16 months in six spells of two months each during 1975 and 1976 and three months each in the years 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1981. The data presented in this paper have been drawn from the field trips conducted in the months of April, May and June of 1980 and 1981. The collection of data was mainly through the application of participant and non-participant observation, interviews, case studies, genealogical method etc. The informations have been recorded from the Cholanaickan directly in the schedules. A few informants are conversant in Malayalam language of the Dravidian group of languages and as such the necessity of employing an interpreter was not felt, while collecting data. Continuous contact with

the people for about 16 months in six years of duration helped the author to learn the dialect of the Cholanaickan. The knowledge of their dialect helped in a great deal in conducting interviews and cross-checking the data already collected. Depending upon the awareness of the subject and ability to communicate, a few key informants were selected and were interviewed for collecting major informations. The knowledge of the British period, bamboo flowering event, which takes place once in 30 to 45 years and different historical events and seasons helped to estimate and evaluate the approximate ages of the individuals. The estimated ages of the individuals have been cross-checked with other Cholanaickan living in the neighbouring territories.

Results and discussion

The Cholanaickan inhabit 10 territories spread over to an area of 89,000 acres (356 km²) in the two forest ranges of Nilambur forest in the southern part of the western ghats. The Cholanaickan living in different territories are presented in table 1. Of the 10 territories, the first six territories belong to Karulai range, while the rest are in Chunchathara range. The total population is 205 individuals in 57 households constituting 123 males and 82 females. The proportion of females is significantly low to that of the opposite sex. The number of households in each territory varies from one to nine households. The maximum number of households is found in Kuppanmala and Alakkal territories. Taalipuzha and Manjakkadavu are having eight households each. Ambilimala and Olikkatodu territories are

having seven and six households respectively. Puuchappara, Karimpuzha and Paanapuzha territories are inhabited by one, two and three households respectively. When compared with the data of Bhanu [1977] it has been observed that the total number of households has remained static even though fluctuations have been recorded since 1974. The population has decreased considerably in number from 229 individuals to 205 within a span of two years (1977 to 1979). The decline of population size from 1974 to 1977 is alarming and this trend seems to be continued even in 1981. The maximum decrease was observed among the females in Karulai range where the female population has dropped from 45 to 38 individuals during 1977 to 1979. The maximum decrease of population was obser-

Table 1. Population variation among the Cholanaickan since 1977 to 1979 years

Name of the Territory	Nilambur Forest Range	Population during 1977 year							Population during 1979 year						
		No. of House-holds	Males		Females		Total		No. of House-holds	Males		Females		Total	
			N	%	N	%	N	%		N	%	N	%	N	%
1. Karimpuzha	Karulai	3	8	5.93	6	6.38	14	6.11	2	7	5.09	4	4.88	11	5.37
2. Paanapuzha	"	5	17	12.59	14	14.90	31	13.54	3	15	12.20	11	13.41	26	12.68
3. Kuppan mala	"	8	13	9.63	10	10.64	23	10.04	9	14	11.38	10	10.20	24	11.71
4. Poochappara	"	2	4	2.96	2	2.13	6	2.62	1	4	3.25	1	1.22	5	2.44
5. Taalipuzha	"	6	18	13.33	9	9.57	27	11.79	8	15	12.20	9	10.98	24	11.71
6. Korampuzha	"	4	8	5.93	4	4.26	12	5.24	4	8	6.50	3	3.66	11	5.37
7. Alakkal	Chunguthara	8	20	14.82	16	17.02	36	15.72	9	18	14.64	13	15.85	31	15.12
8. Ambilimala	"	7	12	8.89	9	9.57	21	9.17	7	11	8.94	8	9.76	19	9.26
9. Olikkatodu	"	7	15	11.11	13	13.83	28	12.23	6	14	11.38	12	14.63	26	12.68
10. Manjakkadavu	"	7	20	14.81	11	11.70	31	13.54	8	17	13.82	11	13.41	28	13.66
Total	Nilambur	57	135	100.00	94	100.00	229	100.00	57	123	100.00	82	100.00	205	100.00

Table 2. Age and marital status of the Cholanaickan of Karulai range

Age group	Unmarried male		Married male		Total		Unmarried female		Married female		Total		Widower		Widow		Total		Grand total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0 - 4	9	23.68	-	-	9	14.51	3	17.65	-	-	3	7.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	12	11.01
5 - 9	10	26.32	-	-	10	16.13	3	17.65	-	-	3	7.69	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11.93
10 - 14	6	15.80	-	-	6	9.68	7	41.17	-	-	7	17.95	-	-	-	-	-	-	13	11.93
15 - 19	9	23.68	1	4.17	10	16.13	4	23.53	2	9.09	6	15.39	-	-	-	-	-	-	16	14.68
20 - 24	2	5.26	1	4.17	3	4.84	-	-	5	22.72	5	12.82	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	7.34
25 - 29	2	5.26	5	20.82	7	11.29	-	-	4	18.18	4	10.26	-	-	-	-	-	-	11	10.09
30 - 34	-	-	4	16.67	4	6.45	-	-	2	9.09	2	5.13	-	-	1	20.00	1	12.50	7	6.42
35 - 39	-	-	4	16.67	4	6.45	-	-	4	18.18	4	10.26	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	7.34
40 - 44	-	-	1	4.17	1	1.61	-	-	1	4.55	1	2.56	-	-	1	20.00	1	12.50	3	2.75
45 - 49	-	-	1	4.17	1	1.61	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	20.00	1	12.50	2	1.83
50 - 54	-	-	1	4.17	1	1.61	-	-	1	4.55	1	2.56	2	66.67	1	20.00	3	37.50	5	4.59
55 - 59	-	-	2	8.33	2	3.23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	1.83
60 - 64	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	4.55	1	2.56	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	0.92
65 - 69	-	-	2	8.33	2	3.23	-	-	2	9.09	2	5.13	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	3.67
70+	-	-	2	8.33	2	3.23	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	33.33	1	20.00	2	25.00	4	3.67
Total	38	100.00	24	100.00	62	100.00	17	100.00	22	100.00	39	100.00	3	100.00	5	100.00	8	100.00	109	100.00

ved in Paanapuzha territory. Out of the five households (i.e. 31 individuals) in Paanapuzha, two households have disappeared, due to sudden death of some individuals, while the two surviving individuals of the two households have migrated to the adjacent territories.

The maximum fluctuations in population size have been observed in Karulai range. The number of households had increased from eight to nine and six to eight in two territories while a downward trend has been noticed in other territories. In Karimpuzha, the number of households came down from three to two correspondingly the population size too reduced by three individuals. Though there had been significant fluctuations in the number of households in all the territories from time to time, the population size has not undergone such drastic changes. A slight decrease in the number of households in Karulai range had been compensated by a moderate increase of households in Chungathara range and as such the total number of households had remained at 57 since 1977.

The age structure revealed significantly higher frequency of males than females in the age group 0 - 4 years with a sex ratio

of 63 females per 100 males in Karulai range. The disparity of sexes is evident too in the age-group of 5 - 9 years, where the proportion of males was higher than females (table 2). In 10 - 14 years age-group the sexes were almost evenly distributed as the sex ratio was equally balanced. In majority of the higher age group the males outnumber the females and in the long run this may slacken the rate of population growth in the coming generations. The sex ratio in the older age groups shows a great deal of fluctuations. As expected, the frequency of unmarried males who fall under the age group of 0 - 29 years was higher than that of the married males. Out of 29 unmarried males, 4 individuals belonged to the age-group of 20 - 24 years. The total number of unmarried females were 17 in the age-group of 0 - 19 years, where only 3 females were found in the age-group of 15 - 19 years. The number of married males was almost equal to that of married females. Male to female proportion was highly unequal in Karulai range, where the number of sexes was 62 males against 39 females. A distinguishable feature was that only one widow was found below the age of 30 years, while the rest of the widows were in their postrepro-

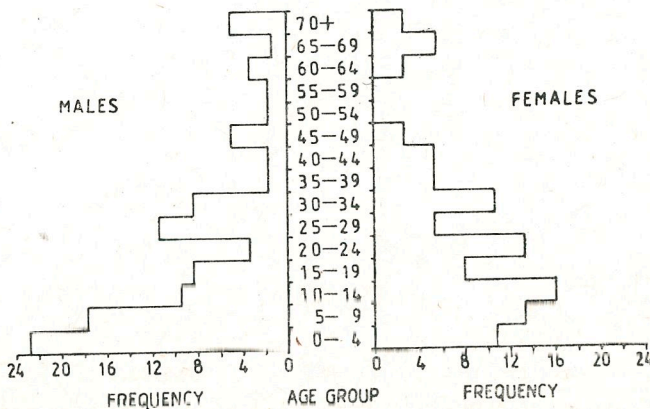


Fig. 1. Population pyramid: Cholanaickan (1979). Karulai range : sex ratio is 165 . 79 males per 100 females

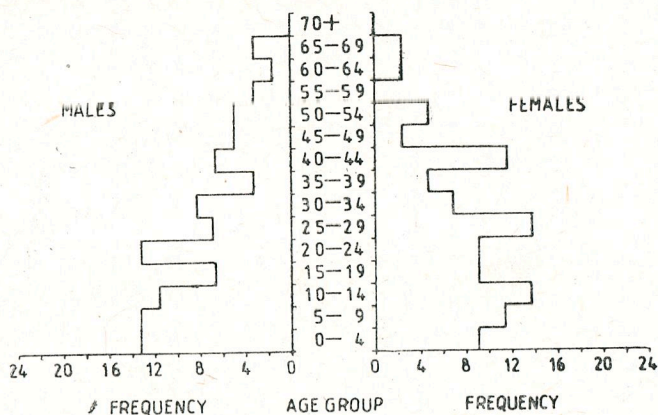


Fig. 2. Population pyramid : Cholanaiக்கan (1979). Chungathara range : sex ratio is 138.64 males per 100 females

ductive age group i.e. 45 years and above. Widowers found in Karulai range have lost their reproductive vitality and vigour. The sex ratio of the Cholanaiக்கan of Karulai range works out to be 63 females per 100 males. The sex ratio of the Cholanaiக்கan is very much alarming. The ratio of this group in 1977 was 66 females per 100 males, and again decreased to 63 females per 100 males during 1980.

The age-sex composition of Cholanaiக்கan of Karulai and Chungathara ranges have been presented in the form of population pyramids (Figs. 1 and 2) based on the Census

data collected during the end of 1979. The population figure of the two different ranges have been presented in the form of percentage distributions by age and sex, calculated by expressing each age-sex category to the total population. In Karulai range, males outnumber females in younger age group (0 - 9 years) while greater fluctuations were observed in the older age groups of both sexes. The sex ratio of the Cholanaiக்கan of Karulai range is 165 males per 100 females. The population pyramid of the Cholanaiக்கan of Chungathara range is more uniform in both sexes in the younger age groups than

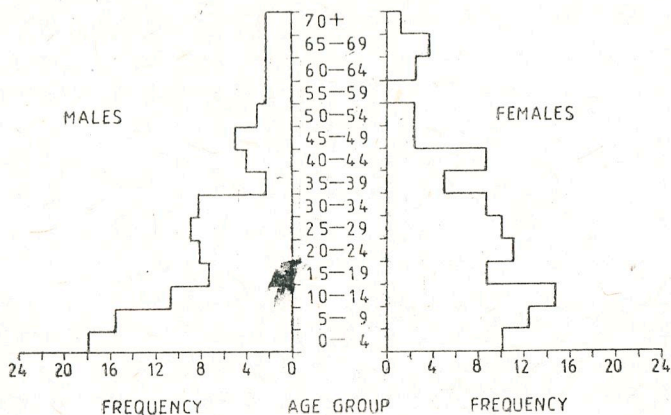


Fig. 3. Population pyramid : Cholanaiக்கan (1979). Karulai and Chungathara range : sex ratio is 151.22 males per 100 females

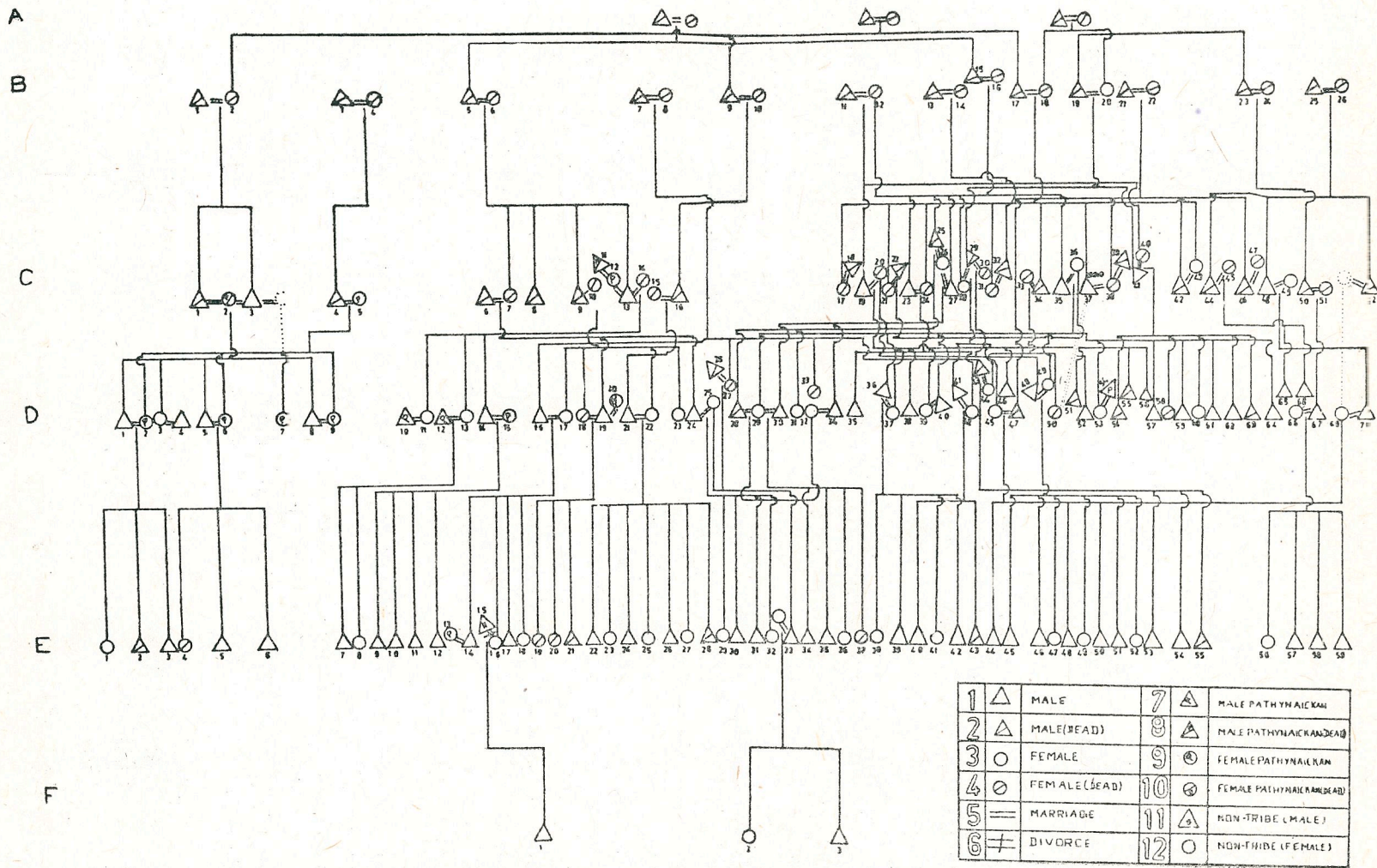


Fig. 4. Genealogy of the Cholanaickan of Karulai range (Kerala state)

that of the Karulai range (Fig. 1). The Karulai range age groups show greater variation than that of the Chungathara range even in older age groups (Fig. 2). The male population of Karulai range aged 0 - 9 years show greater frequency than the Chungathara and the frequencies for the female are much closer. When the two population pyramids are superimposed upon each other, the variation is quite evident. The sex ratio is 138 males per 100 females in Chungathara range, which is significantly lower than that of the Karulai range. The differences in the percentage age-sex distribution for the two ranges can be explained by their fertility and mortality levels. When compared with the population distribution of rural Indian population, the Cholanaickan population pyramid deviates far greater than expected. The pooled population pyramid (Fig. 3) shows a broad base in the case of males, and a narrow base for the females. The former category corresponds well with the Indian data while the later is contrasting. The population pyramid indicates a greater imbalance of sex ratio at younger age-groups while this discrepancy is minimised at older age-groups.

Mating pattern

Polygamous marriages are not customary among the Cholanaickan. However, one case of such union has been noticed. Of all the seven cases of multiple marriages recorded, a majority of intertribal marriages were found to be practiced with the Pathynaickan

living adjacent to their territories. The percentage of such marriages is on the increase since two generations. The present study indicates that three Pathynaickan women have been taken in for marriage by the Cholanaickan as against two Cholanaickan women married to the Pathynaickan. It is also found that of all the three cases, where the Pathynaickan women were married to the Cholanaickan, no one was found to be having offspring, while in the second case, the offsprings surviving for the couple are two in number. Of all the marriages recorded during the year 1979, 27 marriages were between the members of the Cholanaickan living in different territories in Karulai range and 5 marriages were between the Cholanaickan of Karulai and Chungathara range and there was only one case of an irregular union where a Cholanaickan woman was impregnated by a non-tribesman (caste). There is one offspring in this union. The genealogy chart (Fig. 4) which runs up to fourth generations, presents an overall picture of 68 marriages in the past 100 to 150 years, comprising 55 marriages within the Cholanaickan society. Of all the marriages 12 occurred with individuals from other tribal and one with a non-tribal population. Of all the unions, 54 males and 26 females have emerged as surviving offsprings, while 6 male and 4 female children were reported dead. Thus the resulted live births are 60 males and 30 females giving an average of 1.82 children per women. However, this picture does not seem to be accurate, as infants who died before the age of 5 years

Table 3. Average surviving children among the Cholanaickan

Category	No. of mothers	M \pm S. E.	S. D. \pm S. E.
Mothers of all ages	35	2.66 \pm 0.36	2.22 \pm 0.25
Dead mothers	8	3.13 \pm 0.81	1.64 \pm 0.41
Mothers aged 40 and above	14	3.57 \pm 0.52	1.95 \pm 0.37

Table 4. Average number of living children among a few tribal populations

Population	Area	Av. No. of living children	Author
Cholanaickan (40+)	Karulai range, Nilambur (Kerala)	3.57	Present study
Cholanaickan (all ages)	"	2.66	"
Pahira - NP	Bihar	3.44	Basu, 1969
Pahira - SP I	Bihar	3.25	"
Pahira - SP II	Bihar	4.18	"
Gujjars	Uttar Pradesh (Himalayas)	4.16	Negi, 1978
Kota	Tamilnadu Nilgiris	1.8	Basu, 1972
Kota	"	2.22	Ghosh, 1970
Car Nicobarese	Nicobar Island	4.32	Gopal et al., 1977
Yanadi-Island	Sriharikota	2.79	Vasulu, 1980
" Plains-I	Andhra Pradesh	3.31	"
" " II	"	3.04	"
" " III	"	3.32	"
Bhils	Rajasthan	2.25	Sarkar, 1978
Garasia	"	4.17	"
Chenchus	Andhra Pradesh	3.34	Sirajuddin, 1981

might not have been properly reported. Therefore, this value is a gross estimate and does not necessarily give a correct picture of the total live births experienced by the Cholanaickan.

The average number of living children among the Cholanaickan along with the data for other tribal populations are presented in tables 3 and 4. The average number of living children is moderately higher than the Yanadi sub-populations, the Chenchu and the Pahira populations. The Gujjar,

the southern Pahira, the Car Nicobarese and the Gerasia show slightly higher average than the value of the Cholanaickan. Significantly lower values are observed among the Kota, the insular Yanadi and the Bhil due to higher infant mortality. The distribution of surviving sibship size among the Cholanaickan (Fig. 5) shows that 7.14 per cent of mothers aged 40 years and above do not have any surviving child, while all the dead mothers (8) have an average 3.13 living children. 22.86 per cent of mothers of all

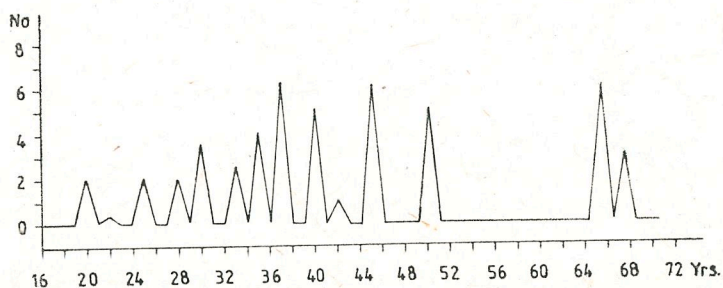


Fig. 5. Average surviving sib-ship size among the Cholanaickan

ages have no children. This is due to the fact that 8.57 per cent of the married women are below the age of 20 years i.e. in the age-group of 16 to 19 years.

The child-women ratio or the fertility ratio is the best relative measure to compare the fertility performance of the different sections of the population. The fertility ratio for the pooled Cholanaickan show that the number of children under five years of age per 100 women aged 15 to 49 years is 30.61. The child-women ratio

Table 5. Child-women ratio among the Cholanaickan

Range	Children 0 - 4	Women in reproductive age group (15 - 49)	Child - Women ratio
Karulai	18	43	41.86
Chungathara	12	55	21.81
Pooled	30	98	30.61

is higher in Karulai range (41.86) than in Chungathara range (21.81). The fertility ratio of the Cholanaickan (Table 5) when compared with other Indian populations gives extremely lower values than the Kota - 56.26 [Ghosh 1970], the Pahira - nor-

thern - 74.24, the Pahira - southern I - 68.57, the Pahira - southern II - 74.40 (Basu 1969) and the Chenchus 71.83 [Sirajuddin 1981]. The Yanadi sub-populations - Insular Yanadi - 52.00, Plains Yanadi I - 34.48, Plains Yanadi II - 45.11, Plains Yanadi III - 44.22 (Vasulu, 1980) and the Car Nicobarese - 52.50 [Gopal et al. 1977] have closer values in child-women ratio compared to the Cholanaickan.

The net reproductive index indicates reproductive potentials in a population. The net reproductive index among the Cholanaickan of Karulai range is 2.69 which indicates a moderate prospect of population expansion compared to other tribal groups. The value recorded for the Cholanaickan is significantly higher than the value of the Gujjars, the Khond, the Pahira, the Malar, the Irular and the Car Nicobarese, but lower than the value of the Pahira populations (Table 6). The net reproductive index among caste populations is always higher, ranging from 1.23 to 3.48 than in the tribal populations except the Pahira sub-populations where the value ranges from 2.89 to 3.18, while in the rest of the tribal groups the value ranges from 0.16 to 1.78.

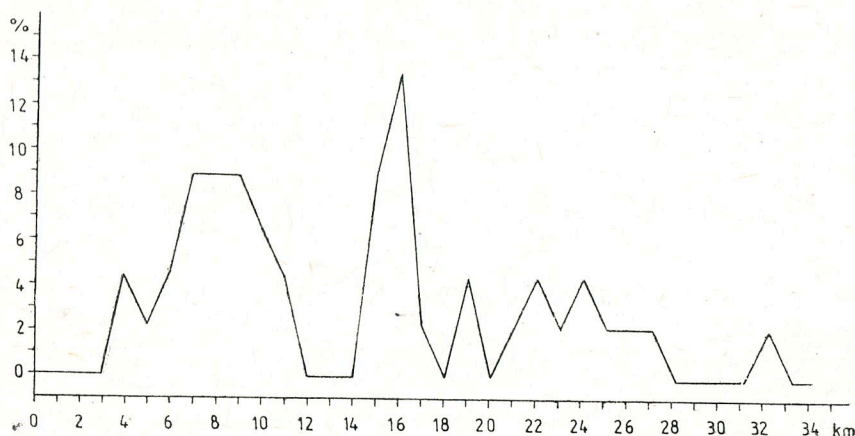


Fig. 6. Marital distance among the Cholanaickan

Table 6. Net reproductive index values in some tribes

Population	Location	Author(s)	No. of mothers	No. of surviving daughters	NRI
Cholanaickan	Kerala	Present study	13	35	2.69
Gujjars	Uttar Pradesh	Negi (1978)	88	56	0.63
Car Nicobarese	Car Nicobar Islands	Gopal et al. (1977)	151	?	1.78
Pahira - Northern	Bihar	Basu (1969)	9	?	2.89
Pahira - Southern I	Dalmia hills	"	16	?	3.13
Pahira - Southern II	"	"	11	?	3.18
Irular	Tamilnadu	Basu (1977)	?	?	1.31
Malar	Bihar	Sarkar (1944)	69	85	1.23
Pahira	Bihar	Ray (1954)	94	93	0.98
Khond	Orissa	Bharati (1975)	31	37	1.19

Marital distance

The marital distance among the Cholanaickan varies from a distance of 4 Kms. to a maximum of 32 Kms. measured in terms of distance between birth places of the spouses. Though a few cases of inter-tribal marriages have been recorded, especially with the neighbouring Pathynaickan, the marital distance has not been affected. The marital distance distribution is not leptokurtic or positively skewed as observed in many other

studies [Malhotra 1980]. However, it deviates from the distribution observed among a few non-tribal communities [Malhotra 1980; Reddy 1979, 1981]. The mean marital distance is 14 Kms. among the Cholanaickan and agrees with the Santhals, the Bhils and the Pawaras. The mean marital distance among the tribes of Andhra Pradesh is comparatively much higher than in the present study. The Cholanaickan show a near value only to the Banjara and the Naik Gond (Table 7).

Table 7. Mean marital distance among a few tribal populations

Population	Locality	Sample size	MMD	Sources
Cholanaickans	Nilambur valley, Kerala	47	14.00 Kms.	Present study
Banjaras	Nalgonda, Andhra Pradesh	113	16.52 Kms.	Saheb & Naik (1983)
Andhs	Adilabad, Andhra Pradesh	117	54.24 miles	Pingle (1975)
Mathuras	" "	104	26.88 "	"
Pardhans	" "	128	26.23 "	"
Kolams	" "	305	22.90 "	"
Raj Gonds	" "	125	18.62 "	"
Naik Gonds	Chandrapur, Maharashtra	575	12.3 Kms.	Rao (1978)
Santhals	Bihar	-	6.7 miles	Basu (1973)
Bhils	Maharashtra	116	5.20 "	Malhotra (1978)
Pawaras	"	72	5.53 "	"

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Streszczenie

DEMOGRAFIA PLEMENIA CHOLANAICKAN, „JASKINIOWYCH LUDZI” Z KERALA W INDIACH. Plemię Cholanaickan zamieszkuje okręg Erand w dystrykcie Malappuram w stanie Kerala w Indiach. Dolina Nilambur, w której głównie znajdują się ich siedziby położona jest w odległości ok. 60 km od Malappuram, na wysokości ok. 1200 m n. p. m., pomiędzy 10°15' i 12°11' szer. geogr. pn. Jest to obszar leśny i Cholanaikanowie sami siebie nazywają „królami lasu” podczas gdy przez okoliczną ludność zwani są „ludźmi jaskiniowymi”.

Ludność plemienia Cholanaickan jest ciemnopigmentowana (od jasno do ciemnobrązowego koloru skóry), niska silnie zbudowana, o ciemnych i kędzierzawych włosach. Jednostką podziału terytorialnego jest „tsenman” (terytorium) dzielący się na „naadu” (grupy rodzinne). Obszar Cholanaickan dzieli się na 10 terytoriów (tab. 1). Zasadniczym sposobem zdobywania środków do życia jest zbieractwo i łowiectwo, jednak niektóre przedmioty (odzież, metalowe narzędzia) uzyskują w drodze wymiany. Cholanaikanowie praktykują terytorialną egzogamię małżeńską.

Materiał do pracy autorzy uzyskali w trakcie wieloletnich badań terenowych, przy czym dane demograficzne pochodzą z 1980 i 1981 r.

W trakcie badań plemię liczyło 205 osób (123 mężczyzn i 82 kobiety) podzielonych na 57 grup rodzinnych. Populacja wykazuje tendencję do spadku liczebności i niekorzystny stosunek płci. Strukturę wg płci i wieku przedstawiają tabela 2 i rys. 1 - 3. System kojarzeń ludności Cholanaickan ilustruje rys. 4 przedstawiający 68 małżeństw zawartych w ciągu ostatnich 100 - 150 lat, z których 55 zawarły z sobą przedstawiciele plemienia, w 12 jedno z małżonków pochodziło spoza Cholanaickan (z innej grupy plemiennej) a zaledwie jedno małżeństwo zawarte zostało z przedstawicielem ludności nieplemiennej. Dane o płodności, i reprodukcji opisywanego plemienia zawierają tabele 3 - 6. W tabelach tych podano również wartości wskaźników dla kilku innych plemiennych grup z Indii. Tabela 7 zawiera informacje o odległościach małżeńskich.