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Adivasi Ritual Authority under Religious Pressure: Brahminical Marriage and Christian Funeral Practice in Paddam Anasuya's *Chappudu*

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Abstract: Paddam Anasuya's Chappudu illustrates how disputes within families and communities alter *Koya* Adivasi ceremonial life. This essay looks at how traditional wedding customs are replaced in *Kakamma* (కాకమ్మ) and how *Doli* performers aren't present at a funeral in "*Muffled Voice (*మూగబోయినశబ్దం*)*." A different priest performs the marriage after Kakamma raises a pig for a communal wedding feast, which her son finds repugnant. The anticipated funeral plans in "*Muffled Voice (*మూగబోయినశబ్దం*)*" are altered when a relative converts to Christianity. There is no performance of the *Purbam*, which *Doli* performers used to narrate *Koya* ancestry and ties. *Sound (*చప్పుడు*)* makes a comparison: after moving to Palvancha, a family invites the performers, but their singing at nite is interrupted by neighbours. Anasuya's main concern, according to the report, is *ritual authority*—who determines how a marriage or death will be recognised, whose expertise is respected, and which voices can be heard at a communal meeting. The stories depict several forms of pressure, such as the disapproval of neighbours, the judgement of a younger family member, and the choice of a converted cousin. As a result, they do not endorse a single explanation for every shift in *Koya* practice or a generalisation for all Christians, Hindus, or converts. This study investigates the specific repercussions for Kakamma, Peddayya's family, and Sunkulu's mourners through close reading.

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It comes to the conclusion that, even in cases where community members still respect and seek out that performance, replacing or disrupting a ritual might also take away an opportunity to share *Koya* heritage.

Keywords: Adivasi religion, Paddam Anasuya, *Chappudu*, *Koya* practices, Christianity, conversion, Brahminical influence, and ritual authority

Introduction

Decisions taken at weddings and funerals reveal religious development in Paddam Anasuya's *Chappudu*. These events typically gather neighbours, performers, elders, and relatives together. A performer bears knowledge of heritage, a bereaved family anticipates a traditional song, and a parent intends to feed the village. Each participant may interpret the event through a different obligation. The alteration extends beyond the words of the ritual when a different priest officiates a wedding or a different reading replaces a funeral performance. It has an impact on who has leadership authority, whose desires are respected, and how a family tells others about its past.

The collection's four pieces all deal with death, but *Kakamma* (కాకమ్మ) demonstrates how disagreements about ceremonial authority can start at a wedding. In order to prepare a feast for her son's wedding, Kakamma raises a pig. Her plan views the celebration as a shared occasion. Her son disagrees, calling the planned slaughter inappropriate. The provided narrative also notes the appearance of another priest who chants prayers and the lack of traditional *Koya* (Koitur or Koithur) images. Kakamma is affected by these changes because her family's customs for recognising a wedding have been disrupted. She does not share the standards used to evaluate what she considers to be hospitality.

Her anguish should not be interpreted as an assertion that a son has no authority to decide whether or not to get married. The more pointed question in the story is how he discusses the practice he rejects. He refers to the traditional feast as filthy rather than just preferring a different one. The status of Kakamma's knowledge is impacted by such language. After taking part in the

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community's ceremonies, an elder discovers that her interpretive authority has diminished. Instead of restricting her stories to an external political account, Anasuya pays great attention to *Koya* culture, according to the review that is attached ("A Telugu Story Collection" 1). *Kakamma* creates a discernible cultural shift in a dialogue between individuals who are related even after they disagree.

Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం) depicts an alternative conflict during a funeral. A woman returning to Theethugumpu anticipates that the *Doli* performers will show up and sing the *Purbam* following the death of Peddayya's son. Rather, a younger relative sets up another religious reading and declares that he has become a Christian. The *Purbam* would describe origins, ancestry, and relationships among *Koya* families, therefore the *Doli* performers' absence is significant. It provides a means of remembering the departed individual in the context of a larger social history. Thus, the choice of who will lead the funeral and what will be spoken about the deceased in front of the mourners are related issues.

Although the event incorporates other people's beliefs, the relative's conversion has personal significance. Other family members have preconceived notions based on past funerals, and Peddayya is grieving his son. Anasuya does not offer sufficient proof to ascertain the reason for the relative's conversion or how each mourner views his choice. At this specific burial, the story does depict a consequence: the expected *Koya* performance does not take place. Rather than using the conflict of one family to represent all interactions between Christianity and Adivasi society, a careful reading must maintain that particular.

Because *Sound (చప్పుడు)* depicts the *Purbam* being interrupted for a different reason, it offers a helpful comparison. Following Sunkulu's passing, Pothappa extends an invitation to the *Doli* artists to visit Palvancha, the family's current residence. The singing at nite is objected to by the neighbours, who stop it. This disruption is not caused by a conversion. The performers have arrived, and the family wants the ritual, but the ceremony cannot go forward as scheduled. Examining *Sound (చప్పుడు)* in conjunction with *Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)* exposes two

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different ways that a historical performance can become inaudible: an internal family decision and an external protest.

This paper's title use *religious pressure* to explore what happens to characters when another ceremonial form takes control of *Koya* practice. It does not presuppose that every conversion is forced, that every Christian or Hindu rite has the same impact, or that the tales demonstrate a concerted effort at exploitation. A more targeted investigation is supported by the evidence. What happens if someone calls a *Koya* feast "shameful"? What happens if traditional performers are left out? How does a grieving family react when other people choose the sounds to go along with their grief? These enquiries maintain the analysis's proximity to the actual actions that Anasuya portrays.

Adivasi oral traditions are subject to influences that may impact their transmission, according to Anjana Singh (55). The stories of Anasuya demonstrate why preservation calls for more than just being aware of the existence of a rite. The *Doli* performers need to be acknowledged, invited, and given permission to sing. There must be a reason for their audience to get together. Kakamma's feast also depends on family members who recognise its worth and contribute to its preparation. Relationships between those who perform, organise, and receive ritual knowledge ensure its survival. A practice's future becomes uncertain when those relationships shift.

Thus, "Kakamma" and "*Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)*" are the main texts of this essay, and *Sound (చప్పుడు)* is used to differentiate religious change from other restrictions on *Koya* ceremonial. Its fundamental concern is *ritual authority*: whose judgement establishes a common rite and whose knowledge is still heard when it is replaced by another form. Instead of a page-checked version of Anasuya's Telugu anthology, the English accounts accessible for this study are unpaginated translations and commentary. As a result, the stories' interpretation is based on those provided accounts; before using direct quotations in a final study article, their phrasing should be compared to the published text.

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Review of Literature

According to the interpretation of Prof. (Dr.) Visweswara Rao Chenamallu, in his article "An Analysis of Paddam Anasuya's *Chappudu*" (2025), the collection's main themes include the *Koya* language, customs, interactions with the forest, and the impact of social and religious change. Because it examines each of the four stories rather than drawing conclusions about their substance from a general overview of Adivasi literature, his study is particularly pertinent. One part of his theory is developed in this paper: how power over weddings and funerals shifts when a *Koya* ritual is replaced by another priest, prayer, or ceremonial norm.

In "Indian Tribal Literature: An Overview" (2025), Nazneen Khan examines the literary contributions, oral traditions, and linguistic variety of India's Indigenous people. She also takes into account the forces that endanger their artistic expression's dissemination and acceptance. Her tale demonstrates why a performed history, like the *Purbam*, should be examined as knowledge rather than written off as an incidental part of a burial. Anasuya's personalities and rites must still be examined using the particular evidence of the stories since Khan provides a national perspective rather than a study of *Koya* narratives.

Dharavath, Mohan. "Adivasi Literatures in India: Disrupting the Norms through Memory, Intersectionality and Critique." (2025) According to Dharavath, unique experiences of memory, cultural estrangement, dispossession, and resistance give rise to Adivasi writing. He warns against completely classifying such writing into analytical categories that ignore its social and historical character. This method works well for reading *Chappudu*'s religious encounters. The altered funeral in "*Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)*" and Kakamma's marital strife are tangible disagreements involving specific family members and customs. Before establishing generalisations about conversion, ceremonial change, or the place of Adivasi groups within established literary theory, Dharavath's approach urges attention to their lived implications.

In Anjana Singh's "Many Voices, One Reality," (2017) explores the relationship between oral expression and written literature as it relates to Adivasi women writers. Her story recognises Indigenous women's involvement in creating and conserving traditional knowledge, challenging

the propensity to view them as merely subjects described by others. This viewpoint sheds light on Kakamma's comprehension of burial and wedding customs as well as the returning woman's capacity to recognise the lack of *Doli* performers. Although Singh doesn't specifically address Anasuya's tales, her research offers a helpful framework for viewing these women's observations as knowledge rather than sentimentality.

In "Voices Unheard: Tribal Literature from India to Read Now" (2017), Shankar Pooja talks about how Indian tribal literature, which is connected to oral traditions and languages that are less common in print and translation, is not as visible. Her study clarifies why outsiders can perceive the singing of the *Doli* performers as a strange ceremonial sound without comprehending its historical significance. In *Chappudu*, the *Purbam* describes ancestry and relationships during a time of grief. Therefore, while leaving the precise meaning of the *Koya* rite to Anasuya's story, Shankar's explanation encourages an investigation into the circumstances under which such expression becomes audible and understandable outside of its community.

Amardeep Singh and Raj Srishti, in "Adivasi Literature: A More In-Depth Introduction" (2025), describe Adivasi literature as a diverse subject that includes many communities, languages, histories, and reactions to cultural displacement. This scope is helpful in identifying Anasuya among current Indigenous writers, but it also warns against assuming that the experiences of one community are typical of all others. The *Doli* performers, the *Purbam*, and the family disputes in *Chappudu* have meanings that cannot be provided by a broad explanation of Indigenous religion or cultural change alone, which lends credence to the current paper's focus on *Koya* distinctiveness.

Soumalya Chatterjee's "A Voice of the Voiceless" (2023) questions reactions that highlight Adivasi songs, dances, and other outward manifestations of culture while ignoring the living circumstances of the community. The distinction is useful for evaluating *Chappudu*, even though his paper focuses on Hansda Sowvendra Shekhar rather than Paddam Anasuya. Without enquiring as to whether the singers are invited, allowed to continue, and acknowledged as historical bearers, it is insufficient to commend the beauty of *Doli*'s performance. Thus,

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Chatterjee's thesis shifts focus from cultural display to the power dynamics and connections that influence performance.

C. R., Bijoy's "Voices of the Submerged: Adivasis and Forests" (1993) situates Adivasi conflicts in the context of historical pressure on communities and their interactions with forest settings. In *Chappudu*, where land, livelihood, custom, and group identity are intertwined, this larger context is crucial. The accessible abstract does not support attributing to Anasuya a particular argument on conversion, and his essay does not analyse Anasuya. Its contextual importance for this study is that it promotes thinking about how *Koya* life is shaped by both material circumstances and religious and ceremonial change, without treating either as a separate process.

Objectives

To determine how *Chappudu* depicts shifts in ceremonial authority.

To examine *Kakamma*'s reaction to the modified wedding plans.

To investigate the function of *Purbam* and *Doli* performers at *Koya* funerals.

To evaluate the family dispute shown in "*Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)*."

To draw a comparison between the urban disruption of ritual in *Sound (చప్పుడు)* and religious transformation.

To separate generalisations about religious communities from the particular facts presented in the stories.

Methadology

The provided English reports of "Kakamma," "Sound," and "*Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)*" are thoroughly examined in this qualitative study. It contrasts who initiates, leads, disrupts, or declines a ceremonial act. Context is provided by research on Adivasi literature and oral tradition. The analysis regards translated story sections as provisional and does not create page references for them because the original paginated Telugu anthology was not supplied.

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Discussion

Kakamma and the Judgment of a Wedding Custom

Kakamma envisions the entire village participating in her son's wedding. To share a meal with others, she raises a pig. She suggests more than just providing food for a family gathering; the feast would enable relatives and neighbours to take part in the marriage. Her delight as a mother would take on a social form, and the community would acknowledge a new bond. When her son opposes the plan, they argue about both the arrangements and the significance of the event.

In the narrative that is provided, the son queries why a pig to be killed and served for a wedding and that is very dirty. The judgement that *filthy* makes is what gives it its power. He says more than just that he wants a smaller wedding, wants to save money, or prefers a different menu. He disparages a behaviour that his mother cherishes. He describes her desire to feed people as a source of disgust. The pig cannot be treated as an unimportant item in order to reconcile their divergent viewpoints.

Participating in *Koya* social life is how Kakamma learned about the feast. She is aware of how a wedding may unite two individuals while also involving neighbors and families. Her son views the occasion from a different perspective of what is acceptable. His acquisition of that standard is not fully described in the story. It does demonstrate its impact on the family: a mother's perception of generosity no longer dictates how her son will celebrate. He has the power to reject the agreement, and she will have to accept both the choice and the disdain shown by his rejection.

According to the provided evaluation, Kakamma's request to supply the pig for the event is still unfulfilled (Kakamma). A change in ceremonial authority is shown by the unfulfilled request. Although Kakamma is able to acquire and grow the animal, she is unable to turn the wedding into a communal feast. She prepares the materials, but someone else makes the final decision. Anasuya painstakingly clarifies the distinction between knowing a tradition and having the ability to execute it.

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The officiation of the wedding is also altered. The commentary that is now accessible details the arrival of a different priest who chants prayers and the lack of traditional *Koya* figures. This is a big change because ceremonies are defined in part by who is allowed to do them. There is no empty space where the transformation takes place. The words uttered over the marriage originate from another ceremonial ritual, and people who would have had a part in the past no longer have one. Despite her inability to stop it, Kakamma is aware of the swap.

In this context, it makes sense to examine a hierarchy of ceremonial respectability. While the alternate wedding takes place under a priestly form that he supports, the son views the traditional feast as unpleasant. However, the narrative neither names a specific upper-caste person who convinced him nor shows that the family was purposefully taken advantage of by a coordinated effort. Such assertions would require proof, which the available narrative does not provide. The more accurate claim that a *Koya* practice loses standing within the family when it is evaluated by an external criterion of what constitutes a dignified wedding is supported by Anasuya's scene.

Because Kakamma's kid also plays a role in the narrative, this accuracy is crucial. He is free to celebrate his marriage however he sees fit. Anasuya does not ask whether youngsters have to replicate every decision their elders make. It is what occurs when a decision is made with disdain for the interpretations that other people make of an activity. While family members continued to listen to each other's explanations, a wedding can change. In this instance, the son's words made Kakamma's expertise seem shameful rather than deserving of respect.

The marriage of Kakamma's daughter outside the group raises a similar but different problem. Despite being disturbed by the choice, Kakamma accepts it. Her answer demonstrates that love endures despite disagreement. When her children make different decisions than she does, she does not stop caring for them. She doesn't have to pretend that the changes are insignificant because of her love. Anasuya permits the independence of the younger generation to coexist with the suffering of the elder generation within the same family.

The significance of Kakamma's subsequent death preparation stems from this conflict. She can reserve saris and other items for her own burial, but she is unable to choose the

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marriages. The action is preemptive and pragmatic. While she is still able to make decisions and make arrangements, she expresses her desires. It keeps her desire from going unsaid, but it does not ensure that those who survive her will follow out every detail. Their attention is demanded by the objects.

Her preparations also show how ceremonies link various life events. She learned from the wedding that a custom she had anticipated could be substituted. In response, she gets ready for another ceremony when she will be even less able to step in. When she passes away and is unable to explain why specific items are important, the family will need to take action. Therefore, what may appear to be nervous attention to funeral arrangements is a reaction to a shift she has already gone through.

The issue of power becomes personal as a result of Kakamma's conduct. Who determines which ritual is honourable? When a younger relative rejects an elder's knowledge, does age and prolonged engagement give it more weight? Is it possible to disagree without disparaging a parental practice? Anasuya does not make the wedding into a straightforward competition in which one person is completely correct and another is completely incorrect. She illustrates the price of a fresh perspective joining a partnership whose members continue to rely on and love one another.

The *Purbam* as Historical Speech

In the funerals depicted in *Chappudu*, the *Doli* performers play a unique role. According to the provided evaluation, which contrasts them with historians, the *Purbam* describes ancestry, family relationships, and other facets of *Koya* history (Chappudu). This analogy enables readers to comprehend the significance of their song. They do more than just use music to break the silence. Through their performance, the deceased person's life is connected to both the current gathering and previous generations.

Paying attention to both words is necessary when calling the *Purbam* historical speech. It conveys historical narratives, but it does so by speaking for a certain event. Names may be listed in a recorded genealogy, and family members may remember tales on their own. These forms of remembering are combined with sadness in the *Doli* performance. When someone passes away,

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the larger network to which that individual belonged is narrated. As a duty to the deceased, the community hears about history.

As a result, the performers' knowledge is relational rather than merely factual. Its worth cannot be determined solely by determining whether the facts could be found elsewhere. The purpose of the rite includes who sings, who listens, and why they have gathered. At a funeral, a song speaks to those who have suffered a specific loss. They might be able to situate that loss within a longer continuity of names and ties thanks to its account of ancestry.

According to Anjana Singh, Adivasi people have "a rich tradition of oral literature" (54). The idea that history only matters when it is recorded in a document is called into question by her observation. However, merely praising oral tradition in general would be insufficient. Anasuya illustrates the circumstances that make a particular performance feasible or unfeasible. The *Doli* performers must be invited by a family. The actors need to be accessible and acknowledged for their roles. They need to be given time and space by the gathering. Listeners are required to permit the account to proceed.

The *Purbam* is vulnerable due to each requirement. A performer who is never invited could nonetheless possess knowledge. Even when a family wants the ceremony, they might not be able to finish it. Before the singers arrive, there can be another ritual. When one performance fails, cultural memory does not instantly disappear, but the loss of an occasion is significant. On that day, people who may have heard a deceased person's relationships listed together do not hear them.

Here, it's crucial to distinguish between maintaining performance and conserving words. Singh talks about the importance of writing down oral literature (55). An account can be made accessible to readers in the future through writing. It cannot determine who should perform a funeral or replicate its conditions on its own. Readers can better understand why a live performance cannot be assessed only as content that needs to be transcribed thanks to Anasuya's anecdotes.

Furthermore, it is not appropriate to romanticize *Doli* performers as existing outside of social change. Relationships with the families who summon them and the larger context of a

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ceremony determine their role. The family invites them in "Sound," but their singing is cut off by neighbours. Before they participate in "*Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)*," their intended role is eliminated. Although both incidents are different, they both show how important it is to respect their historical knowledge. If performers are unable to sing when mourners seek them, admiring the concept of the *Purbam* is of little use.

The event also begs the question of whose description of the deceased is accepted by the general population. Personal memories, prayer, lament, and song may all be included in a funeral. One type of narration is given a recognised place by the *Purbam*, which links the deceased to other families and *Koya* ancestors. If it is replaced, this specific public act of narrating those relationships is lost, even though they may still be recalled in private. That discrepancy is what worries Anasuya.

***Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)* and Conversion within the Family**

Peddayya's son has passed away in *Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)*. When a woman travels to Theethugumpu, she anticipates seeing the familiar *Koya* funeral arrangements and *Doli* performers. Rather, she discovers an odd silence. The anticipated assembly has not materialised. The drums have not started, and the performers have not shown up. Their absence has significance before anyone explains it since she is aware of what she would typically hear.

Peddayya's younger brother responds that the performers won't be attending when she enquires about them. He responds that he has converted when asked who will perform the ceremony. His comment is accompanied by the cross around his neck. His own religious affiliation is established by the declaration. The disagreement stems from the fact that he also participates in a funeral ritual, which has repercussions for family members whose expectations diverge from his.

An interpretation of the scene must continue to center on Peddayya's sadness. The deceased son's father is him. According to the testimonies provided, he is overcome with grief and finds it difficult to stop crying. The urgency of the dispute would be lost in a debate of

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religious differences that ignores his loss. The family is not debating alternate practices in a leisurely manner. While one of its members is recently deceased, it must make a decision.

It is not appropriate to view the younger relative's conversion as a comprehensive justification for his actions. The testimonies that are now accessible do not specify why he converted, how long he has adhered to his new beliefs, or how other family members interpret them. He might find great significance in his choice. The use of his new affiliation to decide on the format of a joint funeral is the story's main source of anxiety. The *Purbam* that others anticipated would not be performed by the *Doli* performers.

A distinction between individual belief and group authority is shown by the woman's inquiry regarding who will carry out the rites. An individual is free to select their own faith. On the other hand, a funeral is attended by a number of living individuals who had various relationships with the deceased. How they will grieve together depends on the ritual they choose. The narrative does not provide a guideline for settling all such disputes. It illustrates the suffering caused when one arrangement is prioritised over the needs of other mourners.

The gathering won't be completely silent therefore, the term *Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)* is appropriate. There will be another reading. Which sounds and words will be missing is the question. *Koya* genealogy, origin, and familial ties would have been described by the *Purbam*. Although the substitute rite might have its own significance, it does not automatically carry out that historical task. The story's *Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)* is the typical *Koya* ceremonial voice.

This does not imply that Christianity always erases the *Koya* community's past or that every convert loses their identity. A claim about all converts or all Christian congregations cannot be supported by the funeral of one family. It can support a detailed description of what transpires here: a mourner perceives the exclusion of the *Doli* performance as a rupture due to a relative's decision. Anasuya uses the particular individuals in attendance to highlight the outcome.

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The woman's earlier trek across the woodland gives her statement more nuances. She travels along a familiar route, but she is startled by sounds she recognises. Her perception of the hamlet has changed as a result of her distance from it. The lack of drums at the funeral home adds to that uneasiness. Although she has physically returned, she lacks a habit that allows her to identify the location. Her feeling of alienation is a record of how this shift feels to her, not evidence that Theethugumpu is no longer *Koya*.

Peddayya's stance is crucial because his child is involved in the modified ceremony. The testimonies do not prove that he granted or delayed explicit approval, nor do they offer a complete record of a family conversation. One shouldn't be created by a responsible reader. While the younger relative responds to enquiries regarding the ceremony, it can be seen that he is depicted as sad. Readers are prompted by this arrangement to think about whether the expectations of those most immediately impacted have been met.

The scene's intensity stems from its inability to distinguish between immediate familial feelings and historical tragedy. The *Purbam* is significant during this funeral since Peddayya's kid has passed away and because of *Koya*'s memories. Because she anticipates the community's method of narrating a life, the woman requests the performers. She discovers a different distribution of voices. Her anguish contributes to a societal custom of lamenting a specific death.

Therefore, it is essential to examine religious conversion in the story as a shift in *ritual authority* rather than just as a personal designation. When it comes to who can speak at the funeral, the relative's statement becomes significant. What happens when one member's recently chosen ceremonial practice replaces a way for others to comprehend their past, Anasuya wonders? Since everyone participating is a relative rather than an abstract representative of opposing systems, the question is still challenging.

***Sound (చప్పుడు)*: A Comparison beyond Religious Change**

Because the *Doli* performance is interrupted without a family member converting, *Sound (చప్పుడు)* provides a helpful analogy. The performers travel to Palvancha because Pothappa wants the *Purbam* for Sunkulu. The singing at nite is disliked by the neighbours, who stop it. The

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narrative therefore demonstrates how a fight over shared time and urban space, as well as a shift in religious practice, can silence a *Koya* historical song.

The comparison highlights the many reasons why interruptions occur. An anticipated performance in *Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)* doesn't start because a relative has set up a different ritual. The performance in *Sound (చప్పుడు)* is chosen by the family, but it is stopped by outsiders. There are two types of disputes: one occurs within a family, while the other occurs between neighbours and mourners. At both funerals, the *Doli* performers are excluded, but the reasons are different. This distinction would be obscured if all barriers were referred to as "religious exploitation."

Additionally, the contrast keeps a safe hamlet and an alienating town from being easily opposed. Theethugumpu is the setting for *Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)*, where the family's ideologies are at odds. *Sound (చప్పుడు)* occurs at Palvancha, where Pothappa continues to pursue the traditional performance. Belief is not solely determined by geographic place. Conflicts can arise both inside and outside of a *Koya* settlement, and people carry customs with them.

The conflict in *Sound (చప్పుడు)* takes on a specific form due to urban closeness. At midnight, neighbours can hear a performance meant for a group of people in mourning. The sound honours Sunkulu and holds a history for the family. It disrupts the nite for those who object. It is not necessary for Anasuya to deny that locals hear it in order to demonstrate how their perspective affects other people. Which interpretation of the sound prevails depends on the neighbours' capacity to halt the ceremony.

Even if the ceremony is stopped, Pothappa's work is still important. He does not believe that leaving the *Purbam* is necessary to relocate to the city. He calls on the performers he thinks Sunkulu needs. In a similar vein, the woman in *Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)* questions the *Doli* performers' absence before accepting it. These behaviours demonstrate how *Koya*

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characters adapt to change. They question choices, form plans, have preferences, and challenge boundaries.

When taken as a whole, the three tales show why ritual authority is a valuable area of study. Despite her alternative interpretation of a communal feast, Kakamma's son chooses the format of his wedding. In *Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)*, a converted relative chooses the funeral arrangements; in *Sound (చప్పుడు)*, neighbours have influence over the continuation of a selected rite. Every ceremony involves a number of participants, but some are in a better position than others to make their interpretation final.

Readers of Anasuya's books are not required to envision a static set of customs that everyone must adhere to. They ask them to consider the risks involved when a practice shifts: mourners would not be able to respect the deceased as they had meant, performers might lose a chance to recount history, and elders' expertise might be disregarded. Making decisions regarding a ceremony also involves deciding whose experience is worthy of respect.

Thus, a specific conclusion is the strongest. *Chappudu* depicts situations in which *Koya* customs are diminished, replaced, or prohibited. It makes a distinction between a neighbor's protest, a relative's conversion, and a son's judgement. These events encourage examination of external norms and unequal authority without providing justification for a general charge against all members of a religious group. Who can decide on a common ritual and whether those with *Koya* historical knowledge will be permitted to speak when others come together to rejoice or grieve are the questions that connect them.

Conclusion

Chappudu uses specific conflicts over ritual to symbolise religious coercion. In "Kakamma" (కాకమ్మ), the traditional feast of an elder is denigrated, and the marriage is officiated by a different type of ecclesiastical authority. A relative's conversion alters a funeral and eliminates the anticipated *Doli* performance in *Muffled Voice (మూగబోయినశబ్దం)*. *Sound*

(చప్పుడు) demonstrates how urban neighbours may disrupt a performance for a variety of reasons. These tales provide credence to a thorough examination of the potential devaluation or displacement of *Koya* customs. They do not dictate how Christians or Hindus should behave. The main issue raised by Anasuya is who gets to decide on a shared ritual and whose past can be discussed when a family gets together.

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