

Erān Ondo: Hōwanre

[Married Life of the Hos]

(Having Oneself a Wife (*erānre*) and Having Oneself a Husband (*hōwanre*))

(para 1; p. 197)

When a man and a woman either by way of *Kepeya* (love marriage) or by arranged marriage or by any other manner brought together in marriage, they live together with their parents in the same house. A separate house is not built for a man before having a wife for himself and so he is not separated. Therefore they live in the same house, they work together and have their meals together. But after getting a wife for oneself many a young men do not like to live in one house. The young son no more feels like living together as he used to live with his parents, brothers and sisters before having a wife for himself. His whole attention is drawn towards his wife. But after getting married some young men recognize their responsibility and works of the house. Although in their youth they used to spend their time in roaming around here and there, never did any work of cultivation in their fields, but after having a wife they would learn everything and take up the responsibility of managing the house. Such young men thereafter live better way than before with their parents, brothers and sisters. But such men are very few in number.

(para 2; p. 197)

Many women change after getting married. As a maiden they live with their parents and brothers and sisters in peace and love. But after marriage or after having given birth to a child or many years have passed in her husband's house and accepted well they do not live peacefully: they do not treat well their father-in-laws and mother-in-laws, and her husband's brothers and sisters. They isolate them and become highly critical of their behaviours. As a result disagreements crop up at every step. Such woman would make her husband follow as she thinks and she would complain to him about whatever happens around the house. She behaves like that so that they could separate from the family and live independently from them. When they begin to live separately she does everything as she wishes and works only for herself. Thus many women change when they get married. Good desires and works are replaced by evil desire and evil works. Nevertheless after separation all of them feel good. They do not do anything evil. In this manner when two sons of a man get

married they do not think of each other. They do not live as brothers who belong to the same blood of their father.

(Para 3; p. 198)

After getting married if the house has been well-off in every way and it has sufficient land, they would live a good life. But those who do not know how to work, they become poor and would not manage their cattle and cultivation of the fields well. Such people make themselves poor because of their laziness and inefficiency in managing their works. They will experience poverty and suffering after marriage if they had not experienced them before their marriage. They would have to work hard to live a good life and to rear their children without any great difficulty.

Married Men

(para 4; p. 198)

After getting married men do not remain idle. They do some work or other. If he does nothing at home his house people will chide him and fellow villagers also do consider him a good person. In case he does not do any work of the house they may break off their relationship with him and separate him from their house. Therefore even though he never used to work before his marriage, now after marriage he has to work. They will not take care of him without doing any work. Some young men when they are bachelor, they do not do what their parents tell them. They do them half-hazardly and then while away their time. They do not do any work on their own unless they are told to do, but after their marriage they have to recognize the works of the house and those of the fields. If he does not do any work and does not recognize his responsibilities, people deride him saying, "You are a married man and yet you do not have any sense of things. Are you still a little baby? Thus by using such words everyone puts him to shame. So after marriage men learn how to do works whatever they did not know. They shun laziness and never sit idle.

(para 5; p. 198-199)

The men of a well-to-do family think of the works in the field after their marriage. In spite of the servants at home to work in the field he likes to involve himself in them. If he does not do any work his wife also scolds him. Some of the young men even after getting married would like to roam around but his wife would not tolerate that and she begins to scold him such irresponsible behaviour. Therefore young men do not go here and there after marriage due to several works to be done at home. The man with fields has to make plough and yoke for himself. They may not have learnt how to make a plough before

marriage, but now they must learn to make one. Anyone who is not educated and has no salaried employment is laughed at by the elders of the village. Father figure men taunt him saying thus: "Now, you have brought a wife and still you do not know how to make a plough; you seem to very strong in bringing a wife." Therefore even though during his early days a man may not have learnt to make a plough but after bringing his wife he would sit with some elder and learn how to make a plough from him. It is not learning only to make a plough, but also all the other works necessary for life. Some men would not know how to make cots even after getting married. Such men are laughed at by the old men of the village and do not approve of it as something good.

(para 6; p 199)

Any young man who had spent his time in wandering around before his marriage would have tough time after marriage. He would not know a number of things; he has to keep learning for the first time. He cannot say that "I cannot learn; I will not learn". Otherwise who will work for him? Who will help him to do the works which have to be done every time? For whatever reason if there is there is only one son and if his parents are old then he has to do all the works of the house. He has to get accustomed and learn to do all the works of threshing floor such as, threshing, thereafter winnowing and storing it safely in straw bales for future use. He cannot fully depend on others and his servants for these works. Therefore in farming and other works his shoulders and his hands get hardened. He just cannot imagine that now after having a wife I am very happy and comfortable. After marriage one has to do all the works which he may had never done before and need to learn all that he never learnt before marriage. In case there are many people in the house the young man may feel a bit relaxed. But if he is the only son then after marriage all responsibility falls on him and times he may feel overburdened with works.

(para 7; p 199-200)

The young men of the houses which do not have much land of their own someway or other sustain themselves after their marriage. The young men from such families separate themselves at the earliest and at times abandon their parents to fend for themselves. They follow the dictates of their wives and do not concern themselves with the works of the whole family. In case there is not enough means of sustenance at home, the young man abandons his parents and goes to some faraway place with his wife to earn their livelihood by doing cheap labour for others. When the parents become very old and if there are small children they begin to think how could they ever be able to support those young ones by doing cheap labour. So they begin to live separately from them. They would procure something from somewhere by doing some cheap labour and thus somehow they would sustain themselves. In the poor families both husband and wife hire themselves for wages. The women usually not remain

idle. They are hired for some work or other in the villages. During the time of paddy transplantations woman would be hired for transplantation work or weeding out grass from the fields and earn some paddy or money. The man on the other hand may be hired for dressing someone's fields. Thus both of them hire themselves and always procure something for their sustenance. When the young had no wife all his needs were met by his parents or brothers and sisters even though he did not do any work at home. However, after marriage if he does not work he would not get anything, even to eat. When he gets sick his wife may not be able to get anything. He himself has to earn something. Therefore those young men who spent their time doing no work or in merely going around places, they suffer greatly after marriage. Then they would recognize some ways of livelihood skills. They young men of the poor families only experience difficulty. They have to labour in summer or in cold season. If he were unmarried he would hire himself as servant with some family and thus he would meet his personal need of food and shelter. But after getting married how will he eat his food alone and his wife remain hungry? Poor couples who live close to forest usually go to forest to collect firewood and leaves and sell these in the market. Thus the couples who had love marriages, sustain themselves by selling firewood and leaves.

(para 8; p 200-201)

Thus, quite a number of young men experience heat and cold (hard life) only after marriage. Before marriage they may afford to become lazy, but after marriage laziness completely goes away. The one who never did any household work and simply spent time to gallivant around, becomes wise. Similarly where as long as there are sisters in the house they feel very good and do not think about anything. But when the sisters get married and he too brought himself a wife, he feels lost completely. That instance he begins to enquire from the villagers what must he do. At the time bachelorhood young men neither sit among the elders nor among people with good ideas and desire to listen to them nor they go to the village meetings in which the well-being of the village is discussed. However, once he is married cares of life takes hold of him and he feels compelled to visit the old men of the village. The one who never sought the company of old man of village before, now goes forth to seek them. Quite a many young men never joined in any works during marriage celebrations of the village, abstained from helping out at them, but after marriage they realize its value and necessity. Therefore anyone during the time of bachelorhood never participated in such occasions after getting married get confused all of a sudden. Then they begin to attend village meetings and help out at marriage times. They desire to listen to the old men of the village and realize that what they speak is indeed truthful. They have to participate in all common works of the village. Anyone who does not participate and cooperate in such common works of the village is isolated and he is abandoned by all alone in times of sickness and

suffering of any kind instead of helping him. Therefore the young man has to live in peace and harmony after marriage. He has to be at peace with young and old of the village, sit and discuss with them unlike he used to do during his time of bachelorhood. Otherwise none would consider him a good person. So many young men have to become stable in order to build up their homes.

(para 9; p 201-202)

The young men of the village love to gallivant around before their marriage. They do go to places for any work but they visit markets and fairs and feasts and festivals just to entertain themselves and date young women. Following marriage all such activities cease. How would he get out of his house abandoning his house works and go off around different places. The responsibility of doing all the works of the house falls on him. After marriage he is concerned more about the works of the house and that of ways and means of livelihood. Such thoughts never arise at the stage of bachelorhood. No thought of what would happen in future when he gets a wife for himself ever bothers him. But after marriage his eyes are opened and he begins to understand life clearly. Young man from the poor family has to get his every meal everyday for who would provide him with food if he spends his time in an aimless going around places. Besides he has to take care of his wife also. If he does not take up any work and his wife alone does some work that would not sustain even two of them. Therefore his wife also will criticize and nag him. Some young men like to go around with unmarried time-wasting young men, in that case his wife would not praise him for that. But she would tell him about his meaningless behaviour by point out to him the inappropriateness of his spending his time with frivolous youth. At times she would even scold him. Because of these he has to abandon such aimless behaviour otherwise acrimonious quarrelling erupts among them and they stop talking to each other. Even the young men of the well-to-do family also have to stop indulging in a meaningless going around to different places. If he is the only son it would be very difficult for him to leave his house. There may be many people at home to work but he goes around without any purpose his brothers, younger and elder ones, would not tolerate that and they would strongly object to his behaviour. Due to such behaviour they would even think of separating him from them. Due to such situations brothers in a family at times separate themselves from each other in the villages. If there are many sons in a family then as long as all of them are unmarried they do not quarrel among themselves even though one may not work and others work but after marriage some work and others do not work, invariably they argue about it and they may decide to live independently. Therefore after marriage young men have to abandon their meaningless going around to places so that they could live happily.

(para 10; p 202-203)

Even those who are married recently and not yet have fathered a child they feel as if they are still a bachelor and in their company they think of roaming around like the bachelors. Wherever fares and feasts are being held they feel a strong desire to roam around and they go with the unmarried young men. Nevertheless he does not put on the type of clothes which the young men do and join them. He would not dare go to such place before the eyes of his wife otherwise she would forbid him or else scold him. Therefore he would sneak out quietly or make some excuses and goes to those place unobserved. Just a handful of women would not object their husbands going for fares and feasts, but majority of the husbands are prohibited from going there. He would not stay in those places for two or three day, but only for a day or a night. Otherwise he would be surely scolded and at times he would not be served food at home on his return. Later they certain bitterness develops between them.

(para 11; p 203)

Many young men after their marriage stop going to the places of feasts their own. Some of them are so occupied with earning their daily wages how can such poor men afford to go for attending feasts. Those who are hired and earn some money and who are not bothered about their houses may join those young men who gallivant around the places where feasts are held. Otherwise, married men do not visit such places alone. Married men may go to one to two places of festivities, but they do not go from one place to another. However, one may go to such places in order to help bring a wife (*kepeya āndi*) for his friend. Occasionally he may go to market places when his friends invite him but not to while away his time in the market place.

(para 12; p 203)

After marriage they also stop talking to just any young woman. Some young men even after marriage visit market places and entertain themselves by talking to young women but many stop doing that except when they are in the company of their bachelor friends. Even then like a unmarried young man he does not indulge in talking to a young woman for a long time in the market places. While he goes to buy from a woman he would talk to her but not as he used to do when he was still a bachelor for a long time. Married young man would not join the company of unmarried young men most of the time. If he joins the company of unmarried young men he would have to visit the places where feasts are held and to market places. Therefore, married young men do not join a group of bachelors for the most part. It is only in markets and while taking rice beer the married young men converse with women for fun but they would not stay in such places either for long hours or late in the night. Besides they would not stroll women on the way and indulge in a romantic conversation with them for mere fun.

(para 13; p 203-204)

Married young men do indulge in a romantic conversation with young women when they happen to meet them but the young men do not go to market just to talk to women. If desires to talk to young women like bachelors and the young happen to discover that he is a married man, they would not carry on any conversation with him. Surely, he would not reveal about himself that he is a married man but the women would tell him that he has a wife. He finds himself unnerved at hearing that and feels embarrassed. Therefore if married young men desire to have a conversation with young women they would not do as bachelors do but only for little fun. Even then young women would not entertain married young men. Married young men would not make young women as their second wives, they would merely prevent other young men from dating such young women. So the young women do not entertain married men for they are afraid if they do that unmarried young men would not date them and the married men would not make them their wives either. In case a married young man forces himself in having conversation with them, the young women make him feel ashamed by ridiculing him. Therefore a married man would not talk to women who know him or who are from neighbouring villages. Still in some married young men a desire to entertain themselves with young women never dies. Such young men go to distant villages and talk romantically to those young women who are unaware of his married status. Such women carry on their conversation. Later they continue their clandestine extramarital relationships. Thus such young men end up having two wives. Majority of young men trap young women in such romantic relationships. They falsely promise a woman that he would marry her and finally he would abandon her. However not all young men are like that but there are some who behave in such manner.

(para 14; p. 204)

Therefore, married young men do not have romantic conversation with young women because they are not supposed to have such extramarital affairs and some on their own do not build relationship with them because it is meaningless. They go to places of fares not with an intention of having a romantic conversation and that of possible marriage thereafter with young women, but to accompany their friends or to help them bring along a wife for them.

(para 15; p 205)

After marriage it is very important to honour *one's hanyar-honyar* (father-in-law and mother-in-law). Immediately on the following day when the parents of the wife or her *aji-haner* (elder sister of his wife), or her *hanar-hatom* (wife's aunt) visits them after bringing his wife to his home, he must

show a great respect to them. As soon they enter his house he must greet them and spread a bed for them to sit. These are the great signs of honour extended to them at such occasions. It is the women who offer water for washing their feet. Therefore, when the father-in-laws and mother-in-laws visit their son-in-law they expect him to sit and talk with them. Some young men would not know how to show respect to their *hanar-honyars*. Those who has never attended any marriage ceremony or never observed how ceremonies are conducted and how different categories of people treat each other, if such men even after having a wife do not learn how respect is shown to one's *hanar-honyar*, they are greatly offended. If the young man when his *hanar-honyar* visit him and neither he talks to them nor sits with them. they do not consider it as an appropriate behaviour. Then they would say "We have made someone our son-in-law who does not know anything." They would not feel good and feel like taking back their daughter with them there and then. Therefore although the young men did not know anything about such etiquettes they need to learn them after bringing a wife. Some educated young men do not know the village and marriage customs, such ones do not show their respect to their father-in-laws and mother-in-laws. Married young man must, first and foremost, show his respect to *bau-honyar* (elder brother of his wife) and *aji-hanar* (elder sister of his wife). They have to be shown respect according to the social and gender differentiation even in eating and drinking situation. He would not even touch the fringe of the clothes of his *aji-hanar*. After marriage such appropriate behaviours show the manner of giving respect to one's *hanar-honyar*.

(para 16; p 205-206)

When he goes to the house of his *hanar-honyar* also accord him great respect and address him respectfully using dual form of speech such as, "Please (Two-of-you) come here", "Please, (Two-of-you) sit down". Some who had been to school do not know such expressions. As a reason after getting married they do not know how to talk with respect to their *hanar-honyar*. Neither they can have conversation with them respectfully nor can do they sit and talk with them in such manner. During the occasion of feasts he would visit visit different house. As their son-in-law *hanar-honyar* accord him great respect and he also reciprocates by receiving and showing them with respect when they visit his house whether there is plenty or insufficient things to offer. In any instance of according respect, it is not what king of things are given, but respectful conversation and words are more valuable and desirable. When he meets them on his way or in the market place, he must exchange a few words with them respectfully or may enquire about their health.

(para 17; p 206)

Some young men after marriage do not treat their *hanar-honyars* respectfully. Even during the feasts and festivals when they visit their houses

they avoid talking to them and do not sit with them. They may not be angry with them but if they have never sat or talked at marriage occasions, they would not know how to talk to their *hanar-honyars* and also do not sit with them. In that case *hanar-honyars* do feel good and even at festivities do not feel any joy in their hearts. So if the young man is not talking and sitting with them, then the parents of the young man sit with them and keep them entertained. They keep them in humour by using the endearing expressions such as, “*balan*” or “*balatađi*.” in every sentence. But some young men keep them in very good humour and respect them well. “My *hanariń-honyarńtikiń* (respectful dual form of mother-in-law and father-in-law) may not be grieved in anyway”, saying to himself the young man makes sure that they lack nothing during their stay with him. Whenever his *hanar* or *honyar* arrives at his house he would greet him/her and. If his *honyar* has come then he would offer him tobacco. In case he does have at home, he would immediately go over to his neighbour’s house to get some tobacco for him. If there is no rice-beer at home, similarly he would rush to look for some from other houses of the village and bring home. He would not leave him sitting alone. He would sit on the same mat with him and keep him joyful talking to him. He would not normally give such great respect to his own people at home. In case his parents do not spend their time talking to his *hanar* and *honyar*, he would chide them saying, “You do not speak to your own mouth either”.

(para 18; p 206-207)

Many married men take care of their *hanar-honyars* extremely well. They may short of giving respect to their own people at home. He may not give to his own at home on getting some vegetable or mushroom or fruits from the fields, but he would go to his *hanar-honyar*’s house and give them. Similarly the ones whose house is in the outskirts of a forest he would share some meat from with them so that they may also enjoy it. Furthermore, any eatable which is not grown or available in their house, he would make a point to take these things to their home. Later *hanar-honyars* would invariably tell others that it was brought by their son-in-law and he feels proud about being praised before others. Hence, out of joy he would respect his *hanar-honyars*. He may not do any favour to anyone at home but he would fulfil all their needs. Because of this they would disparage their parents and brothers and sisters at home, he would not do favours for them but he would serve his *hanar-honyars*. In case they are not able to finish their certain work he would even go to their place to help them complete the work leaving aside his own works of the house. Thus, some young men respect their *hanar-honyars* very well and do many good works for them after their marriage.

HŌWAN KUIKO (Sub-Title, p. 207)

(lit. *women who have their men, i.e. husbands*)

[Married Women]

(para 1; p 207)

Once women are made wife by taking them to their homes (*keyalīte*) or any other manner they have been under the men's care (*hō-suba*) they find other mothers and fathers. Now, she has completely left her mother and father who gave her birth. Thereafter she has to give food and rice beer to her husband's mother and father and has to give them respect as her mother and father. Initially she feels a bit shy, so she does not take up all the works completely. She would think of her mother and father who gave her birth but after a week she does not feel shy before the mother and father or anybody from the house. After *jom-isin* (lit. eat and cook, she cooks for the first time in her husband's house and she is introduced to the ancestors to her husband's ancestors) ceremony the household and cooking pot goes to her care and responsibility. She would not deprive her husband's younger brothers and sisters, elder brothers, elder sisters or mother-in-law and father-in-law with their need for food and drink. She would not trouble (*chenta*) them.

(para 2; p 207-208)

In case there are no girls in the house she herself will do all the works of house and courtyard and after completing them, she will go for any work in the field. Thus she would not get much rest from doing works. Such woman would go to her mother and father's house who gave birth to her at least once a year. But some women even after marriage feel homesick. Within a week or two she would tell her husband

that she would like to go to her parent's house. Then he would tell her "If there are some works at home then you may go" or both of them would go to her parent's house. Thus some women do not like to do the works of the house. They leave the household works and run away to her parent's house. If her husband would not allow her to go then she would run away unnoticed by any member of the house. Some women do think of their mothers and fathers who gave them birth, their younger brothers and sisters and the parental house even though they may have run away from her house to husband's house and would like to see the house of her birth frequently. Such women would frequently go to their house of birth. But many women after marriage do not think of their parents. They may go there when she is invited on the occasion of some feast. Women of understanding consider the house of their husband's as the house of their mothers and fathers who gave them birth. and they would not go to their house of birth without any reason.

(para 3; p 208)

In some houses where there are no girls and they find it very difficult to manage the works of the house, they urge the young son to bring his wife at the earliest. If they are rich and can bear the expenses of an arranged marriage they would bring him a wife for him. They would not allow such a woman to go to her parent's house on days when there is no work there. If she leaves without finishing her works who would do her work instead. Nobody would consider her a good person. Without women any house is ruined. Even the cultivation in the fields suffers badly without women. Therefore, after getting married to a man however much they

may think of their parent's house they would not be able to visit the house of their parents. So they stop worrying about it. Women who are married into a house where there is plenty of work, they feel worn out and they would not be free from work even for a day. The women who are not used to work much could become lean and thin.

(para 4; p 208)

Any woman who happen to be married in a house where there is much work and anyone who thinks seriously of works, she would not get the joy of leisurely having a good bath or putting on oil in her body. The women who are engrossed in the house works would not even comb their hair and apply oil on it to make a nice hairdo. However, she is considered a good woman by all. Her own *hanar-honyars* (mother and father-in-law) also would be very pleased with such a woman. In the village setting the family with a rich holdings are very much pleased with women who work hard. They would not value mere beautiful features of a woman. If a woman is good looking as well as works very hard, she is considered a very good and a wise woman. Some married women as soon they get up in the morning they spend their morning time in dressing themselves up and then only at noon time they go out for work outdoors. Such women do not like to get dirty even a little bit, and everyday they would take a good bath and apply oil. But such women are not appraised good and the villagers also are not pleased with such women.

(para 5; p 208-209)

After her marriage a woman who used to go around she stops doing that. When they are grown up as young women they go to market places, whether they have something (*buluñ-sunum*) to buy or nothing, they go to market so that they could court young men or could be wooed by young men. After marriage women are not allowed to go to market without any reason or on they do not go by their choice. If there is work at home and in the fields, they cannot make themselves free from works so as to go to market places. But when they have gone for marketing or to any place they would neither simply talk to young men nor they entertain them if they try to talk with them. Unmarried young women are delighted to go to markets so that they can court young men. But even though the married woman goes to the market places or is sent by others she does not go there to talk to young men but she goes there only if she has to buy or sell something. Thereafter as soon as she finishes her any buying or selling things she would immediately return home. She would not even wear clothes like unmarried young women do. She simply wears an ordinary *sāree* and goes to market.

(para 6; p 209)

The married women do not like to talk to men. When people see a woman talking to a man they do not consider her a good woman. The people of her house would not approve of that saying, “Look, she is talking to young men even though she has a husband.” Quite a number of married women talk to men when men woo them. If a woman were in a love relationship with men before her marriage and she is still young the men would like to talk to her. Many women do not

put vermilion on their forehead, the men think that she is a unmarried young woman, they would try to talk to such women. The woman also does not speak out immediately, “O my younger brothers, I an already married to a man” so when men begin to talk to her, she reciprocates. Therefore, the people at home fear that even after marriage the women talk to men, so they do not send their women to market alone. There are some women who even after marriage if she developed a deep love relationship with another man, she would run away with him.

(para 7; p 209)

A married woman may go to market to buy or sell something, but she would not talk to young men. She would not remain with other young women till dark. If she has something to sell then after selling it, and if she has something to buy, after buying it, she would return home from market before sunset. She would not join the company of young women also. She will do marketing with the elder women of the village. The old women are very conscious of avoiding darkness, so they begin to buy everything immediately on reaching the market place and finish their shopping before sunset. Then, she would return home with them. If some young men try to woo her by talking to her, she would not respond to them nicely and she would not talk as young women usually do. Then those young men leave her alone. When she is gone with the old women to the market and young men begin to entice her in talking to them, the one of a village women would tell the young men plainly, “O young brothers, we have already made her our daughter-in-law.” Now a days the women put vermilion like non-tribal women

on their forehead. When the young men see vermilion on a woman they do not talk to her for she being married to a man. Therefore when the married women go to market, first, they put on vermilion on their forehead and then go out to market. Then on seeing her young men realize that that she is a married woman. If a woman goes to market with vermilion on her forehead, the young think “who will court a married woman”, so they do not talk to her.

(para 8; p 210)

When a married woman talks to men she is not considered a good woman. In case the house happen to see her talking to men they would chide her saying “So you are like this?” if she talks to men her husband would not feel good and he may scold her and all his people would label her as a bad woman. Therefore the married women do not go to markets or to places where the feasts are being held so that young men may court her for she still looks young. Even in the village feast day also she would not dance with young women at night. If she likes to dance she would dance during the day time. If she dances during the day the young men would neither court her nor clasp their hands with hers and dance. In this way after marriage young women stop going to markets, visiting places aimlessly and singing and dancing. Some women do talk to men even after getting married and remain in the market places till quite late after dark. If there is no one at home to scold her, then ha woman does as she likes to do. She will remain in the market till late after sunset. If her husband is employed in some faraway place then she would go with her young women companions. Some of them do not even listen to what their mother and father-in-law tell them.

They would easily deceive them. Such women, thus, spoil themselves. It is this kind of women who leave their husbands and run away with another man, or they are no more considered as their wives hence they are driven out of the house. The women would like to go for every market day, but after getting married to a man she would go to market only when there is a necessity. She would not go to market if she has no need to go to the market.

Owa:renkolo: Kowa-Kuikiñ (Subtitle, p. 211)

[Life of Husband and Wife with the Family Members]

Para 1; p 211)

The young woman who is made one's daughter-in-law (*kiminki:*) or *hiliki:* (i.e. made wife of an elder brother) with the consent of all members of the family, then they consider her a very good woman. Since she is brought home after making a thorough investigation therefore, they cannot say anything negative about her. They live happily and all of them feel happy with her. But if the young man by himself has brought her home by elopement and if for some reason or other, the family members do not like her, then the young man and his young wife would not be able to live happily with the other family members. Nevertheless, many women are very good. They work well. They do not quarrel with family members. But there are many others who do not live happily with the mother and father-in-law and the younger brothers and sisters of their husbands. They always have abusive exchange of words and engaged in scolding one another.

(para 2; p 211)

Many homes become bad (i.e. unhappy homes) when the wives are brought home in villages. In a house where there is only one boy, generally it does not happen like that. Even then some of the women do not serve even their aging mothers and fathers-in-law. Some daughters-in-law do not like to be told about anything. Even if there is only one son an inconsiderate (unmerciful) woman would disregard (not take care) her mother and father-in-law. She would not treat them well. Sometimes the old men and old women do say

something. Point out something regarding the way works are done. If their daughter-in-law considers such instances as bad, she would pout (express her resentment towards them). She relates with her husband very lovingly, and she would speak of faults of her mother and father-in-law to her husband . Some women are of wicked mind, such as, some are gluttonous, but they are lazy in doing any work. They want to live comfortably devoid of any hardship whatsoever. If she is the only woman at home, she has to do all works of the house. In that case if somehow the old woman did not help her in doing some work, she would be murmuring about that all the time. The old women cannot do any heavy work. They can do only those works which can be done while sitting down in one place. Therefore when she cannot help her by bringing water from the well and throw away cowdung from the cowshed. In such situation the daughter-in-law blurts out unkind words. Then she would express her resentment to her by saying, “You do not even do anything”, “You do not help me even a little bit”. “By doing all the works alone, I am wearing myself down”. Some old women on hearing such humiliating words keep quiet and bear everything silently. Even though the daughter-in-law speaks to her harshly and scolds her, she would remain quiet. She may say at the most that “If I were able to do any work, then I could think of helping her by doing one or the other work.” However, some strong old women and who have not become completely old, they would speak up to their daughters-in-law. If the daughter-in-law is not doing good work or she is treating her badly she would point that out to her and would report about it to her son that daughter-in-law is doing such-a-such thing. Then mother-in-

law and daughter-in-law would be always fighting and scolding each other.

(para 3; p 212)

In case a family has only one son his wife could live very happily. But many women remain always fighting and scolding their mothers and fathers-in-law. Some women are very *erel* (quarrelsome) and also *cheṭer* (complaining). Even she would not treat her mother and father-in-law well. She imagines “I wish if I were alone in this house then I would work as I will and eat as I desire.” In such a woman no good desires find home. Such women stealthily may take away the things of her husband to her parent’s house. She will hide her misdeeds with her sweet talks and then her husband even though he may be aware of her misdeeds he would believe and follow whatever his wife says. The husband also begins to treat his parents badly because of believing and following what his wife tells him about them. Because of paying heed to wife’s words he will also scold his own parents. Some women are very disgraceful (*chenṭa*). Some women disgrace their mother and father-in-law for no reason of their own. Then she would dubiously bring her husband to her side shrewdly by her sweet talk. She would not give them food and drink properly and would deprive them of all their needs (*ekakiṅa*). It is such women who provide food and drink lavishly to her own mother and father and anyone who comes from her parental house. She would meet all their needs. But she would deprive the mother and father of the house and at times even quarrel and scold them. The parents of the boy report to their son all about the bad treatment they receive from his wife but believing whatever false accusations his wife made against his

parents, he scolds them in return. He would not find any fault with his wife. Many aging parents even though they have only one son, they live separately from them because of the mistreatment they receive from their daughter-in-law.

(para 4; p 213)

The women from the good families and women of character with good qualities, even though there are many sons, no unkind arguments and acts of quarrelling and scolding each other take place. If a woman of good character is married into a family with only one son, she would treat her mother and father-in-law like her own parents and would never deprive them of any food or drink. She would not allow her mother-in-law to hold anything in her hand or do any work saying “O Mother, please do not do that. You would not be able to do that” and then she would immediately take away those things from her hands or do her work. If the daughter-in-law is a very kind and considerate woman she would not let them suffer from anything. They may do any light work on their own. Thus they are in comfort and happiness when such daughter-in-law comes into their house. Such woman would get up at cock crow and start hand pounding paddy with *tuku* (husking pole) to make rice. She completes to clean up the courtyard of the house before daybreak and fill up all water pots with water by the time sun rises. Then after cleaning up the cowshed she would go to work in the field. If her mother-in-law is not very old she would help her in cleaning the cowshed and the courtyard of the house. After returning from her work in the field on her arrival at home she would never say anything to her mother-in-law that she has not done this or that or you sit idle whole day. She would offer rice-beer or

dundu: da: (rice- water) to drink. She would talk lovingly to them and offer them anything whatsoever joyfully. She would not let them feel any discomfort or lack of anything. Such wise and woman of kind nature would maintain the house very well and all villagers would consider her a very good woman. But in some houses even though the women are good natured and work hard, they are not considered good. Some houses like to have a good looking woman. In case the boy has brought a woman in order to be his wife at home, if she is not so good looking and has some defect in her face or feature by nature or some reason, or she is from a poor family, even though she works very hard and she would serve everybody nicely, the members of the house do not treat her well. If the mother and father-in-law also despise her then she isn't considered good at all in that house. Her husband may not despise her at all but the members of the house make her life very difficult by their unkind words and rude behaviours and they will tell him to send her away. Everybody harasses her and thus subject her to all kinds of persecution all the time. If the mother and father-in-law are alone at home, they also inflict her with their taunts. If they think that she should go away but they do not find any way to send her away, then they would not allow her to touch the cooking pots and they would give her very little food. In case there is the wife of her husband's elder brother, she would make her life hell by mistreating her very harshly. How long can she bear all humiliations and persecutions of all kinds meted out to her, and if even her husband also does not treat her well, then she would leave the house on her own one day or another and return to her parents' house.

(para 5; p 214)

When there are many people live at the house and at that time if through marriage daughters-in-law have come then quarrel and scolding invariably begin to take place. The women who are brought into the house neither live in peace among themselves not with the men of the house. Some do not live in peace because of the women who are brought in do some improper deeds. In some cases it is the men of the house, that is, younger brother or father-in-law's improper behaviours spoil the peace of the house. At time quarrelling takes place between the husband's younger sister and his wife. They quarrel for some reason or other but for most of the time it is regarding works of the house. If they see that the sister-in-law (elder brother's wife) does not work properly, men or women do not feel pleased. They feel envious and resentment. "Look at her, she eats without working for it; she does not do any work; we work for her and she only eats without working" – and later they would say such words while quarrelling with her face to face. Some women do behave similarly in her husband's house. It is not to say that they do not work in the fields whatsoever, but they do not their work whole heartedly. When she feels overburdened with work and when there is much work at home, if she would go to market or to her parent's house, then they would scold her thoroughly. They scold her saying, "Having seen the work you leave it and go away" and then they scold each other using many different abusive words for each other. When there is much work in the fields, if she does come out of the house soon, they are not pleased with her. For any reason if they got out of the house early for work and the woman got

out of the house after them, then they would express their resentment about that also to her. If she were the only woman in the house or there was only one son in the house, then only she could ever imagine of no one telling her anything. Thus they become envious of her due to works of the house and later they begin to quarrel with each other. Due to the misdeeds of the woman younger brothers and sisters quarrel with their elder brother and thus they become angry with one another. “They are telling my wife like this” – then later her husband gets angry. In this way the wife and her husband become angry with the parents and younger brothers and sisters of the house. If the husband listens to whatever his wife says to him and decides to do accordingly, then inevitably they would quarrel with each other in the house

Para 6; p 215)

If there is only one son and only the parents are there, then the wife of the son would take up the responsibility of all the works of the house. If the house is rich in land then she will not only look after the works of the house, she will oversee the works of the fields too. If she has hired people to work in the field she will not leave all the work in their hands; she will have to supervise the work while she herself working side by side with them. The old man or old woman remains in the house to guard it. In case there is need for more people for the work the old man or old woman also do not sit idle. If the paddy crop in the fields which are very close to the village is getting mature and ripe that has to be guarded from the chickens; and it is the old man and the old woman who go their to guard the crop. Thus they leave the house completely. They would take *jati baba* (paddy spread out on a mat) to the

fields. They would carry food also and they would return home only in the evening. Now, whom will a daughter-in-law of such house envy and quarrel, she has to do the work anyhow. It will not work if she is lazy. Thus to say that the village women do not work or they are lazy is not at all true. Whole day whether it is summer or rainy season even though they remain bend down till evening in the field, they would not say that 'I got tired' and they will work till the work is finished. If she is a lone woman in the house she would hastily do her work so as to finish it. But there are some women even though she is alone and there many works to be done in the house, she tend to back herself out of the works at times. It is only those women who never worked in the fields since their childhood in their homes, behave in his manner. And if the husband believes whatever his wife says and thinks that I will never let my wife suffer any hardship, they will not be able to manage well their house and landed property. They cannot make them better and productive. Indeed there are some women like that.

Para 7; pp 215-216)

If here are many sons in the house and all of them have wives then they would frequently quarrel with each other; they will be envious and quarrel in whatever work they do. Whether it is the house-work or the field-work, if someone did more work then she would be envious of the one who did very little work. She may not say "Look, I alone do the work, others do not do any work" in front of them but behind their back she would speak out at the water-well, while going somewhere on the way and she would tell her husband. In his way among the women of the house and later the brothers

among themselves start quarrelling among themselves. The house-work, such as, husking paddy, if one did not join in husking it, they will taunt her by saying “See, how she does not do husking paddy”. If all do equal amount of work, then it is all right, but if one did little less work or anyone went away to some other place even though here was some work to be done, then they will talk a lot about her in her absence. Because of this a great deal of envy and quarrel at home happens. Menfolks become envious due to women’s misdeeds. Later relationship among brothers becomes sour and they remain at odds with one another due to works.

(Para 8; p 216)

At time such things happens where there are many sons and each got himself a wife. Even if no quarrel or envy takes place among their wives, some wicked thoughts emerge. He will consider his wife very good but he sees the wives of the others as bad. If he happen to see even a small mistake in a wife of another brother, he would speak out strongly of that and tell everyone that ‘she is like-this and like-that’. When he returns home from his work if the wife of the elder brother or any of the sisters-in-law did not give him food immediately upon entering the house, he would consider her as a bad woman and he would resent her very much. Thereafter he would never relate with her nicely. He would not like to take the food served by her or would not talk to her anymore. If one of the brother does that then the husband of that woman also begins to think of taking revenge by saying “He is saying like this about my wife and he hates my wife”. He, then, begins to say that ‘his wife is not good’ and even for little mistake he would speak of her that ‘she is like-this and like-

that'. In this way because of the wives mutual hatred and doing evil to one another is boron among the brothers. If they began to live according to what their wives say to them they would badly destroy their household. They would not able to live together any longer.

(para 9; p 216)

In some houses even though there is only one son, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law cannot relate amicably. In some cases some mothers-in-law are not good natured. If she does not like her daughter-in-law then she would isolate her for anything and harass her for everything. If she is not in good terms with her daughter-in-law, she would not talk to her nicely and when she did not do the work well she would scold her badly. They would not give food to one another, they take out food for themselves and eat their meals. They would not call each other while going for any work. If she does not like her daughter-in-law but his son is not willing to separate her from himself, she would harass her very much so that the woman would run away from the house on her own. But if the son likes her wife he would consider her mother good. Then he would get into confrontation with his mother saying "So you talk about my wife like-this, isn't it?". Then he and his wife would separate themselves from the house.

(para 10; p 218)

In some cases some daughters-in-law are of not good character. She will harass her aging mother-in-law very much. Everything of the household and cooking pots go into the hands of the daughter-in-law once she is brought in. if the daughter-in-law is a bit given to the habit of harassing others

then she would harass her mother and father-in-law. Early in the morning she would eat her meal and go out to work in the field and she would neither give food to her aging mother and father-in-law before leaving the house nor even she would tell them to take out food and eat by themselves when they feel hungry. Otherwise she would take out all food and curry and carry them with her to the fields and she will remain there throughout the day. But she would take everything whether it be food or rice beer to the field for her husband. Then both of them remain in the field for the whole day. This side her mother and father-in-law remain hungry throughout the day. If she has not cleaned the cowshed then the old woman would throw away cowdung slowly. But if she cannot cook food for themselves and if there is not food left in the cooking pot, then they would remain empty stomach the whole day. Had she been strong enough to prepare food, then she would have cooked and they would have eaten some food. In case there is some cooked rice in the pot but there is no curry. Then, poor people, they will eat their food with some salt only. Some women are such that they would not allow her mother-in-law even to touch the cooking pot once it is handed over to her. The house may have plenty to eat but if it is consumed imprudently it will get over soon, she will not allow her mother-in-law to touch the cooking pot. Even if she gives them food the amount is so small that it does not fill their stomachs. Then they will complain about it to their son. But he also listens to what his wife does or says then he would blame them saying that it is they who are at fault. In this way the daughters-in-law who harass their mother and father-in-law if there is tasty curry or meat dish is prepared then she would not like to share it with them. Both husband and wife

would eat up a lion's share but she may not give them anything of that curry or she may give them for the name sake to taste it. If they ask for or curry she would say to them "See, how you-two are very gluttonous. Even though you have become very old men and old women would you eat so much or become gluttonous." And she would speak to them as if she is very angry at them. As a result, poor people, they would not say anything in return. Silently they will keep bearing all kinds of harassment. Such gluttonous women would not be able to live together with their mother and father-in-law. If they dare to say something to her she shows her anger and scold them saying, "Look, how I am working for you-two and you-two are eating. You are eating while sitting around idle and you dare say to me this way." And thus she would scold them angrily. Their son also does not show any mercy to them and so they experience great persecution in the house.

[para 11; p 218]

In some instances there develops great mutual harassment between *hilia-irilia* (between the wife of elder brother and younger brother or younger sister). If the daughter-in-law is of good nature and the younger sister of her husband is intent on harming her sister-in-law wickedly, she would harass her. She would not like to allow her sister-in-law to touch the cooking pots. And if she gives her food then she would not give her enough amount to fill the stomach even. Even at times she may give her the stale food which is kept for two-three days. She may not give her rice beer also. If her husband is away from the house, she would greatly harass her. Even if he is at home and he does not consider all that harassment given to her wife, then that woman would badly

suffer harassment. Many such instances are observed in the villages. Some husbands are unable to say anything as much as women dare to say; they remain silent cowardly.

[para 12; p 218]

When the son brings a wife, at the initial days all live happily together, but after sometime one way or another – either regarding the works of the house or sharing food and drinks, quarrels begin to crop up in the house. If there is only one son, then nothing may crop up, but when there are many sons in the house for some reason or other ugly face of misunderstandings do surface in the house. Even when the only son has brought his wife home, daughter-in-law and mother-in-law misunderstand each other and hence they are at loggerheads all the time. They scold one another; they harass each other frequently. For any reason elder sister of her husband (*aji hanarte*) is still living and remained unmarried, then they-two would not get along with one another. If the daughter-in-law made a little mistake the elder sister of her husband would scold her very much even to the extent that she might leave her husband and go way by herself. If the daughter-in-law is a strong woman who can retort, then would get into scolding one another very violently; they would keep scolding each other one way or other always. If there are many sons in the house then between sister-in law and younger brother and sister of her husband (*hiliya-iriliya*) and the brought in wives among themselves as elder and younger sisters would keep quarrelling for one reason or other. By doing like that they would destroy their household; they would not live in concord (well). In this way in a house with many members by way of works of the house there crop up

great mutual envy and resentment in the house. Then by and by they keep displeasing one another and getting angry and later they would scold one another in matter of sharing food and drink also. If that is happening among the wives then among brothers also later similar scolding and enmity crops up.

Separation (Separation from one another)

[*Tapanga* – sub-title; p 219]

Howsoever many sons are there in any house, they do not live separately until they-all have brought wives for themselves. Until they remain (are) unmarried they live with their mother and father (parents). And even if on whatever matter they have hot exchange of words or scold one another, they do not keep that anger for many days. They keep it for a day or two, then they get reconciled again. They eat of the same rice cooking pot and they do not think of the idea of getting separated from one another. Even if there is only one son and he has brought a wife for himself, then little distress does emerge in the house. It does not take place like that in all houses. Some of the women on their being brought in the house they do all the works of the house-door (*residence, household*) and that of the earth-soil (landed property) very well. And they do not quarrel with the members of the house on anything whatsoever and they do not commit any misdeed also. On such women entering a house nothing bad would befall on it rather it becomes a better house than what it was before. But in the village in many a house when the only son brings his wife he separates himself from his mother and father, paternal aunt (sister of his father) or his younger sister and he would live separately with his wife. If there are many sons in the house and all them have brought their wives in the house, when a quarrelling took place on any matter whatsoever, they think of separation from one another. Very few in the village and if one or two sons only have brought their wives in the house, then they live as (fellow) brothers in the

house together and they live together happily. They do not scold one another and not even in the matter of works of the house.

(para 2; p 219-220)

Why do the brothers and sisters (*undi-boya*) in the villages are not able to live together in the family? If in a family there are two brothers and as long as each of them has not brought a wife for himself in a family, then there is no problem at all. It is not to say that no quarrel takes place when they are unmarried, quarrels do happen either matters relating to works or any other matter. They do scold one another but they do not displease and nurse enmity with one another the way they do when they bring home their wives. If for any reason quarrelling took place they correct each other by making one another understand and they pay heed to what the parents or elders speak out to them. They do not destroy their family and they do not bring about separation in it. In case someone one is scolded one day because of his mistake or if someone is scolded for not doing his work, then he would remain displeased only on that day. And to express his displeasure he may not take food that day or he may hide himself some place or other for the time being. Even then he would not get angry and be displeased with the members of the house or anyone who scolded him. In times of joys and sorrows the children of the same parents among themselves and brothers and sisters take care of one another and thus they do not abandon each other. The parents are never abandoned in any way at all. In this way when the sons are in the unmarried state separation does not take place among the people in villages. They do not divide their landed property and the house.

(para 3; p 220)

Even if between two brothers one brother has brought himself a wife in some way or other scolding takes place. If the parents or elder brother or younger do not like their daughter-in law or sister-in-law, in that case anyone of them would scold. For the greater part it is the fault

(mistake) of the women. Being still a new woman she will not say anything at all, therefore while she is fresh (new), they live happily in the house. But gradually it continues to become bad. One day or other scolding would take place certainly. For the greater part scolding of one another emerges in connection with work. If the brought-in woman does not do any work of the house nicely, then members of the house, one or other would begin to talk about it. If there are plenty of works and she goes to market or to her parents' house then they talk about it in the house saying "See, how she does not work. Even after having seen the work she is gone away." And they certainly say like that in front of her husband. Even if they do not say these things in front of him but the people of other houses would report these things to him. Consequently later they will express displeasure and anger to one another with the members of the house. In connection with food and drink also scolding of one another starts. If they make her to prepare food and during the time of cultivation works in the fields they leave her behind at home so that she might do the works of the house and that of its courtyard and she might give them but she had not completed and made ready everything told her to do, and if they had to do all the works of the house also after returning from the fields, then they would certainly scold her saying, "What were you doing in the house because of which you did not complete the works of the house meanwhile?" And they will say that while scolding her. Some women in the meanwhile would not have cleansed the house and courtyard or even would not have thrown away cowdung from the cowshed. In that case when those who worked in the field would certainly would not be happy, they would certainly scold her. If she has not prepared food and curry at noon or in the evening in the meanwhile, she would certainly get scolding. It is not to say that those who went to work in the field would not even help her in doing anything on their return, but if they had also to do the works of the one who stayed at home on their return from the field they would certainly be not happy at all and they would surely feel like scolding her. They

would not scold her if she did not do the work, but if that woman always does like that, then the members of the house would certainly not be happy.

(para 4; p 221)

Some women do not know how to divide in pinch by pinch giving each his share whatever thing it may be. The woman who is made to prepare food if she gives food or curry to some and to other she does not give, then those who did not get their share would certainly speak about it. In such works or in connection with food and curry if some point of displeasure is aired out and if the daughter-in-law or sister-in-law (*hili*) is doing in that way, she would certainly get scolding. But even then if her husband understands that and so if he clearly understands whether the mistake is made by his wife or somebody else, then no quarrelling will take place. In case his wife is making mistake and if he makes her understand by telling her that it is she who is making such mistake; if you do like this then the house would be spoiled, then all would be reconciled. But the husbands listen to what their wives tell them. Even if it is her fault, “No, I did not commit any mistake, it is so because they only said to me like this; and they made me alone to work so much”; saying like this she would incite her husband. The husband, then, having hid (ignored) the fault of his wife, he would strongly scold the members of the house saying that ‘may

be it is you-all only say to her this or that'. Believe it he surely has fixed his eyes on the side of her wife and his wife's words, even if it is true or false, on her side certainly he would ally himself' and the one of the house who speaks about his wife, with him he would get into scolding one another, he will scold with him. In that way later they cause displeasure and anger to one another, and mutual enmity. (when) mutual scolding and anger took place they will talk about of getting separated.

(para 5; p 221)

If the man (husband) for certain "they are saying to my wife in this way for no reason" therefore if he said (like that), then in (among) brothers and with the members of the house, they will certainly make (it) bad. When the womenfolk have nearly become old (somewhat have lived a good length of time) in the house of their husbands (they) even with their mother-in-law father-in-law or even with the younger (brothers or sisters of their husbands) (they) scold with (them) very much. With (from) many little mutual scoldings, many scoldings will happen. Because of the fault (mistake) of his wife (indeed) her husband makes himself angry with the members of the house. In that case among brothers scolding will certainly take place. This side his wife "we-two will separate

(ourselves)” for this reason, she will still more incite her (husband). Some women do not desire to live happily together in one.

(para 6; p. 222).

A house which has many sons grows in number if all of them have brought wives for themselves. This side (besides) mother-father and sisters and others of the house remain. In that case they do not feel good (happy) to remain together in one place; they feel very much oppressed. If they are in (is) a house of (with) many people food has to be cooked much precisely for many (of them) and like that vegetable and curry must be cooked and *bela* (round bowl) and plates like that others (things) also are many in number. If they have left behind only one in the house she will not remain idle throughout the whole day, she will not get little rest even. Therefore if she is a bit little slow woman, she will not be able to work that much. Therefore “so much, it is true, isn’t it, to remain and still keep remaining so many together in one, is like this one must tire oneself; one will not get (time) even a little bit to sit down and rest” all these if she began to think, then that one (she) will not desire to remain together in one. Then she will think of the desire of remaining separately. Thereafter she will make (incite) her husband to tell others’ fault. In that way afterwards

they will scold one another in the house and they feel mutually displeasing to one another and will harbour enmity.

Para 7; p 222)

“How we would start quarrel” for this reason the women who are brought (into the house) like that they do try to do anything. If she has still thought like that then in the work of the house or in field-work also, she will work the way she is told to do. If she is left behind at home then she would leave the works of the house half-done, otherwise she would serve (give) them (members of the house) food (rice) also only with salt alone. Then that one is surely told to her “You do not know; you do work like this.” Then afterwards “They say to me like this” saying-like-this she will pout and she would say this thing to her husband. For whatever reason if her husband remains quiet; if he does not scold the members of the house saying “like this you-all tell her (my wife)”, then that woman may run away to her mother-father’s house. In the house of her mother-father’s house still more “like this, like that” saying, she would tell them. Later her husband will certainly go there to call her back again. In that place her wife (herself) will say “you-all house-people are like this kind; I (myself) will not stay together in one” saying

thus many kinds of things, she will say to her husband. And if he is not saying “yes” to those things, if until he is not saying “yes” to her desire to stay separately, she will not go back. In this way, how she would not soften her husband, she would obstinately make him say “yes” to her desire to stay separately.

Para 8; p 222-223)

If the woman has determined in her mind nothing except to get separated, then she would pretend to be sick. Therefore she will not do works of the house, however, she will do some lighter work now and then. Whole day she will keep sleeping till evening and in this way she will make her husband also completely frustrated. Otherwise leaving the house of mother and father-in-law’s or her husband’s house, she will remain in her mother and father’s house (itself). Then in that case some of his younger brothers and their wives will surely speak of separating him and later they will certainly separate them-two. The one who like that pretends to be sick will do eat her meal; and on the market day she will also go to market. In like that case only they (members of the house) will be angry with (over) her. Some of the women leaving aside the work of the household she will do only their (husband and wife) particular works. Leaving (putting) aside the common work of the field, she will work on the

field taken in mortgage and she will think of working separately for wages for herself alone. If that is the case, then some other women will surely speak out and when their husbands (after) hearing all of those things, will not feel happy and then among them (among brothers) scolding will take place. Because of this only they will separate from one another.

Para 9; p 223)

Not only the women but the men also some of the brothers (elder brother-younger brothers, siblings) harbour mutual envy and resentment. (either) One younger brother or elder brother even for a day did not do work “Oh he does not do work; I alone tire myself out of doing work” saying thus he does not feel good. But these thoughts do not arise during the unmarried state of time, only after having a wife to oneself like this one thinks. Moreover, his wife also “You alone tire yourself out of doing work like this in summer, in rain; they still remain scot free from work; like this you waste yourself of excessive overwork” saying thus she would tell him another’s faults. Then from the mouth of his wife having heard these words then, he also “Say ‘yes’ to it, my wife is saying to me correctly” he saying this, it is said. And (then) to some of his younger brother, elder brothers he says and later they will begin to quarrel and scold one

another. In like that wives' backbiting and their telling of another's faults among the brothers people of the village quarrel a lot with each other and fighting also they fight among themselves. After that, why should they not separate.

Para 10; p 223-224)

In the village some of the men who have brought themselves wives because of their wives' *deran-meran kaji* (hearsay) and what others say of (someone), by telling of another's fault they (men) harbour anger against the members of the house. As a consequence even though there is no reason also later they will quarrel and they will be angry and resent one another. He (husband) because he does by what his wife has said to him, will start into mutual scolding with the mother or father of house and even with elder brother, younger brother or younger sister, even one listens and does by what his wife says to him, he will quarrel and will resent with them. Like that men even if they are told good things at home, they will not understand; the explanation of the members of the house (in order to make him to understand) and they will not consider (*meta:*) good (their) words (explanation; advice); they will do just the opposite of that (what is said to them). Having his eyes set on his wife he will absolutely not think of them; he will not speak well

(good) of them. On hearing as much as a little word (talk) about his wife he will scold the members of the house immediately, “you say to her like this” saying he will scold the one who said (that). Even if her wife has done a mistake, he will not tell her anything; “since you only (yourself) did not do the work properly (well), they are rightly saying to you”, he will not say like this also. If the woman said a little bit ‘like this like that’ speaking about the fault of another person of the house, (then) her husband will become absolutely very angry immediately and he will not even bear that and he will not even say to the people of the house saying “like this like that is not good.” In him anger too will be more even in anything whatsoever. In that way he will remain in mutual anger and enmity with the people of the house. In the house they look at each other with the corner of their eyes, i.e. look at each other with hostility. His wife also does not live happily with the people of the house and he would walk (do) as his tells him to do. Even the works of the house he would not do on his own. If his says to him “today you do not work” then even though there is work in the house, he would not do the work. Like that way because of the words of his wife in the household there is a lot of mutual anger and hostility.

(para 11; p 224)

The husband who listens to the words (what his wife says) of his he would say very bad even the good things which his parents tell him. Some of the wives have no concern (thought) regarding (about) the household; in her heart there is a lot of resentment (envy). Then that woman because of her heart's resentment and envy she will look at the people of the house with absolutely very bad (way). She will not even talk and work with them together. To the other people in the well or all along the way she will only speak of the faults of someone to others; only thing she will say is "they are like this, they are like that" and she will call herself very good (person). The common work of the household she will leave, but in doing her own or that of both husband and wife's work in anyway whatsoever she will be the first one (doing it) immediately. That wife will by all means (surely, certainly) draw her husband to take her side only; her husband has to listen to her (whatever she says to him) and she will surely cause (make) him to be mutual resentful and mutual enmity with the people of the household. Then they-two think of separating themselves (from the house).

(para 12; p 224-225)

Even if one of the husbands listens to her wife and he walks (does) according to what his wife says then in the

house they will be constantly keep scolding one other (*eperanakan-gopondeakangeko*). Even if the wife may not be scolding the mother and father and she may say (anything) in front of their eyes, she will tell everything to her husband and then later he will continue to bite the people of the house like a snake. If he scolds the people of the house who have not committed any mistake, then they will scold him so as to pay back his act of scolding to them and in return if he refuses to keep quiet then they will be keep scolding one another and a lot more variously engage in mutual scolding. The mother and father may keep quiet anyhow saying even though their son may scold them or beat them, they will keep quiet in their turn. But if they have many sons then not all (mothers and fathers) will bear the scolding. In this way the sons of quite a many houses on having their wives they do beat (fight) with one another. In that case how can they ever live together in one. Even if the father does not desire to separate the

sons, what can he do. They will have to separate their cooking pots.

(para13; p 225)

In the villages there are only one or two which are good like that. Even if in those houses the sons are many and they all have brought wives to themselves, they do not scold one another; they do not scold one another in matters of works and thus, they are not in scolding one another. But in the villages perhaps many do not go for education in schools or do not read, so they are unable to understand, they scold one another a lot and keep mutual enmity. Even among brothers they do not remain (live) well (happily). Perhaps because of this the people of the villages there are many cases of mutual enmity only among the brothers in the villages. In some of the houses after having brought the wives even if the wife is good (natured) and always of good thoughts alone, the husband becomes very ill-mannered; he will

make his wife also completely bad (tempered). Even the women of the good houses also like that way become bad completely; they begin to think evil (way). Even if the wife tries to make her husband understand, because he will not understand he will be constantly scolding his wife and “ what do you know “ saying thus he may slap her also; otherwise they both will remain among themselves always resentful. Even if the wife thinks of good, if the husband is accustomed to think evil thoughts, they will make the house bad (spoil). If the wife does not like the his (her husband’s) works and “how we will live peacefully in the house; we may not ever scold and fight among ourselves” like-this saying even if she may think, the husband will not allow her to fulfil these thoughts. Having though such good thoughts some women even if in the house they do not consider them good, they will work very hard and even they do not mind (think of) hunger and weariness. But the

husband will envy his young brother or elder brother's wives. "My wife alone is working very hard, they are very much in comfort" having thought like-this, he will say it in the house and he will start quarrel.

Para 14; p 226)

Since the beginning (of times) to separate and mutual separation is present among the Hos. As it is said before as long as (they) are still in the unmarried state of life they do not have any mutual resentment; even if now and then they have mutual scolding and scolding one another they do not keep mutual enmity. But after having brought for oneself a wife, the women related through marriage, after they enter into the house, among the sons between the brothers thought mutual enmity and resentment will come (enter); the one who has fixed his eyes on his wife (who listens to his wife) will not look after the needs of even his mother and father and when they become old men and old women

he will abandon them (both of them). Even the two sons do live together in one (house), certainly by all means they will remain separate. When separation is spoken of it does not only mean (imply) (that they) will separate only the cooking pots, but they will separate whatever thing is there in the house they will divide them in equal shares. They will divide the house also, and all the bowls and plates, pots and ladles and they will divide landed property also in equal shares Whatever is in house one alone will not take, the father will divide equally among his sons.

(para 15; p 226)

If the quarrel has taken place in the house, even if one of the sons does not feel happy in living together in one and even if the others do not say (about it), the father has to divided the landed property. Like that if they do not get along well together, one of them will say to the father. As long as the father is alive (they)

divide the landed property. If the sons are not getting well with one another and if he finds it very difficult to say that 'we will not divide' then he will have to divide it among the sons. Many people of the village do the works of the house itself. If there is much landed property, then in many houses they will not allow (sons) to study in the school. Therefore they remain (in) doing works of the field and cultivation. Therefore if one son seeks (desires) to separate himself (then) if they do not divide landed property, then how will he survive. He will get all his food and drink from the land, he will not survive other than that way. (If the father says) 'as long as I am alive, I will not divide the landed property' then that son will call the village kinsmen, make them to sit in the council. Then they are the ones who will decide whether to divide them or not. But at home if one of the sons is not considered good or if he is not getting rice and paddy to eat and if mutual

enmity is present in the house then they will have to divide (separate) the house (residence). (once) if they have separated the house, then each of them will even cook their own food also separately. But only the ones (if) who works for wages alone may survive by doing the works for wages. The means of survival is only the land and soil. Therefore after all the kinsmen sitting down in a council will divide among all the sons equal share of landed property (field and soil), house and the surrounding, the house and if there is paddy bales in the house that also they will divide equally among them.

(para 16; p 227)

In the villages the children of one mother and father (parents), very few sons separate (themselves) joyfully or all of them after having discussed (the matter) nicely. So many of them get separated after having (engaged in) mutual scolding one another and after mutual enmity. Some of the brothers are so much completely in

mutual enmity, they do not even talk to one another, and they even fight with one another. Therefore the people of the village if the brothers are in mutual enmity, they will very much become mutual enemies completely. If they got separated then they do not build even their houses in one place. In the villages (unlike towns) many number of houses or many rooms are not made. Therefore not everyone gets the share of the house. Because of this if there is only one house how they will divide the house.

(para 17; p 227)

When they are separating from one another village people equally divide the landed property and give to each of the sons. If the mother and father are still alive for their sustenance (so that they may eat from) a share of landed property also is apportioned to them, as much as they may live of that land, at least they may eat of the stored rice supply lasting throughout the year, they will certainly get the

amount of land which could produce at least two bundles of paddy. Thereafter if unmarried *hatom* (father's sister) or sisters are in the house, they are also given their share (of landed property). But they will keep eating of it while (as long as) they are still in the house. Then, so that 'you-all keep eating of it while (you are in the house)', they are shown (their share). Otherwise where will they go and how they will live on their own. Therefore, while the sons are given their share of landed property, those who are still unmarried and living in the house and together along with the mother and father all are given their share. They all sow the seeds in them and eat of it only when (as long as) they stay in the house. But if they-all ran away to men their brothers will divide again among themselves (those landed property). They will leave some landed property which they divide for unmarried sisters. Later when the mother and father were no more (died) and the sisters have gone away

to the men, they will divide it again. But anyone who has returned from her husband no share is given to them. Even if they separate her away they will not give her anything of the house and also she will not get any share of land. No matter if someone lives together with anyone of them and they allow her to live with them, since she will help them in the works, they will surely give her food to eat. If that is the case then she will not necessarily cook her food separately. But if they have separated her away completely from the house then they will not give even food to eat from the house. She will live on by keep doing works for wages (*nala kuwae*).

(para 18; p 228)

In some of the houses when like that landed property is being divided and the sons are getting separated the mother and father live even on the side of (with) any one of the sons and also if they desire *hatom* (father's sister) or sisters live like that on the side of (with) any one

of them (brothers). Among the sons one of them has not brought in his wife and with the mother and father or with the sisters if there is no mutual displeasure or any mutual scolding with him, then all women live on his side (with) him. In that case they will live together in one (house) and they will cook in one cooking pot. But the mother and father and the unmarried sisters also given the share of the landed property; and with whomever son they live together with he is the one who will plough their (share of) fields and being one together they work and eat of it. In that the mother and father live with the son who is good them and so also the sisters like that live. Otherwise if no any one of the sons (none of the sons) do not treat them good (well) then they-two do not live with any one of them, they-two alone live separately, and they-two will live together one with the daughters. In some of the houses it will (does) happen like that. Then to help them plough they

may keep for themselves a servant and it is they who plough the fields for them. If all of the sons do not treat them good, the mother and father feel as if they did not give birth to their children; they feel they did not have any children; therefore they begin to become old men and old women those two will surely get suffering. Even if in whatever suffering the mother and father are (in) some of the sons do not think (of them) absolutely; they do not do any good to their mother and father. If some of the sons do not treat them good (well), then if there is at least one of the merciful (compassionate; thoughtful) sons present they-two will live with him till they-two are not yet dead. Sometimes in the village when the landed property is being divided, the mother and father on their own desire also or because of their sons (do) not treat(ing) them well also, if they say “we will live separately, the ploughing is done by the sons only; even if not all sons do that one or the

other will plough (the fields) for them and they will look after them during the time of suffering and joy. If the sons do not treat them well then the kinsmen will surely look after them. In such houses, if the sons have become like that, the ones who are becoming old men and old women only suffer greatly. Some of the sons when they become young and after having brought a wife for themselves, once they separate like that, even when sickness and suffering also, they do not go close to their mother and father. Due to the harassment of the wives and telling faults of (their mother and father) the sons even with their mother and father also remain still in mutual resentment. Those are not considered good by the kinsmen of the village; they are considered bad in the whole village as well as among the relatives also. In the villages the mothers and fathers who are becoming old men and old women, like that the children having separated them (from themselves), there are

present (in the villages) working and living by themselves. As long as they are able to walk about here and there and even little bit also if they are able to carry, able to carry on the head, they make their living doing whatever works for wages.

(para19; p 229)

The old men and old women of a house in which there is regularly enough to eat (rich house), like that, you may say, may not be possibly separated absolutely, but in the villages (the people of) hungry and cold (poor) houses and the houses in which land and soil (land) are not being cultivated well and in the houses in which with no land and soil (land), the sons of such houses if separated from one another, (then) and they will surely abandon their (mother) and father and the younger sisters. Then having brought oneself a wife a son or a brother will not think of them; he will think of the ways of living for himself only with his

wife. If there is no land and soil (land) in the house then he will make himself a servant and the doing the work like a servant in anybody's house otherwise by working for wages also he will make his living for himself. Thus after having a wife the young men look after their wife only, if he were alone in that case only he may possibly the thought of (about) his mother and father will come in his mind. If the mother and father are even little bit also strong enough, he son does not think of anything only about them. The mother and father when the sons are separated and if they have separated (divided) everything they themselves will find whatever they eat for themselves. If they are able to work the man will even work as a servant in anyone's house in the village; they will herd cattle (ox, cows and goats) together both of them. If the man helps the people to plough and if he is a servant in someone's house the woman also in that same house or in the village in someone's

house she will earn by throwing away cowdung and during the time of uprooting and transplanting she will get many works to earn surely by working for others. In like that manner they-two in whatever way even will get food to eat and even clothes (clothes and loin clothes) for themselves also they-two will get by themselves. Those who are living close to the hill even if when they are becoming old men and old women on having gone up to the hill will find firewood and leaves and then by selling them off they live by (support) themselves. The old men and old women of the poor household as long as they are able, they do work; they leave (stop) doing work only when they are not able to get out of their house.

Para 20, p 229-230)

In the village until they are separated all children live in one house itself. People of the village build only one house and they do not divide it into (two) rooms. They will build only

one very big house and there is no room that is, small room (*okowa*). Because of this if they have to divide the house, they are not able to divide; only if they had two or many houses, they will divide (one) to (for) every person individually. Therefore people of the village when they are dividing the house which the father has made and if it is only one, it is given to the youngest of the sons. That one even the people of village brotherhood and elder sons also will surely say yes (agree). Even if the youngest one has become (is) grown up “this one cannot make for himself, you all are older (to/than him), you make houses for yourselves” this way father himself will say. Otherwise if the mother and father are still present (living) and if all the sons have brought themselves wives “we-two (who are) become an old man and old woman will live in this house; you all have become strong and remaining strong, make for yourself different houses” saying this he

(father) will not give them the old house. How will he make a division of the house and divide it among them. Therefore after breaking that house, even the roof beams and rafters, is not divided, but it is meant for the old man (father) and old woman (mother) to live in, or it is given to the youngest of the sons and the mother and father and the sisters, (they all) live together in one with that son. Even if they do not divide the house, he will surely divide equally all the household surrounding and his land among them. The one to whom he has given the house and surrounding land he will give him that much little of his land. In that way the people of the village house and the surrounding land and other lands, whatsoever everything is there, finish dividing them into small pieces completely.

(para 2, 1p. 230)

If when the children of one mother and father got separated from one another, they live

according to their desire. They find for themselves separately cattle for ploughing and yoke and chicken and goats each for himself. If there are many cows and bullocks he will surely give to all of them a pair of bullocks for ploughing. But if there are not that many cattle, he will give them at least one each. Later during the time of work (of ploughing) they find each one for himself from whomsoever. Some of them find them, and some of them may not find for themselves. If there is not much land, each one gets only little portion. Therefore as they lived in one, they no longer live like that; they will also become poor. Moreover if they did not work well, they would not get much to eat even. To say that once separated from one another in any way at all they will spend; one's stored paddy will be squandered. Because of this after becoming separated children of one same mother and father some become poor and some have enough to eat regularly.

After Separation (pp 230)

(Para 1, pp 230-231)

Separation is not that good, it makes one more poor. But in the house among the brothers they separate from one another because of (they) not agreeing with one another. If they live together in one scolding and abusing in words (*eperañ-goponde*), envy and resentment (*erel-eperl*), envy and harassment (*hisiñgachenta*) continue to be (in the house). But if they live separately scolding and abusing in words will not take place; everybody lives according to his desire. If they separated cooking pot, and landed property there is no way (left) over which they would have to quarrel about, even by way of working also there will not be any mutual resentment among them. After separation it is like saying whether he works or whether he does not work, whether he eats or whether he does not eat. The one who has seen well the way of living, will live (have) eating enough regularly, and lazy man and woman like that will not live (have enough to) eating enough regularly. Brothers of (one parents) when they get separated will have to build for themselves house immediately. If there are many children some of the fathers during the time before their separation itself even if (meanwhile) they build for themselves (houses), or the father saying “my children are many; on any

some day when they have brought for themselves wife and have children how will they live” he will no matter even if small, he will build the house, he may build and keep for everyone also. But that also if he were able to do is the matter. If he were not able to build, he will not build for them. But he will think of building before their separation and then he will tell clearly about this to his children also. He children also say “let him, it is he who indeed has to build (houses) for us”, they will not say “let him not build for us”; they jointly build after all being (coming) one together. Till all of them have brought themselves wives they do not quarrel that much. If only the elder one alone has brought himself a wife and if the younger ones are still not yet married, in that case they do not become (remain) that much bad. That is the time if they (want to) build for themselves houses, they build. Otherwise if they did not build for themselves when they become separated, to build immediately will be very difficult, where will they live. Therefore the one who has brought himself wife before while they are together in one he builds the house for himself to live in at the expense of the house and even if they are not separated he lives in that house. But during that period they work and eat together. If the house and surrounding is in one place, they build the house close to it, but they do not build a room in the one same house, they build it separately. If they have divided the same house in two rooms, they do not feel that they

have separated; if while coming out and entering into the house they see each other, they do not feel good. Therefore if the house and surrounding is in other far side then people after getting separated they build houses little far from each other; in one place brothers would not live amicably; one day or other in one way or other quarrel will begin, they say.

(Para 2, pp 231-232)

After getting married (having oneself a wife) brothers will be able to live happily only when they live separately from one another. Because of this the people in the village do not live in one (house) itself. However only some brothers live together in one (house). If among brothers everyone understand well, (everyone) sees clearly what is good and what is bad, then they live very well. Because of the words (talk) of the wives many a brothers become enemies to one another. Not all of the wives have (think) good thoughts. Among women a great deal (amount) of envy and resentment is present (found). (it is) only after bringing oneself a wife like that matter emerges (comes out). Otherwise among brother until they have brought for themselves wives they do not quarrel like complete (absolute) enemies and envy also do not envy (the other). After (each) having a wife because of the desire of wives quarrels start. Therefore until (she) is taught (learned) to think well (she) will find difficult to live together in one.

Only after getting separated she feels good (as if) the stepped upon thorn is pulled out. Therefore when the brothers are separated they live well; it is good that they get separated. Because the land is completely finished by dividing they will not be able to live well merely on the land but in whatever way they live, even if they remain hungry there will not be scolding and abusing each other and beating each other will not take place among brothers. If they have built their house in one place (close to each other) even then once a while whatever way quarrels do take place, once a while scolding one another do take place, but it is not like that if they were living in one (house). On becoming separated if they quarrel, (it is) the women who among themselves quarrel. The men quarrel if they quarrel on any land matters alone. If they have made divisions among themselves then the quarrel does not take place.

(para 3, pp 232-233)

Some brothers separate from one another with the desire (consent) of all of them. Even if they have never quarrelled among themselves when they feel they might quarrel, then they separate. But after getting separated they converse with one another nicely; they do not live as if they have mutual resentments. Among brothers they live nicely and their wives also do not scold and abuse each other. They look after each other during sicknesses; during feasts they dine together in one

place; even if they do their works separately (individually) once a while when need arises they help each other. Whatever work if one brother is not able to finish for himself, then they help him. Like that in any work they help each other. If in the house some salt or cooking oil ran short or anything they need is not there, then they ask from one another and if one has that then they will surely give it to each other. Even if they have separated the cooking pots, land and even if they work individually, they do not become enemies and they converse, help and work with each other as if they live in one house. Since the mother and father and the younger sisters live with in any of the brothers, even then they help them live by all (of the brothers). See! that is the way among people of the village separation and partition with one another is found (present).

(Married Man or Woman who have not yet have a child) [p 233]
(para 1, p 233)

Even after getting married to a man till they have a child for themselves many women associate themselves with young women and the young women of the village also “hili-hili” saying make them their companions (associates) very much (most often). If she has not yet given birth to a child whatever may be the work she will keep working in the field for the whole day. She will go from one market place to another and she also will sell whatever thing is to be sold of the house. “It is now only when I have not yet given birth to a child, I will go from market to market; some day when I would have a child I would not even go to a market place” saying thus she will associate with the young women and she will go to the market on every market day. The married women also when they are young feel very happy (enjoy) going to market places. All the time engaged in the works of the field or that of the house at least for one day desire to get rest from work want (love) to go to the market place. Then there will be even something to be bought in the market (from) the market and at least someone from the house has to go to the market. Then only those who are still young (woman) and those who are able to walk only go to the market. Therefore because there is the work of buying and

selling and because of a desire also the married woman also will associate with the young women and go (to the market).

(para 2, pp 233-234)

Even after being married to a man till they have given birth to a child they keep remaining young; they do not become old so soon. Therefore even after being married to a man also women consider (understand) themselves like young women and they wear their clothes or sarees like young women do. If they are married to a man and moreover if he is doing some service etc. he will buy for her very good sarees. Then when she goes out for market or to the town she will go out after having herself better dressed and adorned (more) than the young women do. Moreover, so that “I may be called (considered) a young woman” she does her putting on of clothes or hairdo as she used to do during her younger days, even better than that and goes out better well dressed. Then the young women also immediately accept her as companions and they invite each other by saying “enañ-dolañ” (“come let both of us go). Because she has gone with the young women even the young men also “this is a young (unmarried) woman” saying converse with her to court her (in amusement; to make her their wife). Moreover, the Ho women even though they are married to a man they do not apply vermilion; however, these days some of them

apply vermilion (on their forehead) now and then (sometimes). Then she also by herself would not tell them “I am married to a man.” Some women feel very happy that “young men are conversing to me (interested in me), but they do not think saying “now since I am married to a man, it is not good if the young men converse to me like this. My husband or anybody would not consider me good. Look, even after being married to a man she talks to young men like this.” Such women even if having married to a man they go from market to market.

(para 3, p 3)

Even if (they) having married to a man until they have given birth to a child they go to places for visiting relatives and feasts of the villages very much. They keep going to their own parent’s house also without any specific purpose. Some of the women do business very much saying “so that we may make whatever some amount of money also.” They having bought buy as paddy, sell it back as rice. Then (thus, this way) the woman married to a man having gone with the young women to the market will buy and having made it into rice she will sell it in return and earn (get profit) some money. Like that many women after having bought they sell it in return. In this way those who are married to a man until they have given birth to a child, you will think (consider them) that they are young unmarried

women. Even in the feasts of the village, the young women of the village itself, the ones who call her their elder brother's wife (hiliya) invite her saying "Come hili, let us dance" and some of them just like the young women dance even for the whole night; but some of them just to feel some joy dance now and then in the morning because (otherwise) the people of their houses would scold them. Some of the women who are married go the place of feast from their parent's house. If in her parent's or maternal uncle's village the feast is being held then more the women who are married to a man will surely go to the place where the feast is being held. If her own children are not there or not yet born, then she will get a good opportunity to roam around. The women of the husbands who are in services in other places go around like the young women. Many women who are eloped with the men even if they are fresh (newly brought in and made one's wife) and they have not yet given birth to a child, they associate with unmarried young women; (they) do not go with the old women from market to market.

(para 4, pp 234-235)

Some women remain without giving birth to a child for (until) a year. If in the house there is only one son the mother and father in the house begin to think very much that "how these two are not able to have a child for themselves." Then "why (children) are not being

born” saying then they even allow making sacrifice also now and then. The men and women of village if like that no children are being born, they will allow themselves to be seen by the diviner of the village and the herbal medicine men. Then they will allow themselves to be treated with the medicine in the village itself. In that way later if it become all right then children are born. Like that if children are not being born if medicine is to be given then it is the woman who is allowed to take medicine; (if) children are not being born, then the “ḍinḍa churdu bonga” (i.e. “a spirit who causes barrenness in young married women and to whom sacrifices are made when children are not being born to a married couple” (Deeney, 2005), *Ho-English Dictionary*, p. 94) is suspected in most of the times, so they make sacrifices to him now and then.

(Para 5, p 235)

Later through whatever way the woman has conceived in her body (i.e. womb) and when the child is born he people of the house become very glad. Whether the house (people) have enough (are rich) or not have (are poor) in all houses when the child is born they become very glad. But after the birth of one child the thoughts, works life of the husband and wife (man and woman) are completely changed (become different). Till they have no child for themselves the man (husband) or woman (wife) do not feel any suffering

and pain in the house or any difficulty at all, (in) that time consider themselves just like other young men and young women. But after the birth of one child they completely loose (forget) the thoughts of unmarried state and they will understand what does it feel like in having suffering and joy and they will recognize well (lit. see and understand well) the way to life.

(A Man (Husband) and a Woman (Wife) who have had a Child)

(para 1, pp 235-236)

After the birth of a child the husband also utterly (absolutely) forget roaming around his side or that side (here and here). To go from market to market with the unmarried young men and to remain overnight in some place he will feel (find) difficult. Even if he would go to anywhere having left behind his children and wife, he will not stay (there) for many days. The villagers (of course) after having a wife they remain separate from another; in that case who will look after (his children and wife). Therefore they only when there is work they will go to other place and after finishing (finish doing) the work he return (back) to his house itself. The man (husband) before when he was unmarried "let me be very friendly with young women (in order to bring for myself a wife) for myself" saying he will buy good pants and shirts, but now when he is having a child already, he will remain just like anything. He does not feel the need of wearing that good pants and shirts. The villagers after having a wife and a child when they go during the feasts of the village or for visiting the relatives in feasts thought of dancing and singing and desire for joy do not come, but at that time they think of eating and drinking more. They go in anyway wearing clothes and shirts (dressed) at all; that also he does not go alone, but together only with his wife and children he will go. If he goes also, (he does not go) empty handed; but he goes after taking along with him rice beer. When he goes to his mother and father-in-law also together with his children and wife he will go and rice beer and a bundle of rice he will surely take along (with him). The husband of the poor house like that after having children always will have to do work to earn his (daily) wages. When (while) the child is very tender the wife does not go to find food, so it is the husband always at every morning provision for food to eat, leaves and wood (leaf and fuel) to find and come will have to go. If he is separated from his mother and father, then more even a little bit he will not get any rest.

(para 2, p 236)

Some of the young men till they have brought for themselves a wife say "I will not someday (even) when I will have brought my wife, like some others, I will not remain under the subjection of my wife; I will go with my desire (as I like) to feasts to roam around and I will not surely leave drums (beating the drums), to the place of dancing and singing; by roaming around with the young men until any day whatever is (natural) of the young men (age), I will complete (fulfil) them" like this (thus) they say. But those who used to say like that during their unmarried time only, do not separate (free) themselves from the subjection of their wives. Aimless going around even if they do not go around, it is good (right), but they do not even help others in the works also; if his wife tells him "do not do", then even what his mother and father bid him do also he will refuse (do not do); he will not leave his wife even for a little bit (moment) also. Even if (when) he goes to the hills (jungle) and even when he goes to the market he will be with his wife keep remaining leading and accompanying one another (all the time). Later (afterwards) in the village all those whoever

sees calls him “See, you-all this fellow, how before he had said, now how he keeps ever remaining close to his wife only.” Later they do tell him back (on his face) also, but uselessly keep smiling and burying (covering/hiding) himself (his defect) with the words (tries to cover up his mistake (defect) by his words) by saying “who says (is) that, who behaves (something) like that way (*enkabāna*). Like that men quite a many will be seen (found) in the village. Such men are also ridiculed very much by the people.

(para 3, pp. 236-237)

Even the woman (wife) also after having given birth to a child she will not hold back her hair of the head nicely. Before till then she gave birth herself a child, whether it is morning or evening she kept (used to) applying oil and combed it; even when she went out to go to the fields also, she will see herself a while then she will go out of the house. But how as (*chilika*) the child is born, what (to say), will she will comb her hair! She will not even put up (tidy up) her fallen hair again in a hair knot; she will be excitedly busy (oneself) with one work after another, she will not take care of (look after) her body nicely. Even her clothes (which she is wearing) in the house they remain simply dirty. This side (will) she clean her child’s excrement or urine; this side (will) she clean herself. It will not be possible for her to go to the pond even. When she has held her child in her lap the child will defecates and urinates etc. in the clothes. Therefore she remains in any way at all, wearing (clothing) herself with torn clothes. Isn’t that therefore in the songs it is sung

When you were (still) unmarried,
O Maiden!

When you were (still) young woman,
O Maiden!

Waist-full silk sāree, reaching upto the leg;
In your hand, in your lap, your infant;
sāree that reached upto your legs,
You (have) made it into a rag.

The ones who sing like that song sing to the women who have infants. While during the time of their being unmarried and being a young women they wear various kinds of clothes, even a little bit they allow themselves to be dirty (dusty), but when a child is born to them,, then they will completely forget about those clothes. When will she wear (those) clothes, it is not possible for her to go to other places from the house. Some women tear into rag even of her sāree for her child (infant) to spread it for her child or to wrap around the child with it. If in the house there is no torn clothes or small pieces of rags (clothes), what will she do, and how much torn pieces of cloth is there (found). The child will repeatedly defecate and urinate. For this reason (*ente*) she will have to spread even her sāree cloth (for the child) if she says that she will not spread it fully (completely) for him, then if she will even in the middle tear it into pieces.

(para4, p 237-238)

During the time of unmarried young womanhood who had been going from market to market now even going to place any place she will find it difficult. In the house she will be close (with) the child only; she will remain keeping the child in her lap all the time; she will

keep remain carrying her in her hip. When the child is very small having laid it down anywhere she works the works of the house. But when the children are hungry, they will surely cry. In that case the mother having left the work once she will hold the child. In this way whole day she spends time keep holding on the child only. In the village to (for) amuse (amusing, entertaining) children there is no one (body). Much more if they-two only are there, if they are separated from the mother and father, they-two only will have to do everything (*jā Sabena:*). Because of this (for) the woman who has given birth to a child it will not be possible to do works only; since she is (always) close (with) the child she does not work. She will surely not do works of the field. The new born babies are much more not allowed to be taken out to the fields. Therefore during the time of uprooting and transplanting like that if whoever are only one or two they will be very much in difficulty. If the child is born during the season (time) of work, for these-two for work will be excitedly busy doing one work after another one completely. During the time the harvest of paddy if the child is born, who will harvest paddy for them-two. Until the ritual of purification (*niyar-era: - that which I held three days after the birth of a baby after which other people may enter the room where the new mother lives and touch the baby, but the mother and whoever shares the social impurity with her may not yet enter the family adin nor the touch the family mandi chatu, Deeney (2005), Dictionary, 267*) is performed the husband also cannot go to the fields. Because of this it is not possible even to find some to eat also.

(para 5, p 238)

Until (as long as) the child does begin to walk wherever the mother goes she will surely take along the child. As long as she has not weaned (*katab*) the child and the child is not able to eat rice she will have to take her along with her to the jungle also. Since the 'old' man (husband) and 'old' woman (wife) both go to the jungle with whom then they will leave behind (and go). Only if someone is here to amuse the child at home, one would say, "you, meanwhile, look after him (child)". Therefore they will take the child to the jungle also and it is the mother who will be keep carrying the child in her back. Both of them without carrying, (having) anything do not come down (the jungle), even firewood or leaves they will have carried on the shoulder, carried on the head, they come down. Those who sustain themselves with such things they do not have to go only one day, always they will go like that. The child also as if being carried around village to village to be sold, they will take it around everywhere. It remains being carried on the back of the mother; the child also will feel possibly completely tired even his stomach and back. The child will sleep on the back of its mother, occasionally they will bring it down on the earth. The poor mother and fathers even their sick children take them around (to) the jungle or market also. Many a villagers sustain themselves by doing daily earning their wages. In that case they will have to take around anywhere their child. In that way they will habituate the child to bear heat and cold since its infancy.

(para 6, p 238-239)

Even if one child is born, thereafter the woman (wife) will stop to go to market to market with the young women. To do like that it will be difficult to leave the child and simply (only) also since she has to be in keeping (looking after) the child itself (only) whole day and night, it is not possible for her to go from market to market. It will be difficult for

her to go market for no reason or just for a small thing or even to buy oil and salt also, she will find it difficult to go. Even to sell something of the house she will say “no” (decline) to take it (to the market); also the child, who will carry it in her hip and having carried the child in the hip it is difficult to carry the heavy thing also. And also she will not feel the joy of going from market to market. Therefore after having the children the women forget everything of (associated with) the young (unmarried) womanhood. If whoever be (someone), whatever thing may be, go and come back buying for me, she will say and so for oil and salt she will give and send with the villagers money or paddy. Some women if in the house if there is nobody and anyone who could carry the child in her hip also is not there and she is in great urgency, even having carried her child (like that) in her hip even she will have to go to market. She would have on her head carried whatever she had to sell and she would have kept carried her child on her back. Like that they are able to carry on their head amounting to a basketful of things and surely she will be able to reach market. Even in the market she will keep her child on her lap and sell the things she will have to sell. Like that from market to market she would have carried her child on her back. If she goes to the market she will not dress as she used to do as an unmarried or young woman, but she goes having dressed in whatever way and whatever kind of saree. Then in the market the young men who were in love with her even if they see her, they will simply see her, they will not converse with her and she also will simply only see them. Even in the feasts of her village or the feasts which are held in the open field by non-Hos close to the village if she goes then she will go having dressed anyway and she will not go there with any desire of dancing with the young men clasping them. Many a women those who have a child surely will not go to such places; they do not feel any joy and they will not even be able to go. Even if they go, then it is only to see, even that if that is held in a faraway place, they do not go.

(para 7, pp 239-240)

After having given birth to children even one child, many women will change their manners of mutual conversations and works. Many women while they are still young women and even while they have been married to a man, till they have not given birth for themselves a child, they behave (stay) nicely in the house of their mother and father-in-law’s house; they do not have any big quarrel with anyone; they will not speak with anyone scolding him/her and they feel shy of scolding anyone of the village in which they are married into or anyone of their mother and father-in-law’s house. In the house even if in connection to a mistake or if for no reason whatever anyone said something to them, they immediately start weeping with tearing rolling down their cheeks, but they do not scold back in retaliation even for a word, they will bear all scolding and harsh words. But when they have given birth to a child after that will be completely changed. Even with the people of the house she will retort back in revenge and also she will also scold them. She will even engage in scolding and quarrelling with her mother and father-in-law. Even though the matter is very small she will scold in a rasping sound. If once she gets into scolding (someone) she scolds very badly. Because of this it is only after bearing a child many husbands and wives they separate themselves from their mother and fathers. In many homes among the women in connection with the children like that quarrel starts. If she has a baby she has to stay in the house itself, it will not be possible for her to go for the works of

the field. All the more if she has no one to amuse the child how will she be able to work. Even if she happen to take the baby to the field, the baby will not remain sleeping, the baby may possibly fall from the cot also. Even if she will not carry her in her hip one even a small one must remain to look after the child. So if the child is crawling around here and there on his hands and knees she will surely not take the child to the field; she will take her child until it is not crawling around. At that time she will breastfeed the child so that the stomach is full and put it to sleep on the cot and the child will keep remain lying down quietly. Even if the child is not fallen asleep since it is not able to raise itself up it remains lying down. In that case the mother feels good in working by herself in the field. But if the child is able to crawl around it keeps silent while it has fallen asleep a bit, but after getting up from the sleep it would like to go down off the cot. In that case it will fall. So in the house if there are other women who can work then they will allow her to stay at home itself.

(para 8, pp 240-241)

Since the child also does not stay in the field and also it will not allow its mother to work the woman who is breastfeeding the child is left behind in the house itself. But since she is left behind in the house is not a matter of that she remains idle. The ones who work in the fields outdoor early in the morning without having finished any work of the house, they go out. In that case it is she who will have to do the works of the house. But again, it is not a matter of fact that the works of the house could be done immediately in one moment; the works remain through the whole day. If the cowdung of the cowshed is not cleaned and thrown away, then she cleans it in the first place. Thereafter if the water is not brought water also for her then she will bring it carrying it on her head for herself. She will put paddy and other things being boiled for husking back on fire after pouring off water and she will also cook rice and curry and other things. She will keep doing her work but the child also will not keep quiet that much. If there is no one to amuse and play with the child or to carry it on her hip she will not be able to finish completely by herself all those works. If the child is crying for her then how is it possible for her to do any work. After having breastfed the child when the child is little bit quiet she will immediately do some work but even if (when) the children are breastfed up to stomachfull they cry very much because they desire to be kept carried up on the hip. So then having held the child, and having carried it on her back she does some works now and then, in that case how much will she be able to work. Therefore her work will keep remaining throughout the whole day. Once a while because the child does not remain quietly if she has not removed cowdung from the cowshed in the meanwhile or if she has not brought water home by carrying on her head in the meanwhile and or if she has not washed bowls and plates in the meanwhile, and when it becomes noon and those who work in the field having come to the house to eat food if nothing is prepared, they feel angry towards her saying, 'she does not work, how even by the noon her cowdung is not removed from the cowshed, even water is not brought carrying on her head or even the bowls and plates do not get washed completely' , they murmur against her and they even scold her. Then the poor (unfortunate) woman what will she say to them; even if she says, "since the child does not remain quietly, I have not been able to finish the work completely" they will not believe her, they will simply say to her and they will scold her. In that way later in the house they will begin a quarrel. They will say of her 'she does not work,

she is lazy, and she remains in the house idly'. Then the poor woman who does not even open speak a word since she does not feel good at all, she will surely tell her husband (about it). If she is a quarrelsome women then she will quarrel with the people of the house and in that way they spoil (the house) and they will not be able to live together in one.

(para 9, p. 241)

Women in the village like that after giving birth to a child some of them are changed completely. Their Speaking (words of the mouth) and conversation will surely change. Before during the stage of a young woman even if there were displeasure and anger it will not be seen (in her), they remain displeased quietly they will bear it anyway also. They do not scold and scold back with anyone. They do not do it thinking (saying to herself) people will say to them that they being still young women this much they scold. But now as they have given birth to a child they do not remain quiet when they have to quarrel and scold or scold back. Young women will not be able to scold or to quarrel back with the women who have given birth to children. Even if whatever they scold, believe it, until their mouth is tired and until they feel sastisfied they speak out completely. The menkind to say if they scold (then) they will not justly be able to scold and scold back with the womenkind. During scolding one another they do not feel back ashamed even a little bit, their anger indeed become too much. When they are still young women some women they even if they scold and quarrel with each other they do not touch each other, they do not hit (beat) each other. But when they have given birth to their own children the *hopoinoko hopoina* and when the women fight among themselves they pluck out the hair of each other's head. They even quarrel with the men and even with a man if they fight then they fight back with him. Some women because they are strong (enough) she will even throw her husband down; in this way her husband also is not able to fight with his wife. But some women when they were not yet married did not know how to talk with people and the works they were able to learn well also, they learn them very well; they take care of the household very well.

(para 10, pp. 241-242)

Many women since in the village are lost too much in their works and they have given birth to a child are not treated with good medicines their bodies become sick. In the former times when they were still a young woman even if they have carried a heavy load on their head also they will not get tiered, they have great strength. But after having given birth of a child if they are struck with sickness and suffering or diseases and sicknesses their bodies completely become very weak. Even if they get food to eat and something to drink, they get merely just rice with water and only salt to eat now and then, their bodies do not become (build up) well soon, even if it builds up, it happens with a great difficulty. But if became sick again they stress more on doing sacrifices than providing medicines, many a women like that when they have given birth to a child die also. Even if they survive also they remain very lean (thin) and weak. The same woman how she was during her unmarried state and now after having given birth to a child, see her now, what she has become completely. Look at others or those of the towns, they become fat after having given birth to a child; they become so fat so as not to be able to walk. In the village the women do not know how to keep their bodies very well and even if the house is filled with plenty of paddy

and rice, they do not know how to eat that. If they eat only rice-in-water and they eat it only with salt how will their bodies become good again. And much more they do not stop themselves from drinking rice-beer. Therefore women in the village after having given birth to a child even if they do not become sick, they remain very thin (weak) and when they are becoming an old woman, they will become much more completely emaciated (lean). Anyway at all some women after having given birth to a child even when they are becoming old women they will remain (become) fat.

(para 11, pp. 242-243)

A married woman who has not yet had a child, even if she with a man, while a child is not yet born of her, many women in the house of the husband even if in matters of anything quarrelled a little bit with anyone she will run away immediately to her mother and father's house because of her anger with someone. The women of the nearby places even in the evening will go. Even if those of the far away places if scolding or quarrelling happened like that will go to pout. If she has quarrelled with her husband now and then, then the one from a far away place will on that day at night time she will stay till morning in any house of the village, and early in the morning quietly she will go away. During the daytime also in front of her husband also she will go away and even if she is being called back from the way, if she is still displeased and angry then she will go away and she will stay in the house of her mother and father until he goes there to find her, she will remain there for many days. Later if the husband at home is finding difficulty in doing the works at home, then he will surely go to find her out. But if she had even one child even if they quarrel she will not run away immediately to her mother and father's house. But they will quarrel back to each other and if he beats her for no reason she will beat him back to even up his beating her. If she has two or more children, she will not even think about her mother and father's house. The ones from a faraway place may not even go for once in a year. Some of them like that after having a child even for the feasts and festivals they do not go to their mother and father's house; how many she will take along here and there with her carrying around a baby and other articles. Therefore like that those for a faraway place like that there must be a big work and during the time of grief and lamentation at the death of an acquaintance only go their mother and father's house. While she has not yet had a child (*dindare*) she will go on every market week to her mother and father's house; even on an ordinary day also she will go, but when she had a child she will not feel like leaving the house of her husband. At that time it will not be possible for her to go along with her children; to leave her small children also is not feasible for her; and it will not be possible to leave behind the works of the house. Much more if only two of them live separately if she the house even for a day also what will happen completely to it. If there is no work in the field, the work of the house and courtyard itself is too much. Who will throw away cowdung and clean the cowshed for her? Who will keep her courtyard swept? And who will make her chickens enter in the house? Therefore if she goes to the house of her mother and father she stays with difficulty. She stays during the night with difficulty. Wherever she must spent for a day she thinks greatly of the house. Even if her husband is staying behind meanwhile in the house, how much he will do the work of his wife, his work also is there, isn't? Therefore even if they scold each other now and then after having had a child the woman does not run away immediately to

her mother and father's house in order to pout. Instead she will cry but she will stay in the house of the husband itself tolerating beatings and hitting. Even if her mother and father invite their daughter she will not go.

(para 12, pp. 243-244)

If after having a child they (wife and husband) have been separated they will have the heavy responsibility of the household's works also. It is the woman who would have to do all the works of a woman. If the people of the village got separated (in a house) they will remain only one or two. Much more if they have not found someone to carry the child on the hip the woman will find it difficult even to do her own work also. Even the children without any remuneration (wages) will not carry the child on her hip, they must be given remuneration. If in the house there is not enough food to last for the whole year then they will find difficult to provide food to the one who does carry the child on her hip (*who looks after the child*). At the end of the year they have to give wages to her also like a servant who stays in the master's house. Therefore they themselves amuse the child now and then. If the work of the woman is more, then the man will amuse the child. During the days of uprooting and transplanting paddy the man after finishing the work of ploughing and during the time of transplanting after preparing the field if the woman transplants then the man will carry the child on his hip. When the woman has gone out to work in the field then the man remains with the child in the house and meanwhile he will spread out paddy which has been boiled prior to husking and also prepare rice by husking paddy meanwhile. This side the woman "in whatever way I may finish transplanting or weeding out weeds completely" saying thus she will return home only after the sun set. Then in the meanwhile he will have to cook the food also. If the child is not yet weaned even if he will be carrying the child on his hip around at home if the child seems to be hungry then he will take the child to let it be breastfed by the mother to the field. Leaving behind (aside) the work the mother will not come to breastfeed the child, therefore it is the father will take the child to the field. Like that whenever the child feels hungry, he takes he child. If the house does not have enough to eat regularly and there is not paddy or money to hire and pay for wages then she (woman) herself alone has (must) to remove (weed out) weeds and even transplanting she alone has to do even if takes days to finish transplanting. Otherwise having laid down the child in the field both of them together do the works of uprooting the seedling and transplanting. If they remain (*depend on, Hoping on*) on the woman the work will not finish soon; therefore he will not say anything saying that "All right, let she herself work, uprooting weed and transplanting are the works of women." If the child is asleep then having laid the child on the cot and placing the cot on the embankment both of them together they work. If they have two children then they having allowed (*let*) the elder one to guard by sitting close, they happily work together by themselves. If the elder child is able to carry the younger one then even if the child cries he will amuse the child by carrying the child on his hip. In that case mother also gets great rest and she do her work well. Like that the men also will have to do the works of a woman on having a wife and a child. The men when they are not yet married they do not even touch the works which the women do and when they see anyone doing the works of a woman they will laugh at him. But on having a wife and the wife have got a child he will have to her in all her works. In that time he will say to himself that the

onlooker will laugh at me, he will not feel ashamed also. Then when the onlookers see him working like that say that “now the wife only was able to make him work.” Even if the wife will not tell him to do, he will work happily with his wife and even if not out of happiness he feels sad on seeing his wife alone tiring herself doing the work and he strongly feels of helping her. He may not prefer to help his mother and father but he will help his wife doing her works.

(para 13, pp. 244-245)

Some women as being a young woman or a married woman who has not yet had a child they do not drink rice beer also, it smells them. Even if she has become a wife of a man, she will not drink. But after she has got children if she started to drink a little by little amount, later she will always look for it; she feels good only if she drunk (took) a little. Like that if she got habituated to drink, she will absolutely drink much more than the one who had been drinking from the beginning. She will not go away from the rice-beer pot; she feel fully satisfied only after drinking to the degree of complete intoxication point. There are such people in the village. Later people will say, “See, this one who during the time when she has not yet had a child did not even used to drink rice-beer, (now) she absolutely does not go away from the rice-beer pot.” Similarly some women after getting married until they get children, they do not eat fish and meat etc. but after having children they will get used to eating and once they began to eat then they simply do not eat little. Similarly whatever eatable things they did not like to eat before having a child after marriage, after having a child they do not leave it (or ‘abstain’) from eating. As (unmarried young women or as) married women who have not yet had a child whatever thing they disgusted eating during that stage they do not disgust anymore and whatever thing they did not consider good now they say it is good. As some married women who have not yet had a child feel disgusting excrement even of the children very much, but when they have begotten a child what will she do, she must touch it; the child will excrete and urinate even on clothes, she will have to sleep with the child with excrement and urine. Therefore in women on havening a child they do not feel disgust even a bit. On the contrary the men might not even touch excrement, even if the child is filled excreta he will tell the mother only. The men usually the excreta even of the children do not even touch it. However, if the mother is not there, if she has gone to somewhere, if they have to touch then they may touch; if the child has passed excrement in its clothes then he has to wash the child with water. If in the house there are many people and if in the house among women at least one is present then some men even if they have a child of their own they do not touch children’s excrement. If there are many people in the house and they are living in together and even an old man, an old woman is there then the man (father) not even carry the child in his hip; any time if he felt happy once a while he will touch the child a little. Such ones in the village one or two are usually present (found). Some men feel very much annoying (bothersome) to carry in their hip even their own child. With such like men it is the woman who will be tiring herself of carrying the children and even by leaving aside her work once a while she will touch the child. In that case the woman she will wear herself scolding; she will very much scold her husband only, but even then the husband will not feel anyway smarted (affected) by her word or scolding, he will not amuse the child anyway.

(para 14, p. 245-246)

The village women also give a good bath and keep their children clean and apply soap and oil on them. But many mothers and fathers do not think of that. They leave their children in any way at all (*whatever it may be*). The children play in the mud and sand for the whole long therefore they remain covered with dust. The children are not given bath always. Such mothers and fathers they themselves do not bathe and remain clean well. The clothes also remain very dirty. In that case how can he keep his child clean by giving it a bath. The child "How much would you give a bath to a child always, even if you have given it a bath now, now itself the child will cover itself again with dust" saying thus they leave completely the children for the whole day just like that. In the village there are men and women or old men and old women who are like those who are impaired in one's reasoning powers and very quiet. Even if the child's whole nose is filled with mucus they clean it away; even having seen it, the child is left away utterly; they do not even think "Perhaps the child may not be feeling well or may be it is not able to breath properly". The child will remain with mucus and since he/she does not wipe away mucus, the child will eat even its mucus. There are surely found such mothers and fathers in the village: is it only some or very many are there in the village. Because of that the children have dirt gathered in scale-like layers and they get wounds on their bodies. Some children do become sick due to that.

(para 15, pp 246-247)

Some mothers and fathers when they have one child and if it is the first born they take care of it very well. If the child is fresh they do not let it touch (affect) summer and cold; if it is getting hot sun, they provide shade and if it is getting cold, they cover it with clothes, they make arrangements for a place protected from wind in the house for the child to sleep. The child will be affected by heat or cold therefore they will not take it to the field; they do not even take it out from the house. They will always give it a bath with warm water. Whenever the child got cold or sick they immediately get herbs and medicines and also they will immediately go to consult in order to find out what spirit is afflicting the child and what must be offered to that spirit by sacrificial processes or by divining. They will immediately look for the diviner (the shaman) and let the child tied immediately with the mustard seeds. If the neck of the child has become a little stiff, they will not stop carrying it on the hip; even if it is quiet, they will keep carrying it and even for a bit they will not bored in doing it. Even the woman if she finished her work she will keep looking at the child; she will desire to breast-feed the child for however long a time. Even if the child is filled up (satisfied) after breast-feeding and does not desire to drink anymore, she will let her nipples touch the mouth of the child. When the child is breast-feeding she will pass the time enjoying conversing with the child; even if the child is not conversing as if she is conversing with someone who speaking with her, she will talk to her child. Such mothers even though the child is not able to recognize, they talk to the child like that. Since she stays with the child throughout the day she will leave even other works completely and if in the house some are present then she will order them to do the works and she will shield herself on the child for not doing any work. Similarly the man also look after the child, he will get out of the house with great difficulty. If both the man and woman (husband and wife) are like that

then together both of them keep sitting to keep watch on the child. If the mother is breast-feeding the child then the man also having sat down there keep looking at and “like this way or like that way” saying all sorts of things about the child they talk among themselves. Such mother and father if the neck of the child has become stiff they will keep the child carrying in their hips, for sometimes one and other times the other, each will carry the child. If the child is learning (*trying*) to lie down on its face (on its stomach) and if it desires to lie down on its stomach immediately, they will immediately hold it up fearing the child will hurt itself (*the child will become bad*); they will straighten it up again immediately.

(para 16, pp 247-248)

When the child is small, the man and woman who love their child very much, they do not put the child on the bare floor (ground). Since on the ground the child will get dusty (dirty) therefore they do not allow the child to come down, they will keep the child on the cot itself. Even though the child is able to sit around, they do bring the child down from the cot. The child may desire to crawl on hands and knees but they will not bring the child down (on the ground); on the ground the child will go here and there; because “legs and knees etc. may get wounded,” they keep the child still on the cot. The child remain sitting on the cot moves around, even if the child desires to go down, they do not allow the child to go down. Thus, the poor child will not get to play crawling around on its hands and knees on the ground. Even a little bit they get freed from the any work they put their hands on the child, they carry it around now and then. The child also later on getting used to it (be on the cot), the child remains still sitting down on the cot and all the more since they frighten the child of the consequence of getting down the cot, the child being afraid of getting down, the child remains still on the cot itself for however long a time. They will surely say “our child unlike other children is very much clean; we do not allow it to be ever dusty; we very well keep the child very clean by giving it a good bath and it remains clean throughout the day. If he comes down on the ground and we allow it to play on the ground, then it will be filled with dust. But their thinking is not right. The child remains still for the whole day on the cot itself, it does not get to play or crawl around on its hands and knees so its legs and waist will not become strong. Later even when it is grown up, it will not learn to crawl, it remains sitting only for a long period of time. Later they will say that our child does not know how to crawl even. Such children when they bring them down later since they do not crawl, they simply remain still sitting down otherwise they move along in a sitting position dragging one’s bottom on the ground. while the child is beginning to crawl around if the mother and father allow the child to go around on spreading a small mat on the ground or on the cloth only, then that child like other children will not be able to crawl soon, it legs and hands will not become strong. Later when its time to walk comes, the child will not start to walk soon. Like that children even after a year will not walk, they will walk when they finish (reach) the second year only. Such mothers and fathers saying that “the child may step on the stones” do not allow it to go out to the courtyard; they do not even lead it by hand; in that case the child will surely not start walking soon. Later on even if some children have begun to walk a step also, that child will not begin to walk. Later they will say “why our child is not walking?” afterwards only if they understand they leave the child free. It is only then that child will learn to stand and will learn with great difficulty.

(para 17, pp. 248-249)

the mother and father who say like that, that is, “we have taken care of our child very well” are spoiling the child. This side they will give him/her *jalebi* like sweet ones, but such things are not right, such things and so forth are stale ones. Because of that the child will get sick. According to their thinking they surely think that they are giving the child good things. But they do not understand what will happen to the child. The child becomes accustomed to such way also. Later even when the child is grown up he/she will ask for such things only. Later if they do not buy it for the child the child does not remain quiet, it cries badly. And again they have the child accustomed to be carried on the hip since it is small, since they never ever keep the child on the ground, even if it has become big enough, even when it has begun to walk, it will ask to be carried on the hip; it will not play on its own also. In this way the mother will not be able to work by herself. Later she will keep scolding the child saying that “you child all the time to be carried” and the child later keeps crying. It is they only got it accustomed like that since it was small, it will not keep quiet, isn’t it? Such mothers and fathers do not allow their child to play with some of the children of the village. Since the children of some mothers and fathers do not remain clean, with them they do not allow (let) their child to play and they do allow (let) it to go out from near the house to other places. They will not let even other children to play near the house thinking (since) the child will play with them. For whatever reason if the child played with the other children and if it went away from the house even a little bit, they will immediately look for it and later they will rebuke the children saying that “it is you yourself who called it to play (*with you*)”. Then that child like that they do not let it play, it remains alone quiet close the house itself. But that child even if it (he/she) has become big, it (he/she) remains alone, it (je/she) will not play with others, it (he/she) is frightened (*scared, afraid*) of them. Therefore that child will not even run around, but he/she having remained quiet, surely remains very quiet. Since he/she does not play with other children, it will not learn any game like some of the children. When the children are playing he/she will merely keep watching them playing. Like that in the village many mothers and fathers say that “we have kept our child with very good care”, but that child from other children even in game or in conversations he/she remains very quiet, even if he/she grows up he/she remains like that only.

(para 18, pp 249)

“Such a very child in any way at all we will not let it happen anything” thus saying mother and father if one more child is born to them then they will keep (wear off) beating all the time that child who was born before. Since the child does not play around a little also, so later they keep (wear off) scolding the child. But the child even then will not play, it will remain close (near by) to the house. It is frightened of playing also with the children of the village. After that (later) the one whom they kept clean very well, the one whom they never kept it dirty they will leave completely it any way at all. Even if it whole nostril is filled with mucus even the mother will not clean the mucus, the father also will not do it. The mother herself later looks after the small child only, she will carry it around in her hip. If the elder one also desires to be carried then immediately she will hit it with a bent finger, immediately she will give it a light rap on its head with her hand or stick. Even the sweet

eatable things also they will not bring for the it (child), "O, you only so much?" they will say to it. Then they will make it accustomed with puffed paddy and roasted rice. The child will surely desire to eat simply anything even, since they have accustomed it by giving while it was very small, if they do not give it, it will cry, it will not even stop crying (*not keep quiet*). Then, so that the child may keep quiet, afterwards the mother will roast some rice. It will keep (remain) eating that throughout the day. If they have cultivated gram grains (*chana*) then they will roast it for it otherwise they will boil it in water for it. They will desire to amuse the child in any way at all with such things, but with such things the child will feel uncomfortable in its stomach. Then later the child will become sick.

(para 19, pp. 249-250)

If there are not many in one, if both of them (husband and wife) remaining separate from others, on having two or three children surely they will have difficulty in taking care of the children. Surely the mother will find it difficult to go out to any work of the field. In case the elder child has become big, is able to carry the child on his/her hip he/she will look after the child for her (mother). But if that child also is not yet capable of carrying the child on his hip, the mother will be very much entangled now with one thing and now with another thing completely. The work of the house itself she could work with great difficulty, she simply becomes very busy with one thing after another completely. If the elder child is a boy then they will make him to herd cattle. Then how would he amuse (look after, take care of) their child. On the contrary if there is not enough food to eat for them at home if the child has become little grown up, if he is able to herd cows and goats, they will make him to become a servant in somebody's house; he will earn wages for them howsoever small it may be. They eke out their living by finding food for meal by all of them (everybody). Therefore the mother also by carrying around the child in whatever way she will go for earning some wages. But till the children have become grown up will she take care of the children, she will go for earning wages. Since the morning she will keep telling and conversing with the children. Even one of the children has become someone of understanding a bit she will ask him/her to do something or other. But some of the children will (do) not do (obey) what their mother or father asks them to do; they desire to run away to play with other children. Therefore since morning the mother keeps telling her children. If the children are told mildly they do not leave playing; they do not obey (do what they are told to do). Therefore the mother will not tell them mildly. On the contrary if her children are a bit lazy in action she will tell them strongly and repeatedly scold them in angry voice; and by keep telling children again and again and by scolding them again and again even her mouth also become tired completely. Then she also beat them. The father, on the other hand, would have gone to work in the field. The mother would go to the field only after having brought water. So it is she who like that will wear herself up by telling and scolding the children.

(para 20; pp 250-251)

When the children become many, even they have become two or three, mother and father will get annoyed in taking care of the children. As long as when here was only one child they were keeping its clean and applying soap well. Now which one of them would they love and keep it clean. They would not be able to buy again eatables. So they will not

buy for them the sweet things, but the hard ones like the raw gram nuts, they will buy for them. If they are people with much landed property they will certainly go to work there. Then they will surely take along with them the tender young child and to look after the safety that child they will take one big child. Then she will call all the children to work in the field; she will make them keep amused the little child. Whether going to the field or to anywhere the mother will surely lead all her children being loaded with many articles having carried on her head or hanging from various parts of her body or would have held something in her hand; if she has carried one on her hip then she would have followed after the other two. If they (mother and father) were going to market or to visit relatives the man (father) also will go and then he also will carry one child one child on his shoulder. If the child is not accustomed to walk then on the long journey (way) the child will not reach the place, then it has to be carried. Therefore the mother alone will surely will not be able to take them along. So while going to a far away place father also will have to go along. But he women of the village areas if a woman is holding one child on her arms then the other she will keep following it. Even if the child says that it is tired she will not carry her on her hip; how could she carry it. Just like that she will keep following it and when it got tiered completely then they will sit a while and rest. In this way she will follow her up to reach the place (they are going).

(para 21; pp 251-252)

When the children become many since they cannot keep them well they remain in any way at all. They will not keep them clean by giving them bath always. On the contrary the people of the village do not buy soap and some poor people will surely not be able to buy, even the soap for washing their clothes they are not able to buy, then will they be able to buy soap for bathing, will they? However, the rich people and wise ones keep their children clean by applying soap. That is why in the village most of the children remain simply with dirty clothes. The children especially (in particular – *trans. for ma*) remain keep playing in sand and soft liquidy mud. Then they do not give them bath with simple water also for two three days; she (mother or father) will simply wash its feet only otherwise she (mother or father) will wipe it away simply with some rag (torn-out cloth). The clothes of the children especially remain very much dirty completely. Their clothes are cleansed only after many days once. Even the children of those who have much landed property also remain like that. Even the people who somehow have enough to eat do not buy for themselves soap and oil, they keep their children also dirty just like they are dirty. Even then in the village mostly the children of the poor people remain very dirty like that. The mothers and father are able to find food to eat, but they do not think of taking care of their children. Even if they are able to get soap and oil, they do not think of cleaning their children. If the child is able to run around a little, she will leave it completely on its own for the whole day, she will not even look around for it. They do not even think of the child saying, “Perhaps what is happening to the child? Where could the child be?” In any way at all the mother will take care of the young child, then the children who are able to run around she will leave them completely on their own; it is good even if the child went any direction; it is good even if whatever the child may do. Because of this many children will become any way at all, later they do not even listen to whatever their mothers and fathers tell them. Such mothers and fathers who

do not think their children learn bad (evil) actions; the mothers and fathers do not make their children understand; they do not show them the good way.

(para 22; p 252)

The mothers and fathers of the village will become very happy when their first born child is born and that first born child they will take of it with loving care; they are delighted with that child and they make it grow big very well. If there is only one child it will be possible to look after it and they will be able to buy oil and soap even. But after two or three children are born because the mother and father are not able to take care them well they will leave them away in anyway at all and if later children are born they do not even feel happy. Even the people who have enough things to eat (rich people) the way happy with the first-born child, they do not feel happy at the birth of the latter children and if there are many children it will be difficult for them even to take of them. This side the mother also is not able to work the way she like to do, in taking care of them, or in giving food or in keeping them clean by giving them bath, she will be delayed in her own work. In this way if many children are born, the mother and father do not have that much joy on their children. Because there are many saying they leave them away as such, but in their sickness and other afflictions they do take care of them, but even then if there are many children the way they take care of the only one child or loving it, they will not be able to take care all of the children and to love them.

(para 23; pp 252-253)

Since the mothers and father of the village are poor if their children are able to run around, they leave then simply naked; they do not tie any cloth on their loins and they put on pants and banians on them. Even some children of the well-to-do people (houses) also remain naked. The people of the village do not think that much of putting clothes on their children; they say that 'let the small children remain naked, what is the matter.' In a year only one and only once they will buy a towel or a underpant pretending that they do buy clothes for them. Later when that is torn the children will have a hole in it through exposing the buttocks. Some children are such who even on becoming big, who even as are able to herd the cattle, remain naked. Their mothers and fathers even on seeing their children naked they do not feel anything about it; therefore they do buy for them even cloth or underpants and if they buy, then only during the feast of Mage. If the children since its childhood, since they learnt to walk when they are grown up, are accustomed to remain naked, when they begin to run around, no matter what, when the children are told to put on the pant or put on the towel around (gamcha), they will not do; they will remove their pants and they feel good in remaining naked. Some understanding mother and fathers only since the time they begin to walk around or still while not begin to walk, they will put on underpants to their children, wrap them around with cloth. Later such children do not feel like removing clothes from their waist and if they are not clothed, they feel ashamed. Such children when they begin to understand things a little, when they learnt how to walk, then they put on the pants on their own, they wear on their own. Therefore he children in the village while playing some are with pants and some others are naked. The naked children are found and much seen playing and running around.

(para 24; pp 253-254)

In the village many mothers and fathers make the children do the works of the house itself. When the child is able to do some work, if the child is able to herd cows and goats, "now I will be eased a little" saying if the child is a boy, then the father will immediately make the child to herd the cattle and if the child is a girl, her mother will make her carry the younger child on her hip or she may make her bring water by carrying it on her head. Therefore they will not allow their children to go for study. Many mothers and fathers of the houses say that "we are not able to do house-works; therefore we will not allow the child to go for study; who will help us to do the works of the house." Only some understanding mothers and father alone allow their children to do their study. Even that in the most cases, if there are many children, they allow only one of them to study, and the others they order them to do the works of the house. Only in this generation however, many children are allowed to do their studies. But "we will not be able to buy books for them" saying they also do make them leave going to study. As a result they will make the child who is happy to study also to leave studying. Like this many mothers and fathers do not allow their children to study. Even if they allow the children to study if there is much work on a day or for many days like that if there is much work to be done, the mother and father themselves say to that child that "you may (need) not go to school even" and then the child will not go to school and he will herd cows and goats. Otherwise having told him "now so early in the morning you do not go to school" and they will order him to do some work; then afterwards he will go to school only after a delay. Later the teachers will tell him "why did you come to school so late?" It is because of this, out of fear saying that "the teachers will even beat" the children out of fear do come out of the house, but they do not go up to the school; they keep remain hiding in some place. The children of the village because the mothers and father order them to do work only, they do not even do study well. Even if they go to school all the time as soon as they return home from the school "babu! go and herd the cattle; do that work" such as these they order them to do something or other. Therefore at home in the evening and in the morning the children do not study; just like that they go to school. Till they are grown up the mothers and fathers of the village like that even if they are studying in the school, they order them to work; they do not know that "the children must study at home also" and some of them even after knowing that also order their children to work. Because of this many children do not learn for themselves well.

(para 25; p 254, ...255)

The mothers and fathers of the village when the children have become many (or they have many children born) in works they experience (have) it very easy, so they feel good. When (if) the boys begin to be able to plough, he will help his father to plough and in any work whatsoever, in men's works, he will help his father. The father takes rest of the work of ploughing for a day or two or if there is only one yoke of oxes, if the child is able to plough a little bit "come on, my child" having called his child, when he takes some rest and while taking tobacco, he will make the child plough meanwhile. The child also goes to the place where his father is ploughing happily and even if he says "do not do it" even then he will go (run after; follow) after him. Even when the child has not yet learnt how to plough

when the father is ploughing, he will keep holding on to the handle of the plough and he feels delighted in doing this. When the girl has reached the age of some understanding she will help mother very much. In the village the works of the girl child are very many; for the men the great work is only that of ploughing, then even there are works such as to thatch the roof of the house, to fence around the garden etc. they do not have work all the time as equal as the women have them; the works of house and various kinds of work in the field are not there for men. Therefore when the girl child is a bit grown up, when she has become capable of carrying water on her head in a medium sized narrow necked earthen pot, he mother has it very easy. While they were only husband and wife, then the mother only did everything in a quick agitated way but when the girl child had become capable of doing work, the mother will find rest very much. Not only the mother, but the father also will feel very happy. If the mother is gone to the field for works, when he returns from work at noon, she will give him food and rice beer also. The works of women do not get over even in the evening and in the morning. Therefore the house where there are no girl children the house does not remain clean, even the works do not happen. In the village in some houses there are indeed only boys are born. The mothers and fathers of such houses... (**for the rest of the sentence is see p. 255**)

...do not appear happy. Even as it is, they do not feel happy having many boys, but if even one girl child is not born in the house, he works of women in the household has to be done by one mother only. Therefore such mothers and fathers feel more good if more girl children are born than the boys. But if in one house there are many children they will make the house crowded also completely and they will not have enough food and drink to their satisfaction; therefore the mothers and fathers who have many children also will not feel very happy. Because of this some mothers and fathers with their children regularly have enough to eat very happily and some other are remain hungry also; but they do feel good beneath the shadow of their children. **[the End of this chapter]**

OLD AGE
(On Be-ing an Old Man and an Old Woman)
1980 version

(Para. 1, p 256)

All human being never remain as a young man or a young woman in their life-time. Human body becomes weak and aged gradually. When anyone's hair begins to turn grey, he is considered to be growing into an old man or she is becoming an old woman. Some people's hair turns grey even when they are still young but such are not called old men. Only those who are getting old in body are considered to be as growing old. Old women too become grey haired and their physical strength also diminishes. Another way of recognizing a person getting old is looking at his teeth. When a man becomes toothless he is called to becoming an old man and if a woman becomes toothless it is said that she is becoming an old woman. As a young man and young woman for one reason or other tooth may break at youth, but unlike an old man and old woman teeth does not uproot from one end. Once one becomes an old man or an old woman physical strength decreases and doing any hard work becomes impossible. If a man or woman is greatly advanced in age, then such would not even be able to walk around. Therefore they always use walking stick for walking.

(Para. 2, p 256)

The body of a man or a woman does not become old all of a sudden and instantly. The body becomes weak and old gradually and even one without being aware of it. Even though a man is strong but on seeing him grey haired, he is considered old. Similarly on seeing a woman's hair getting grey, she is considered growing old. Those who are considered old may work like a young man or a woman but they may not be able to do any hard work any longer. Old men continue to do ploughing till they need to hold a stick for walking around. In case there are no grown up children or adult men quite a many old men go to plough their fields until they start to use a walking stick to walk. They may not be able to do any digging or cutting mud with spade or levelling the field with a leveller, even then they do ploughing. Thus even in a very advanced old age men engage themselves in doing one or the other work in the field. Some old men and women even in an advanced old age gather sticks and leaves (*saan-sakam*) and the poor people by collecting and selling them earn their living. The old men and women of rich houses do not like to do any hard work like the poor people. They live comfortably. The old persons from rich families stop doing any kind of hard work even though they are not yet grown very old. For their children on becoming adult carry on to do their father's works. Therefore the old men and old women of rich families engage themselves in doing only light and small works of the house. The old people of the families who live on earning daily wages, even though they grow very old, they earn by doing whatever work they can do.

The Works of the Old Men and Old Women
(para 3; p 257-258)

Now, the way we have spoken of the old men and old women, such persons do remain quite strong. Only when they are not at all able to do any work, they are considered old completely. Those who are still strong, they keep on doing various works. They never sit idle for either they do the chores of the house or go out for earning some wages. The people who are brought up in a village setting right from the childhood for the most part of their life are accustomed to keep themselves busy in doing one or the other work. Hence, even at the good old age when they feel quite strong, they like to do some work. Perhaps they have itching hands. Strong old men do ploughing and sowing of paddy seeds in nursery very efficiently. Old men's another most sacred and good work is silkworm farming. The old men who are

accustomed to silkworm farming may not like to do other works, but they love to cultivate silkworms and they do it diligently. If they have been doing it since their younger days they may not like to do any other work if they are asked to do but they would do silkworm farming. Generally cultivating silkworms is not at all tiring, but the young men may feel it a very boring work. Whole day from morning to evening one has to just sit around. In case silkworms are very tender one has to keep an eye on them. The young men would not like to be sitting idle. They like to hunt birds and so leave the trees on which silkworms are cultivated and go elsewhere. Thus the silkworms may be eaten up by the *surpungs* and the crows and kites. On the other hand the old men put their heart in the silkworm cultivation and keep an eye on the birds which hover around to eat up silkworms. Therefore, very early in the morning the old men carry their food and go to the place of silkworm farm. They also carry fire in the paddy bale rope with them. They spend their time chewing tobacco throughout the day. They make big cigarettes. The old man may cultivate many silkworms all by himself but when the silkworms finish eating the leaves of one tree, then he alone cannot transfer them to another tree. Others have to come and help him do that. So if he had cultivated silkworms in many trees then people from his house will come and assist him to transfer them from one tree to another.

(Para. 4; p. 258)

Strong old men and women are asked to graze the cows and goats (*domestic cattle*) outdoors. In case there are no children or any domestic worker in the house the old people are asked to take out the cattle for grazing and look after them. Old people look after the cattle very well; they ever let them wander around on their own and also see to it that they feed themselves well. If there are people to look after the cattle the old people are not asked to work outdoors in the fields, but they entrust them some work to do at home. They spread out paddy on a mat in the sun close to the house to dry and ask them to guard it from the chickens. In case there are no women in the house or they have gone for other work in the field outdoors old men look after paddy which is spread out for drying in the sun. When paddy crop of the fields which are close to the village begin to get mature, instead of old ones sitting idle, they are told to scare away the chickens who come to feed themselves in those paddy fields. The old women would certainly do such works. Even though their eye sight is poor they are asked to guard the paddy from the chickens. they hold a stick in their hands and periodically beat the ground to scare away chicken from entering in the paddy field. Thus chicken do not come close the paddy field to feed themselves. The old men sit around the house and make rope for weaving beds. Many old men who still have good eye sight weave fishing nets and they earn some money after selling them. Weaving a net is not at all a hard work therefore those who know the art of weaving nets love to do weaving it. In addition, if there are any small grand child at home, they are asked to look after them at home. Thus as long as the old men and old women are able to see things clearly and are able to walk around, they keep doing one or the other work. They never sit idle.

(para. 5; p. 258-259)

Whether the old people remain at the house or in the fields outdoors they keep chewing or smoking tobacco time to time. Even though they may not get any food to eat, they feel good on taking tobacco. And if they had taken tobacco they feel satisfied even if they are hungry. Fire is not kept burning in the houses all the time or other fire-lighters. Therefore old people carry fire in a straw rope and they take it along with them when they take out their cattle grazing in the fields outdoors.

(para 6; p 259)

Even the old women as long as they are strong enough they do all the field-works. The ones who live close to forest cannot resist themselves from going to the forest in spite of their old age. They never abandon going into the forest even as they cannot walk without the help of a walking stick. The old women are entrusted with the duty of drying up paddy close to the house, clean up the cowshed and also to look after the small children. They are made to scare away chicken off the paddy crops and during the season of pulses drive away the unattended cattle who are let loose during those days from feeding themselves with the standing crop. The old women love to pick up and collect *neem* seeds and *mahua* seeds very much. When *neem* fruits are ripened and begin to fall down they take along their meals and remain under the *neem* tree throughout the day. Similarly when the *dola* (*mahua* fruits) are ripened and begin to fall they make it a point to go under every *mahua* tree to collect its seeds. Since sunrise they go to every other *mahua* tree. Her family members make her to go and collect the seeds for oil or she may go to the trees to pick up seeds on her own in spite of her inability to walk straight. Furthermore, as long as they have a good eye sight they remain around the house and make grass brooms or mat from the date leaves. Since these works are done while sitting down they engage themselves in making them throughout the day. In this way old men and old women keep doing many works even though they become old. Certainly they would not do any hard work, but whatever they could do, they would do such works. The village old men and women even as they are hunchbacked, they keep doing some work or other. They even go to graze cattle hunch-backed with the help of a walking stick.

(para 7; p. 259-260)

In the villages many old men and old women grow old gracefully. Even though they use a walking stick for walking around their eye sight remains good and their ears hear well. They do not become so old that they remain bedridden. They remain strong enough to go to the backyard of their house for toilets with the help of a walking stick. Even very old men and old women of the villages can eat food and also drink rice beer. Since the old men and old women can tell ancient wisdom well children, young men and women gather around them to listen to them. Some of the old people when they are not yet very old take part in the common discussions regarding the village matters and attend meetings to share their views concerning the well-being of the village. They are delighted to attend the gatherings in which the well-being of the village are talked about and listened to by all. They tell good things to the people and young men of the village. For such occasions and discussions old people who know village matters are sought after. As long as they are not too old and are able to walk they go for the marriage negotiations and marriage parties. It is only through the old men marriage customs are learned and it is in their presence every matter related to marriage is discerned and decided. Therefore in every matter of marriage their presence is very necessary. However, not all old men would know everything about marriage, but many old men had been attending and seeing marriage rituals performed since their childhood, they would know everything and tell about all that pertains to the marriage customs and rituals.

(Para 8; p 260)

There are some old men and women in the villages who would become very pathetically weak and old. Very old men and women always remain in and around the house itself. Even then some of them are able to walk around till the last moments of their lives. Gradually their life ebbs away and physical strength also diminishes. So the old men and old women may not die of sickness but they die quietly and appear as if they were sleeping. At the death of old men or old women people do not feel a deep sorrow as much as they feel at the death of children and young men and women. Nevertheless they do wail loudly especially his children feel a great loss and cry.

**Unmarried Old Men and Unmarried Old Women
Para 9, p 260)**

Many men and women remain unmarried in the villages. Some men do not get themselves wife while they were young. The reason for this may be that either they do not feel a desire to have a wife or they are concerned about certain situation of their family. In the houses where there are many brothers and either the elders or the younger ones have already married then one of the brothers may think and decide not to have a wife for himself “since there are so many at home, many children in the house, therefore I would not have a wife for myself.” Also there are some men who are so shy that they would not talk to women. They do not muster enough courage to propose to any woman to be their wives. If a woman is arranged for him to be married by parents or a woman is brought into the house and made his wife by others, then such men would have a wife. Otherwise they remain unmarried. At times if a man had a wife and she died without having children and after that he did not bring in another woman to be his wife, he becomes an old man without having a wife.

Para 10; p. 261)

Similarly some women do not become a wife of any man. A woman may remain unmarried for various reasons: either she was not dated by any man, or she worried about bringing up her younger brothers, or taking care of the family affairs even though she was invited to become a wife, may decide to remain unmarried. Some women may have been left by her husband and later no one came forth to make her his wife, then such women also remain unmarried. Later they remain as old women in the house of their parents or their brother’s house.

(para 11; p. 261)

A man who has found himself a wife and similarly a woman who has found herself a man as her husband and have many children such old men and old women are looked after well by their children in sickness and hunger and keep them in their houses. Invariably they would have a son, daughter-in-law and grandchildren also who would be there at home. Now, in case of their inability to see by themselves their grandchildren would hold their hands and lead them to places they have to go. Thus, they would not experience any suffering in their old age. But all those old men and old women who remained unmarried would experience great suffering during their sickness and hunger. Some unmarried old men and old women live separately from their kinsmen. Such will surely suffer much. When they reach a stage when they cannot do anything by themselves, elder brothers or younger brothers, sister-in-laws or daughter-in-laws may at times take care of their needs, but they would not involve themselves fully in taking care of them. During sickness and any suffering the daughters and their children may take care of them to certain extent but they would not take care of them as if they were their own parents. Therefore, when the unmarried old men and old women reach a stage when they can no longer take care of themselves, they would invariably suffer greatly.

(para 12; p 261-262)

The unmarried old men and women who live separately from their kinsmen, would somehow get something for food and so they would cook their food separately. Thus, quite a few unmarried ones will remain separately. Generally old men do not live separately. They stay together with their elder brother or younger brother. In case they have divided the landed property among themselves they normally stay with one of their brothers; or they may stay with their elder brother or younger brother who is employed and they look after the cultivation of the fields. Some educated and employed ones also remain unmarried. Such one

stays with a brother who treats him well. In some houses where there are unmarried old men and old women, they are never deprived of any food and drink. They are never caused to experience suffering due to lack of anything. They love the children of the house the children in turn love them immensely.

(para 13; p. 262)

The women who remain unmarried after leaving her husband are given a place to stay in the house but no share is given to her in the ancestral land. However, anyone who had never married or anyone who had not been separated from her husband remains unmarried, in that case when she lives separately she is given some share in the ancestral land. All those who remain unmarried after being separated from their husbands go to stay with their parents but they live alone in a separate section of the house. They look for some work for themselves and cook food for themselves. They do not do the work of the house but they earn and live by doing working for others. When such women become very old they would inevitably suffer grievously and during sickness and any other difficult time they would suffer greatly. Therefore, the unmarried old men and old women do not die happily; they die after enduring suffering greatly. So there are sayings in the villages: “Get yourself a wife, otherwise you will die shrivelled up.” Thus young men are taunted. Women also are teased by saying: “If you do not have your own husband, will your brothers treat you someday well? Is the taunting of a daughter-in-law or a sister-in-law good at all? Indeed these saying are true that anyone who stays unmarried in her brother’s house when he gets himself a wife someday they would not get any peace and joy. For the works done or for any other reason she will be constantly nagged and not appreciated. Many women have undergone such suffering. They have to bear criticisms (*chenta*) and undue suffering. It is said, “One may die at the backyard wall”, or “One may die shrivelled up” or “One may die without even drinking a drop of water” (a lonely death) Nevertheless, there had been old men and old women in .many villages in the past and even now there are many such old men and old women in a number of villages. In this way the Hos after completing their life-span (*jom-sakam*) are buried in a grave.