In this chapter the relationship between Brother and Sister in the various situations of daily routine may be taken up for discussion. The Brother-Sister relationship differs from the other relationships described earlier. The Points of difference and the specific nature of relationships between Brother and Sister may be stated as background material to illuminate discussion on the pattern of interaction in the daily routine. It may be noted that the position of both in the family has already been described in the earlier chapters, especially in the chapters dealing with Father-Son, Mother-Son, Father-Daughter and Mother-Daughter relationships. It is therefore necessary only to deal with such points which have not been covered within the scope of the preceeding discussions.

At the outset it can be said that Brother-Sister relationship is partly comparable to Father-Daughter relationship. In the absence of the Father, the elder Brother discharges some of his functions and it is more true in case of Brother-Sister relationship than in case of Brother-Brother relationship. In spite of this the Brother-Sister relationship shows some vital points of difference from Father-Daughter relationship for a number of reasons as described below.

The most important factor governing this relationship is the precedence of birth and the difference in age. These two factors also influence Brother-Brother relationship but it is not so important to shape the pattern of interaction between Brothers. These two factors are crucial for determining the pattern of interaction between Brother and Sister though their importance is
not the same among all the castes. The importance of these factors is more perceptible among the Brahman and Khandayat, whereas among the Pano these are of least importance.

Brother-Sister relationship is marked by a delicacy which is absent from other types of relationships described here-to-fore. This relationship results in a partial avoidance of each other, which differs from caste to caste. Personality factors also influence Brother-Sister relationship to such an extent that a high range of behaviour is perceivable within each caste and within each group of the castes. Educational factors also influence this relationship very deeply and are of greater importance than economic factors.

Another noteworthy factor about Brother-Sister relationship is that during childhood it is marked by a familiarity devoid of the avoidance which develops at a later stage. This familiarity is partially regained after the marriage of the Sister. This may be further enhanced after the marriage of the Brother but the Sister's marriage is more crucial in the slacking the inhibitions and avoidance behaviour.

The Brother-Sister relationship is comparatively free from the rigidity of mutual obligations and in this respect it is somewhat comparable with Brother-Brother relationship. It is by no means true that Brother-Sister relationship is totally free from obligations but the rights and duties attendant upon this relationship are not so obligatory as in case of other relationships like Father and Daughter, and Husband and Wife.
The Brother-Sister relationship undergoes a sharp change after the marriage of the Sister but this is also true of Brother-Brother, Father-Son and Mother-Son relationships. In the latter cases the relationship undergoes after the marriage of the Brothers and Sons respectively. In case of Brother-Sister relationship however the change in behaviour is much more sharp after the marriage of the Sister.

The partial regaining of the familiarity of the childhood, after the marriage of the Sister, is a novel factor in case of the Brother-Sister relationship but it is not of much importance for the present study as the relationship between Brother and Sister becomes slender after the marriage of the latter and the Sister's emigration to another village after her marriage makes such intra-village in character.

In maintaining a balanced relationship between his Sister and his Wife, a Brother is always in a delicate position. It is a strong rural tradition that the Wife and the Sister of a man should be antagonistic to each other. The factor of education on the part of the women has partially alleviated this situation in case of the Brahman but among others it is still a potent problem. The Mother always takes the side of the Sister but the Father in most cases remains neutral. The antagonism between the Wife and the Sister always shapes the Brother-Sister relationship.

With this general note to serve as the background we may now proceed to discuss the routine behaviour among different castes in the village.
The Brother-Sister relationship among the Brahman is marked by a shyness after the Sister attains puberty. This shyness continues till her marriage. After her marriage the the Sister visits her Brother's family very often during the first three or four years of marriage. These visits are also reciprocated by the Brother though his visits are very brief compared to that of the Sister's. During these visits much of the shyness of the pre-marriage stage gives place to a renewed familiarity.

The elder Brother among the Brahman is treated as an equal during childhood if he is only slightly older than his Sister. He acquires a position of respect gradually with the attainment of adulthood. His respect is enhanced if he is educated and is a service holder. It is further enhanced if the younger Sister is also educated.

The elder Sister is accorded some formal respect. If the younger Brother has gone out for some time then he is expected to prostrate himself before his elder Sister in the same manner as he would do before his Mother or Father. In actual practice, however, it has been found that such respect was paid only in five cases where the Brother was much younger than the Sister. In three of the cases the Sisters were married before the birth of the Brother.

The elder Brother discharges the functions of the Father if he is dead. If the Father dies before the marriage of the Sister, the elder Brother gives her away in marriage.
Before her marriage he maintains her and meets the cost of her education. After her marriage the elder Brother sends her occasional presents. The younger Brother also performs all these duties except giving away the Sister in marriage. This can only be done by and elder Brother. If there is no elder Brother then this ceremony is performed by an elder male relative like Father's Brother. In this case the expenses of the marriage are borne by the younger Brother, who also shoulders all other responsibilities concerning marriage.

When there are more than one elder Brother the expenses of bringing up the Sister and getting her married are borne equally by them. The formal responsibility of giving away the Sister in marriage is undertaken by the eldest Brother. If the Brothers are separated the Sister lives with any one of them, especially with him who is married. She also chooses to live with that Brother with whom the widowed Mother chooses to live.

With this general note on Brother-Sister relationship among the Brahman the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

Before attaining adulthood the pattern of Brother-Sister relationship among the Brahman concerning this item of daily routine is the same as Brother-Brother relationship. With the attainment of adulthood, however, the relationship changes. The Sister, whether elder or younger, assumes the responsibility of serving the Brother with a pot of water and a twig. This
responsibility is neither very obligatory on her part nor is it her sole duty. It is shared by the Mother and also by the Brother's Wife. When the Sister is on a visit from her Husband's house, it is considered as a labour of love for her which she is particular about performing. There is slight deviation in case of the lower income group whom the cleaning of the teeth is not done with such elaborateness as among the higher income group. If the Brother is much older than the Sister and is the head of the household endowed with the responsibility of maintaining his Sister and giving her away in marriage then the pattern of relationship between them is just like that between Father and Daughter.

Defecation:

During childhood the pattern of Brother-Sister interaction concerning this item of daily routine is the same as Brother-Brother interaction. By the time the Sister is about seven or eight years of age there is mutual avoidance. It is considered highly indecent on the part of the Brother to go near her Sister when she is defecating. Neither seeks the company of the other if they go for defecation at odd hours of the night.

Bathing:

During childhood the pattern of Brother-Sister interaction concerning this aspect of daily routine is the same as that between Brother and Brother. Before attainment of adulthood Brother and Sister avoid each other at the time of taking bath. The timing of their bath does not coincide as they are to undertake different responsibilities - the Brother about occupational work and the Sister about household work. Besides this
it is considered highly indecent on the part of the adult Brother to go near the bathing place when his grownup Sister is taking bath. It is the duty of the Brother to procure and purchase all the materials required for the bath for the Sister, if he is in charge of the expenditure of the household.

Eating:

During childhood the pattern of interaction between Brother and Sister concerning eating is the same as that between Brother and Brother. After attaining adulthood Brother and Sister do not eat together. The avoidance in this case is not so rigid as in the case of defecation or bathing. Occasionally the Sister may take food with the Brother when she is on a visit from Husband's house but usually she likes the company of the female members of the household for eating. A child Brother may however take food with his grownup Sister, and even do so from the same pot. This is considered as a show of affection on the part of the elder Sister. A child Sister on the other hand does not take food from the same plate with her elder Brother. The feeding of the Sister is borne by the Brother, whether younger or elder, if the Father is dead.

It is the duty of an adult Sister to serve food to her Brother but it is not her duty alone. When on a visit from her Husband's house she is more particular in serving food to her Brothers. She also washes the plates from which her Brother had taken food.
Sleeping:

During the childhood Brother and Sister sleep together but they begin to sleep separately before attaining adulthood. If the Brother is married, it is the duty of the Sister to make adjustments in sleeping so as to allow her Brother to sleep with his Wife. If there are no other female members in the house then it is the duty of the Brother not to let her sleep alone lest she is stricken with fear in the night. If married, the Brother would let his Wife sleep with the Sister while he sleeps alone. To meet the situation the Brother goes to sleep with his Wife early in night and leaves her after sexual intercourse. If not married he may arrange some female relatives to sleep with her. The sleeping materials for the Sister are purchased by the Brother, if he is the head of the household.

Cleaning:

It has been mentioned earlier that the daily and periodical cleaning of the household among the Brahman is mostly the duty of the women; wherein the males participate. The daily sweeping of the courtyard and the house and cleaning of the kitchen is done by the Sisters along with the other female members of the household. The Sister also participates in the periodical cleaning like other adult members of the household. However, the Sister's participation in the daily and periodical cleaning is marked by voluntariness. She may do as much work as other female members of the household but the Brother cannot exercise such authority over her as he would do over his Wife and Daughter.
Toilet:

If the Sister is much older than the Brother then she very often washes the face of her younger Brother, combs his hair and paints his eyes during his childhood. She is especially eager to do this when on a visit from her Husband's house before any children are borne to her. An adult Brother does not show so much interest in toilet of his baby Sister. In case of the Father's death, the Brother purchases and procures the toilet materials for his Sister.

Cooking:

A Sister is expected to cook for her Brother not as a matter of obligation but as a voluntary duty. When the Brother is the head of the household, on the death of the Father, it of course becomes more obligatory and less voluntary for the Sister to cook.

Cooking is the item of the daily routine which is perhaps the centre of the dispute between a man's Wife and his Sister. A man has to face allegations and counter-allegations from his Sister and Wife about the negligence of cooking by each. This is more evident in the lower income group than in the higher income group. This situation becomes more acute for the Brother if he is the head of the family. Usually a man sides with his Wife in these disputes and the Sister plays a subordinate role if both her Father and Mother are dead. If either are alive then they side with her and this almost always results in the Son breaking away from the family of orientation.
Daily round of occupational activities:

In this item of daily routine there is no scope for direct interaction between Brother and Sister among Brahman. A man may occasionally have indirect interaction with his Sister in the same manner as he interacts with his Mother and Wife.

Performance of religious rites:

There is no specific pattern of interaction between Brother and Sister as far as this item of daily routine is concerned. A man may come into interaction with his Sister in the same manner as his Wife and Mother, but the interaction is both slender and casual.

Recreational activities:

Before attaining adulthood the pattern of interaction between Brother and Sister concerning the recreational activities is the same as that between Brother and Brother. On very rare occasions, indoor games, like the game of cards are played by Brother and Sister. The outdoor games are never played by adult males and adult females together so there is no scope for interaction between Brother and Sister in the playing of these games. In gossiping adult Brother and Sister avoid each other.

Rearing children:

The Sister is expected to tend the Brother's children and do all the work concerning them which a Mother would do. The antagonism with the Brother's Wife is not reflected in the rearing of the children. The Brother on his part is expected to treat his Sister's children with extra care and affection when she
is on a visit from her Husband's house. When the Sister comes with her first child, it is the duty of the Brother to present him with at least two pieces of cloth. In the higher income group the Sister's children are given presents of clothing whenever they visit the house of their Mother's Brother.

Daily income and expenditure:

During the lifetime of the Father and after his death the Brother plays a dominant role in the daily income and expenditure of the household. The Sister has no income and she plays only a passive role as far as routine expenses are concerned. Occasionally she is given some money by the Brother to meet her personal expenses. This sum is mainly spent in giving presents to relatives and friends on initiation and marriage ceremonies. The Sister may also make fancy purchases out of this amount.

Only one instance has been recorded when the Sister was an earning member. She was practically divorced (though not legally) due to some misunderstandings with her Husband. Her younger Brothers were then reading and the Father was not able to meet the expenses in full. The Sister therefore regularly helped her two Brothers. This is the only solitary instance of its kind in the village.
The caste characteristics and family organisation among the Khandayat have been described earlier and need not be repeated here. Brother-Sister relationship among Khandayat approximates that among the Brahman more closely than in other castes. Because of the recent social economic changes among the Khandayat, described earlier, they have been emulating the behaviour of the Brahman more thoroughly. This is especially true of the landowning section of the caste. Among them the tendency of emulating the traditional behaviour of the Brahman, even such behaviour which have been discarded by the Brahman as too orthodox, has already been described in detail. This tendency has special significance for Brother-Sister relationship among the caste. It has made the position of the elder Brother more respectable and consequently has increased the responsibility of all the Brothers, whether elder or younger, towards their Sisters.

With this general note on the nature of Brother-Sister relationship among the Khandayat the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

Among the landowning group the pattern of Brother-Sister interaction is the same as that among the Brahman. The comparison has become more appropriate because of the socio-economic changes which have been described earlier. Among the labour class group there is no scope for effective interaction between Brother and Sister as far as this aspect of daily routine is
concerned. Among this group washing of the face and cleaning of the teeth is done casually - this being the reason of lack of interaction between different family members concerning this item of daily routine.

Defecation:

Among the landowning group the pattern of interaction between Brother and Sister, concerning defecation is the same as that among the Brahman. The reasons for this comparability are the same as those stated in the foregoing paragraph. Among the labourer group also there is early avoidance on the part of Brother and Sister. As stated earlier defecation is a much lesser problem for the Khandayat than the Brahman.

Bathing:

Among the landowning group the pattern of Brother-Sister interaction is just like that of the Brahman. During childhood Brother and Sister grow up as companions and often take their bath together. Though they are not exclusive companions in this item of daily routine. They begins to avoid each other quite early and it is considered highly indecent on the part of the Brother to go near the place where his Sister is taking bath. The pattern is similar in case of the labourer group.

Eating:

Among the landowning group the pattern of Brother-Sister interaction concerning eating is the same as that among the Brahman. Among the labourer section it is the duty of the Brother to meet the cost of the fooding of his Sister, inspite of the
fact that in most cases the latter is a working woman. Three cases have been recorded when there were disputes between Brothers and Sisters. In these cases the Brothers were reluctant to meet the cost of the feeding of the Sisters as the latter were not earning. This was highly criticised in the caste in particular and in the village in general. In a caste panchayat meeting convened for the purpose the Brothers were reprimanded and asked to meet the cost of feeding of their Sisters and they complied with it.

**Sleeping:**

The Brother-Sister interaction among the landowning group is the same as that among the Brahman. Among the labourer group the Brother and Sister sleep together during childhood. A child Brother may sleep with the grown up Sister if there are other smaller children to sleep with the Mother. When both the Sister and the Brother are adults, adjustments in sleeping becomes a real problem especially if the parents are dead and the Brother is unmarried. In these cases the Brother cohabits with his Wife during the early part of the night and then sleeps outside, leaving the Sister and the Wife to sleep together.

**Cleaning:**

Daily cleaning of the house is the duty of the women among the landowning group. The periodical cleaning is also their major duty wherein the males of the house participate. In the periodical cleaning Brother and Sister do their share of work and in this respect the interaction of a man with his Sister is not different from the interaction with other female members of the family like Mother and Wife.
Among the labourer section the Brother and Sister share equally the burdens of periodical cleaning. The daily cleaning of the kitchen is done by the Sister, but she shares this work with other female members of the house. The cleaning of other parts of the house is done either by the Brother or the Sister and there is no fixed pattern for this. Cleaning of the clothes is an individual work among both the groups.

Toilet:

Brother-Sister interaction, when the Brother is much older and the father is dead, is the same as Father-Daughter interaction among both the groups. Otherwise there is no scope for interaction between Brother and Sister concerning toilet.

Cooking:

Among the landowning group it is one of the primary duties of the Sister to cook for her Brother, especially when other female members of the household are unable to do so. The pattern of interaction is almost the same as similar interaction between Father and Daughter though the Brother does not exercise the same amount of authority over the Sister which a Father can do over his Daughter.

Among the labour class group the Brother very frequently helps his Sister in cooking but it is the primary duty of the Sister to cook especially when there are no other female members in the household.
Daily round of occupational activities:

Among the landowning group there is no scope for direct interaction between Brother and Sister as far as this item of daily routine is concerned. A Sister may help her Brother indirectly by cooking and serving the food in time but there is no direct interaction as such.

Among the labourer section there is direct and effective interaction between Brother and Sister concerning this item of daily routine. The Sister cannot do all types of work like her Brother. She cannot do ploughing. She cannot chop wood as a labourer. In spite of this the pattern of interaction between Brother and Sister is almost the same as between Brother and Brother in this group, only the Brother is more assertive in dealing with outsiders. The Sister is treated to be under his protection in the dealings with the outsiders.

Performance of religious rites:

The pattern of interaction between Brother and Sister concerning this aspect of daily routine is not different from the Brother's interaction with other female members of the household which has been described earlier. This holds true for both groups of Khandayat.

Recreational activities:

During childhood the Brother and Sister function as playmates though they also play with other unrelated male and female children. As they grow up they avoid each other's company and play with the young members of their respective sexes. The
Sister may observe the Brother playing and even give encouragements—but this is chiefly done among the labour class group. It is indecent for the Brother to watch his elderly Sister playing in the company of other grown up girls. In gossiping Brother and Sister avoid each other.

Rearing children:

Among the landowning Khandayat the pattern of Brother-Sister interaction concerning this aspect of daily routine is the same as that among the Brahman. Among the labourer section, grown up Sister is not expected to take part in the rearing of the children of his Brother as she has to attend to her occupational work. She occasionally helps her Brother's Wife when she has time to do so after the day's work.

Daily income and expenditure:

Among the landowning group the Sister is not an earning member of the household. There is therefore slight interaction between Brother and Sister concerning daily income and expenditure. Among the labourer section, however, there is direct and effective interaction. A Sister is as much an earning member of the household as the Brother. The pattern of Brother-Sister interaction here is the same as Father-Daughter interaction in this group (This has been described in the concerned chapter).

P A N O

After considering Brother-Sister relationship among the Brahman and the Khandayat, the Pano caste may be taken up for similar discussion. The background material about the
caste especially the role of the different members in the family have already been described. The position of the Brother and the Sister has been described in their different roles and these need not be repeated here.

It is noteworthy that among the Pano the difference of age does not evoke that respect which have been observed in case of the Brahman and Khandayat. The avoidance behaviour between Brother and Sister found among the former castes is comparatively nonexistent among the Pano. Another factor which influences Brother-Sister relationship is the fact that the Sister is always an earning member of the family.

It has also been observed that in case of the former two castes that the Father gives away the Daughter in marriage and in his absence the elder Brother performs this duty. This is true among the Pano only in a limited sense. The Pano girl has more freedom about marriage than girls from other castes and the marriages are made more according to her choice than according to the wishes of the Father or Brother. A Pano Sister can separate herself from her Brother, after her Father's death. The Separation of the unmarried Sister from the Brother is not universal, like the separation of the Brothers. However, if a Sister does not pull on well with her Brothers she can easily separate herself from him and live alone on her own earnings till her marriage. These factors strongly influence Brother-Sister relationship among the Pano and make it different from analogous relationship among other castes.

With this general note on the pattern of Brother-Sister relationship among the Pano the specific items of
daily routine may be taken up for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

There is no scope for interaction between Brother and Sister.

Defecation:

During childhood Brother and Sister defecate together in the fields adjoining their houses. They do so in the company of other children. Compared to the Brahman and the Khandayat Brother and Sister do not avoid each other, at the time of defecation, till they are sufficiently grownup.

Bathing:

Brother and Sister take their bath together during childhood. As they grow up they slightly avoid each other at the time of taking bath. For example Brother and Sister may take their bath very near to each other without directly looking at each other.

Eating:

Brother and Sister take their food together and from the same pot, during childhood. This is done to a comparatively later age compared to the other castes. Grownup Brothers and Sisters also take their food together occasionally before the marriage of either of them. Adult Brothers and Sisters do not wait for each other for eating during day time but usually a Sister does not take her food in the evening earlier than the Brother unless he is expected to be late.
Sleeping:

Brother and Sister sleep together during their childhood. The shortage of living space among the Pano, requires considerable adjustments between Brother and Sister after they become adults. It is only among the Pano that the adult Brother and Sister sleep in the same room, though they do so in the company of other members of the family. If Brother and Sister are the only inhabitants of the house then he arranges to sleep somewhere else. After the Brother's marriage the Sister avoids coming inside the house till late in the night i.e., up to eight or nine P.M. After that hour she enters the house and sleeps near her Brother's Wife. Very often the two women sleep at one corner of the house whereas the Brother sleeps alone at another corner.

Cleaning:

Both daily and periodical cleaning of the house is done by Brother and Sister co-operatively. This co-operation is not exclusive to them as other members of the household participate in this. The daily cleaning of the kitchen is usually done by the Sister but the Brother also does it occasionally. Cleaning of clothes is an individual affair both for Brother and Sister.

Toilet:

There is no scope for interaction between Brother and Sister as far as toilet is concerned. The Sister being a working woman purchases her own toilet requirements.
Cookings:

Among the Pano the Sister is a working woman and an earning member of the family. In spite of this it is her primary duty to cook for her Brother. She shares this responsibility with other women members of the household but when she is the only woman in the house she is primarily responsible for cooking. The responsibility of the Sister does not exclude the Brother from participating in cooking. It is noteworthy that it is the primary duty of the Sister to cook for her Brother but it is not her exclusive duty. The Brother is expected and in actual practice does, extend a helping hand to her in cooking. When she is late from work, the Brother starts the cooking. If the Sister is unable to do the cooking, the Brother cooks the food for both.

Daily round of occupational activities:

There is effective interaction between Brother and Sister in this item of daily routine. Both the grown up Brother and the Sister are earning members of the family. In their role as earning members they are somewhat independent of each other and also independent of the family. The pattern of interaction sharply differs in the two groups of the caste namely the landowning-cum-sharecropping group, among whom the girls are not permitted to work in the fields, and the labourer group among whom no adult girl remains idle or is entirely confined to household work. The pattern of interaction of the first group is almost similar to that of the landowning Khandayat, there being slight differences. A Pano Sister belonging to this group carries food and drink for her Brother in the field, whenever he is not able to return home to take
food. During harvest period she very often helps her Brother in carrying the paddy (products of the own fields or share cropping).

Among the labourer section the status of the Brother and Sister in the occupational activities are almost equal. The Sister can do all types of work except ploughing and driving bullock carts. During heavy working season the Brother goes to the field earlier. Though the Sister does almost equally heavy work, she cannot avoid the responsibility of household work. She has to cook and clean the house, fetch water required for cooking and other household work and clean the utensils. In doing this she is very often helped by the Brother. For example if he and the Sister have to go to fields early, then the Brother may kindle the fire in the oven, fetch water and clean his own utensils. Similarly when the Sister is late in returning from the field he may start the cooking without waiting for her. When the Sister is the only female member in the family she has greater responsibility for household work. Consequently she is more often helped by the Brother. When there are other female members in the family besides her she shares the household work with them and is only casually helped by the Brother.

The status of the Brother and Sister, as stated earlier is almost equal in the routine occupational activities, but the Brother has certain advantages by virtue of his being a male. The Sister does not work for a person whom the Brother does not approve. This code of conduct is especially observed when the Brother is the head of the family. Strictly speaking he has no control over the Sister in the occupational activities, but either
to them do not take up work with those who are antagonistic to any of them. Two cases have been recorded when Brothers left work because their Sister was not paid wages regularly by the Brahman employer. Another case of similar action by the Sister was also observed. If the Sister has any dispute with her employer, the Brother comes to her rescue. Brother and Sister share the expenses of the family, but while he spends all his income for the family she keeps away a small amount as reserve which she takes with her on her marriage. The Brother may borrow from this fund but he has to repay it.

Performance of religious rites:

There is no performance of religious rites among the Pano which can be considered as a part of daily routine.

Recreational activities:

Brother and Sister avoid each other at the time of gossiping, especially when an intimate topic is discussed. They neither play indoor games nor outdoor games together. There is no effective interaction between them as far as recreational activities are concerned.

Rearing children:

It is one of the recognised duties of the minor Sister to tend the children of the Brother - thus allowing him and his Wife to attend to occupational duties. An adult Sister has no time to do so as she is better employed in earning wages by outdoor work. An adult Sister, however, helps the Brother and his Wife in tending the children when there is any difficulty. For example when the Brother's Wife is ill or has
delivered a child the younger children are attended to by the Sister. The Brother on his part has little occasion to tend the children of his Sister. The married Sister rarely visits the house of her Brother. The visits are still rarer when she has children. A widowed Sister with children usually stays in the village of her Husband and a divorced Sister marries almost immediately after divorce. In two cases it was observed that divorced Sisters stayed with their Brothers, for brief periods - but in these cases they had no children.

Daily income and expenditure:
Neither the Brother nor the Sister hand over their daily earnings to the other. Both make purchases and incur expenditure for the family according to necessity. The Brother spends all his income to meet the expenditure of the family. The Sister also meets a part of the expenditure of the family but she also keeps away a small portion of her income as a reserve. This fund belongs entirely to her. She takes away the amount with her when she marries. The Brother does not object to this - rather it is one of his Brotherly duties to encourage such savings on her part. The Brother may borrow from the reserve fund of the Sister in case of emergency but he has to return it back as soon as possible.

The day to day expenditure on food is borne both by the Brother and the Sister. Casual expenditure, such as building a house or purchasing bullocks, is met by the Brother and the Sister is not expected to bear any share of it. For meeting these expenditure the Brother may borrow from the reserve fund of the Sister which he has to pay back.
After considering Brother-Sister relationship among the Pano, the Brother-Sister relationship among the Keuta, as it touches the daily routine, may now be taken up for discussion. The background materials stated in the previous chapters may also be referred to here for understanding the general caste characteristics and the family organisation among the Keuta. A point which has been emphasised before also needs reemphasis here. It is the prevalence of joint family system among the landowning section of the Keuta, which influences the pattern of Brother-Sister relationship among them, in their routine behaviour. This influence is not so much pronounced in its effect on Brother-Sister relationship as it is in case of Brother-Brother relationship. This can be seen from the foregoing description.

With this general note, the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up for discussion.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

It has been mentioned earlier that washing the face and cleaning the teeth have no ritual significance for either group of Keuta as it has among the Brahman, but among the landowning group it is done with an elaborateness which is not found among any non-Brahman caste. Serving the Brother with a pot of water and twig is a casual duty of the Sister. This is performed more regularly when the married Sister is on a visit from her Husband's house. This performance on the part of the married Sister is not an obligatory but a show of affection. Behaviour does not differ on the
basis of the Sister being elder or younger than the Brother.

Among the labourer group there is no scope for interaction between Brother and Sister concerning this aspect of daily routine. This is because of the preoccupation of the adult members of this group (both male and female) with occupational activities which makes them perform this item of daily routine quite casually, either while going to or returning from work. There is no difference of behaviour on the basis of seniority in age.

Defecation:

During childhood the interaction between Brother and Sister, concerning defecation, is the same as between Brother-Brother. As they grow up Brother and Sister avoid each other and it is considered very indecent for one to approach the place where the other is defecating. This holds true for both the groups. As mentioned earlier the women among the landowning group use their garden for defecation. If a Sister goes outside to defecate, due to lack of space in the garden, then the Brother considers it as a disgrace on his part. There is no difference on the basis of seniority in age or the marital status of the Sister.

Bathing:

During childhood the pattern of Brother-Sister interaction is the same as that between Brother and Brother. As they grow up Brother and Sister avoid each other at the time of taking bath. This is more strictly observed among the landowning group than among the labourer group, among whom Brother and Sister
some times take bath in the same pond at the same time, without however looking intentionally towards each other. In the first group the elder Brother meets the cost of bathing requirements of the younger Sister. There is no scope for such interaction with elder Sister as the elder Sister of an adult Brother is inevitably married and lives with her Husband. It is the duty of the Brother in this group to provide bathing facilities for his Sister in the garden. All the responsibilities towards the Sister in this group only becomes relevant after the death of the Father. Again the responsibility is much more relevant for the eldest Brother than the younger Brothers. In the labourer group there is no scope for interaction between the adult Brother and the adult Sister because of their daily round of occupational activities.

Eating:

Among both the groups of Keuta, there is no effective interaction between the Brother and Sister concerning eating, before they attain adulthood. Among the landowning group it is one of the duties of a Sister whether elder or younger, to serve food to her Brother. This is not solely her duty. She shares it with other female members of the family. This is done more regularly when a married Sister is on a visit from her Husband's house. This is done not so much to discharge an obligation but as a show of Sisterly affection. It is the duty of the Brother to bear the cost of fooding and to see whether his unmarried Sister takes food regularly and properly. This is especially done if the Father is dead and the man concerned is the eldest Brother. In discharging this duty the Brother very often comes to conflict with his Wife.
Among the labourer group the Sister does not serve food to the Brother except on rare occasions. As mentioned earlier the members of the family in this group mostly help themselves in taking food. The adult Sister in this group is an earning member of the family and contributes towards the family expenses on food.

Sleeping:

During childhood Brother and Sister sleep together, but they avoid each other at the time of sleeping as they grow up. Among the landowning group of Keuta there is adequate room for sleeping. Among the labourer group sleeping requires considerable adjustments. The adult Sister may sleep on the inner varandah or the shed where the husking lever is kept to allow the married Brother to sleep with his wife. This is done if there are other female members or children in the house to give her company. If there are none she sleeps with the Brother's wife during the late part of the night.

Cleaning:

Among the landowning group the daily cleaning is done by women and the Sister joins them. The Brother may sweep the outer courtyard and the room where the Bhagabatgadi is kept but it does not result in any effective interaction between Brother and Sister. The periodical cleaning is done by the women with the help of hired labour. It is the duty of the Brother to arrange the labourers as it is the duty of the Sister to utilise them properly but these are casual duties on the part of both.
Among the labourer group Brother and Sister share the burden of daily and periodic cleaning. The daily cleaning of the kitchen is done mostly by women but other aspects of daily cleaning are done by all adult members of the family.

Among both the groups washing of clothes is an individual affair. Brother and Sister wash their respective clothing.

Toilet:

Among the landowning group it is the duty of the adult Brother to procure and purchase the materials required for the toilet of the Sister, whether she is elder or younger but this duty is undertaken exclusively only after the death of the Father. The elder Sister occasionally helps her Mother in the toilet of her infant Brother. Among the labourer class group there is no scope for interaction between Brother and Sister as far as toilet is concerned. The adult Sister being an earning member of the family purchases her toilet requirements.

Cooking:

Among the landowning group cooking is exclusively the duty of women. There is no scope for direct interaction between Brother and Sister in this group, as far as cooking is concerned. It is one of the duties of the Sister to cook for her Brother. The married Sister on a visit from her Husband's house also participates in cooking as a mark of Sisterly affection though as a married girl she is not expected to the cooking in her Brother's house. It is the duty of the Brother to procure or
purchase the materials required for cooking but he is does not participate in cooking.

Among the labourer group Brother and Sister share the labours of cooking with other adult women in the household. Cooking is not the exclusive duty of women in this group but it is their primary duty. The Sisters therefore shoulders a heavier share of the work than the Brother. No part of cooking is especially reserved for either Brother or Sister. Both procure and purchase the materials required for cooking, the major contribution in this case being that of the Brother.

There is no difference of behaviour on the basis of seniority or juniority in age of either the Brother or the Sister in either group.

**Daily round of occupational activities:**

There is marked difference in the pattern of behaviour in both groups. Among the landowning group there is no scope for interaction as far as the daily round of occupational activities are concerned. The Sister is interested in the occupational activities and may some times discuss the prospects or problems of agriculture or commerce with her Brother. She may help him by cooking and serving food for him in time, but she has no scope to participate in the occupational activities so as to have direct interaction with the Brother.

Among the labourer group the pattern of interaction between Brother and Sister is almost the same as that between Brother and Brother. An adult Sister almost does as much work as the adult Brother. She is especially active in preparing
parched rice. The mode of participation of women in this work has been described earlier. This activity makes the status of the Sister almost equivalent to that of the Brother in the field of occupational activities. The cases of actual occurrence of this type of Brother-Sister interaction are however few as the Sister is married as soon as she attains adulthood. Though she is an earning member of the family a adult Sister is considered as somewhat incongruous in the nuclear family pattern among the labourer group of Keuta.

Performance of religious rites:

Among both the groups the daily performance of religious rites is confined to the respective individuals. One may salute the deities at specified times and offer prayers individually at specified hours. The women lit an oil lamp before the Tulsi plant among the landowning group but these donot result in any interaction between Brother and Sister. The performance of the Oasas can however be treated as a part of daily routine. There is effective interaction among both the groups in the performance of the Oasas. Among the landowning group the Brother purchases and procures the materials required for the Oasas. He also arranges for the materials required for and for the worship and calls the Brahman priest for those Oasas where his performance is required. The participation of the Sister mainly concerns the preparation of various types of cakes required on the occasion of each Osa. The types of cakes required on the occasion of each Osa. The interaction is more effective among the labourer group. Here both the Brother and the Sister procure and purchase the materials required for each Osa and both also participate in the preparation of the cakes.
There is no difference of behaviour on the basis of seniority of age of either Brother or Sister in either group.

**Recreational activities:**

During childhood Brother and Sister treat each other as playmates but they avoid each other as grown they grow up. There is no scope for interaction between Brother and Sister in the recreational activities.

**Rearing children:**

Among the landowning group it is one of the primary duties of the unmarried Sister to help her Brother's Wife in rearing his children. In doing this she lessens the burden of her Brother. The Brother is especially affectionate and tends very carefully the children of his married Sister during her brief visits to his house or still briefer visits of the Brother to her place. The Brother gives presents to the Sister's children but on her part is not expected to do the same towards the children of her Brother.

The interaction is markedly different among the labourer group. The Sister helps the Brother or his Wife in rearing children under exceptional circumstances such as illness of the Brother or his Wife. Otherwise she is more mindful of the occupational activities than the rearing of her Brother's children. The scope of interaction is further limited by the fact that the adult Sister is disposed off in marriage very early and after marriage the visits on both sides are few and far between.
Daily income and expenditure:

Among the landowning group there is little scope for interaction between Brother and Sister concerning this item of daily routine. It is the duty of the Brother to give some money to the Sister now and then which she keeps as a reserve fund and takes away with her to her Husband's house. This allowance is also given by the Brother to the Sister among other castes but among the landowning group of Keuta this is done more regularly and the amount involved is heavy compared to other castes but this has no implication in the daily routine. In meeting the daily expenditure of the household the Brother comes into effective interaction with the Sister only after the death of the Father. Brother-Sister interaction concerning routine expenditure is the same as that between Father and Daughter. This behaviour is motivated by the immense prestige value attached to the financial liberality towards Daughter and Sister among the landowning Keuta.

Among the labourer group the interaction between Brother and Sister is almost the same as that between Brother and Brother. The difference in the pattern of behaviour is that the Brothers (during the brief period when they are together after attaining adulthood) contributes their entire income for the expenditure of the family, only retaining a small amount for personal expenditure. The Sister, who is also a working woman, retains a large portion of her income for her personal expenditure as well as for a reserve fund. It is noteworthy that the Brother cannot refuse to maintain the Sister even if she is not able to earn. Maintaining the unmarried Sister is the sole duty of the Brother if the Father
is dead. A non-earning Sister is however treated as a burden on the family and is often subjected to abuse and maltreatment. Such behaviour is not considered as proper in the group but it is not viewed as a serious lapse on the part of the Brother.

DHOBA

After considering the Brother-Sister relationship among the Keuta the Dhoba caste may be taken up for similar discussion. The background material concerning family organisation and the role of different members in the family have already been described in the earlier chapters. The only thing which needs re-emphasis here is the completely subordinate position of women among Dhoba. This factor strongly influences the pattern of Brother-Sister relationship in the caste. The completely subordinate position of women among the Dhoba is responsible for the almost lack of difference of behaviour towards elder and younger sister. The younger Brother is able to play the same dominant role as the elder Brother where relationship with the Sister is concerned. The scope of interaction in the daily routine between adult Brother and adult Sister is very limited among the Dhoba. The Brother marries as soon as he attains adulthood and separates himself from his family of orientation soon after marriage. The Sister also marries early. Interaction in the daily routine is only possible when the Father dies before the marriage of the Daughter. With this general note the specific items of daily routine may now be taken up for consideration.
Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

As mentioned earlier the Dhoba are in the habit of washing their face and cleaning their teeth while doing their professional work. On rare occasions a Dhoba male does wash his face and clean his teeth sitting on the outer verandah and drawing water from a metal pot. It is an unspecified duty of the Sister to serve water and twig to the Brother on these occasions.

Defecation:

There is no scope for interaction between Brother and Sister. The residence of the Dhoba are situated at the outskirt of the village and the fields and water sources are very near to their houses. Defecation therefore does not present any problem for them requiring interaction between Brother and Sister.

Bathing:

There is no scope for effective interaction between Brother and Sister. During childhood they take their bath very often together but they avoid each other at the time of taking bath as they grow up. The Sister however does not hesitate to take her bath in the presence of her Brother and the same is also done by the Brother. It is only customary that neither should intently look at the other while she or he is taking bath. This type of behaviour is not expected of a Brother or Sister who is a minor.

Eating:

Brother-Sister relationship concerning eating shows a clearly the dominant position of the former in keeping with the completely subordinate status of women among the Dhoba. An
adult Sister among the Dhoba is an earning member of the household who does as much work as the Brother. Inspite of this she enjoys a complete subordinate status in the routine behaviour of eating. The pattern of interaction between Brother and Sister concerning eating is almost the same as that between Father and Daughter described earlier. The behaviour pattern is not different when the Brother is younger. It may be recalled here that the adult Son among the Dhoba also enjoys a dominant position with relation to his Mother.

Sleeping:

During childhood Brother and Sister sleep together but they do not sleep in the same room after attaining adulthood. The adult Sister makes adjustments to allow her Brother to sleep with his Wife.

Cleaning:

As mentioned before cleaning among the Dhoba can be divided into two categories - ordinary household cleaning and cleaning as a profession. In both categories of cleaning there is no scope for interaction when both or either is a minor. The behaviour pattern of an adult Brother and adult Sister is similar to that between Father and Daughter.

Toilet:

The adult Sister may comb the hair of her infant Brother, give him turmeric massage and paint his eyes with Kajal. These are primarily the duty of the Mother but the Sister does it often to help her. The adult Brother sometimes purchases the toilet articles required by the Sister but there is no scope for
active interaction between adult Brother and adult Sister as far as toilet is concerned.

Cooking:

It has been mentioned earlier that cooking is the exclusive duty of women among Dhoba. The pattern of Brother-Sister interaction is similar to that between Father and Daughter. The occasions where such interaction is possible are rare but in these rare cases it is effective. There is however no scope for interaction between Brother and Sister when both or either party is a child.

Daily round of occupational activities:

There is scope for effective interaction between adult Brother and adult Sister. This interaction is similar to that between Father and Daughter even in cases where the Brother is younger than the Sister. Like the previous item of daily routine, the occasions for interaction concerning this item are also rare but on those rare occasions it is as effective as similar interaction between Father and Daughter, which has been described earlier.

Performance of religious rites:

The Dhoba observes the fewest rituals compared to other castes. The interaction between Brother and Sister concerning this item of daily routine is also similar to that between Father and Daughter.

Recreational activities:

It has been mentioned earlier that the Dhoba children have a very limited society. They are considered as
untouchables by all the castes in the village except by the Pano. The Dhoba in their turn consider the Pano as untouchables. The Brothers and Sisters are therefore the main companions for playing during childhood. As they become adults there is hardly any scope for recreational activities except gossiping, because of the heavy round of occupational routine of Dhoba. An adult Sister avoids the adult Brother at the time of gossiping. The indoor games are played only occasionally and the playing of outdoor games is not in vogue among the Dhoba. An adult Brother never plays with the adult Sister.

Rearing children:

One of the recognised duties of the unmarried Dhoba Sister is to help the Brother's Wife in bringing up his children. The help given by Sister in this respect is neither occasional nor optional as is the case with other castes. This is a regular duty with her. When the Sister is too young to wash clothes, rearing the Brother's children is one of her major duties which keeps her engaged for most part of the day. It should be noted that she does not tend only the Brother's children. She also tends her younger Brothers as well as when they are children. Strict compliance with this duty is insisted upon by the Brother and the Father so as to enable the Mothers of the children to attend to their heavy occupational routine.

Daily income and expenditure:

There is no scope for interaction during the minority of either the Brother or the Sister is. Though the adult Sister is an earning member of the household and does as much
work as the Brother - she nevertheless plays a subordinate role concerning daily income and expenditure - similar to her playing a subordinate role to the Father. The pattern of interaction between Brother and Sister is the same as that between Father and Daughter.

GUDIA

In considering the behaviour pattern of different among the Gudia it has been shown in the previous chapters that it is identical to that of the landowning Khandayat, in almost all respects. In case of Brother-Sister relationship similar identity of behaviour has also been found with a slight variation in certain cases. The background factors about the caste and the role and status of different members in the family has already been stated in the previous chapters and need not be repeated here.

There is no difference of behaviour from the landowning Khandayat concerning Washing the face and cleaning the teeth, Defecation, Bathing, Eating, Sleeping, Cleaning, Toilet, Cooking, Performance of religious rites, Recreational activities, Daily income and expenditure.

There is some difference as far as the daily round of occupational activities are concerned. Here the interaction between adult Brother and adult Sister is similar to that between Father and Daughter - described in detail earlier. This interaction occurs in a group and is meaningful only in the group condition.
BADHEI

The position of Badhei is comparable to that of the Gudia in the sense that the routine behaviour of different kin inside nuclear family among both these castes is identical with similar behaviour among the landowning Khandayat, except in case of daily round of occupational activities and performance of religious rites. In both these cases the pattern of interaction between Brother and Sister is similar to that between Father and Daughter, described earlier. These activities also play an insignificant role in the daily routine of Badhei.