CHAPTER THREE

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM
Daily routine - What it means

Daily routine pertains to such activities which are repetitive within a stretch of twenty-four hours and which an individual must necessarily perform everyday unless he is seriously handicapped to do so. There are certain aspects of a man's activities which are automatic and physiologically determined. Breathing, the process of digesting, circulation of blood are activities of such nature. Man as an individual does not make efforts for performing these activities. These activities do not form a part of daily routine as they do not require any conscious human effort and do not result in social interaction. Only such activities which require conscious human effort and which man learns as a member of society and habitually practises every day have been considered here within the fold of daily routine. It is noteworthy that physiological drives like hunger and the urge to defecate etc., have no sociological significance considered by themselves, but these drives result in social interaction between individuals and groups and at that level comes to be within the purview of sociological enquiry.

Daily routine is not confined to those activities which an individual performs every day - throughout the year. There are certain occupational activities, like agricultural work, which are season-bound. Considered against the frame work of the annual life cycle of the people these are routine activities and have been treated as such in this dissertation.
Daily routine in the village

The daily routine in the village has a pattern of its own, within which differences based on caste, economic educational and idiosyncratic factors, can be observed. The general pattern may be described first. In describing it the daily routine of the males and females would be dealt separately as the differences pertaining to each differ widely. As the foregoing description would show, these differences are especially important within the framework of the village society.

For both men and women the day starts with dawn, which is about one hour before sunrise (This time is lengthened by about one hour during winter). Every body except old and infirm persons and small children get up at dawn. Not to do so is considered as bad manners especially for women.

Washing the face and cleaning the teeth:

After getting up from bed the men wash their face with cold water. The working class people clean their teeth before starting for or after returning from their first round of work, in the noon or even late in the afternoon. They do so while going to take their bath in the canal or in the tanks. The more well-to-do people clean their teeth early in the morning, after defecation. Cleaning of teeth is a much more elaborate affair for them. They sit on the outer varanda facing the village street and use a metal pot filled with water. A piece of small twig is used for cleaning teeth. This twig is called "Danta-Kathi" (Danta = teeth, Kathi = twig). This twig is cut from neem, Sahada or date-palm
leaves. Twigs are also cut from the roots of Kla plant and from a creeper of wild-growth called "Muturi". Cleaning the teeth with neem or Sahada twigs is considered good for dental health. Muturi twigs are more common and are either purchased or procured from the nearby forests. The other varieties are not available for purchase. They are procured by the individuals or by the younger members of the family. One end of the twig is chewed so as to make that end like the hair of a brush and then the teeth are cleaned with it by horizontal and vertical strokes. Fine cow-dung ashes are sometimes used as a sort of tooth powder. A narcotic paste called "Gudakhu" is used by many as tooth paste. This paste is used, as it is supposed to stimulate excrement. This paste is used by some as a narcotic several times a day. Tooth paste and tooth powder along with tooth brush have been introduced recently and are used by a very few people, especially by those villagers who stay outside the village for employment and study. Usually the villagers consider a tooth brush to be unclean as its teeth are suspected to have been prepared from horse-hair. Those who are used to twigs are accustomed to throwing them away after using them once so the practice of using the tooth brush again and again till it is worn out appears nauseating to them.

For the Brahmans, cleaning the teeth is considered a ritual. There are books in sanskrit on performance of daily routine (such as Mityakarma Darpana) wherein instructions are given about cleaning of teeth, specifying the species of the twig to be preferred. Preference is given to such twigs which give a "Kasa" or bitter-sweet taste. It also prescribes that the twigs used by Brahmans should measure twelve finger-breadth. On
interrogation it was found that twenty persons from among the Brahmans knew about this and five of them could chant the relevant Sanskrit verse, which shows that they are aware of the ritual significance of cleaning the teeth. There is no such ritual prescription for other castes. In actual practice a Brahman can be observed to clean his teeth more leisurely and with more elaborate preparations. Other castes perform it while doing other work. Majority of the Brahmans clean their teeth early in the morning just before or after defecation. The majority of other castes do so late in the morning or even in the afternoon. In some cases this is done even in the evening.

The women of all castes clean their teeth at their bathing place. Only old and infirm women perform this act at home. As the Brahman women take their bath during the early part of the morning, they also clean their teeth early. The working class women, especially the Pano women clean their teeth late, but not so late as their male counterparts as they are to cook the meals before the males take their bath. The women use the same materials for cleaning teeth as the men. A woman should not clean her teeth before males and even before elderly women, as it is considered ill manners to do so.

Defecation:

It is not just a minor item in the daily routine of the village. As there are no latrines in the village, people of both sexes go to the fields for defecation. This involves some preparation especially on the part of women as they are to finish the household duties, lock up the rooms and the kitchen and if there are small crawling children in the house, make arrangements
for them to be attended by somebody. On their way to the fields they are to avoid groups of males who might have gathered on the streets either doing some work or just gossiping. Again the timing of defecation is to be so adjusted as to avoid the male folks performing the same act in the fields or passing by the fields on some other work. Defecation is considered a very shameful act and women feel very shy to mention it to any male. The cloth which a man or woman wears at the time of defecation is treated to be polluted and should be washed immediately afterwards. One must not enter the house or touch anybody wearing these clothes. If one wears a "gamcha" (napkin) it is not considered as polluted (A "gamcha" for the males is a piece of coarse cloth which serves the purpose of a towel - for females it is a coarse piece of saree of deep colour. The males may wear the gamcha while doing the work but not while eating or performing puja unless it is freshly washed or wet. They may also put it on their shoulders. The females should not wear the gamcha while doing other work. Both males and females wash the gamcha every day.)

Both males and females wash their anus with the left hand taking water from the water source or pouring it from a metal pot. After washing the anus the hand is cleaned by rubbing it on soft ground with water or with mud and then washing it thoroughly with water. The educated people wash their hands with soap afterwards. Hands are not treated as clean unless they are washed with the help of soil or mud. For the Brahmins it is prescribed that they should clean their hands seven times with soil. In actual practice only three Brahmins admitted doing so. There is
no such prescription for the non-Brahman castes.

It is noteworthy that both males and females have an anal control which is not found among latrine using people. The necessity of excrement is very rarely felt urgently. People also very rarely go for excretion except at the usual fixed hours.

Bathing:

People take their bath in the ponds and in the canal. Bathing in the canal is considered more comfortable, but as the canal is situated at a distance and dry for two months in the year during the hot season, the ponds are usually preferred. Those who can afford to spend a considerable amount of time for their bathing, go to the canal every day. The wells of the village are individually owned. The owners of the wells and their families take their bath at these wells. They may also allow their friends to use the wells. However bathing in the ponds and in the canal is considered more comfortable as one can use the water freely whereas in bathing by the well the water is limited as it is drawn labouriously.

Before going to take their bath the men rub their heads with oil. When they can afford they also massage their bodies with oil. Usually mustard or coconut oil is used. On reaching the water source men take a dip in the water and the younger people may take a round of swimming. Then they rub their bodies with a piece of napkin and take another dip. After that the napkin is squeezed dry and the hair and body is dried with it. They return wearing wet clothes and change over to dry ones after reaching their homes.
The women take their bath just like men but they do not wash their heads every day because of the difficulty of drying the hair. In addition to oil the women massage their bodies with turmeric paste. It is compulsory to have a turmeric bath after menstruation. Toilet soap is used by the sophisticated section of the people. A number of villagers belonging to all castes have also begun to use toilet soap. They use the soap not more than once or twice a week.

Different timings are fixed for the bath of both women. Men take their bath either very early in the morning or late in the afternoon. The women take their bath in between. Different places are fixed for men and women of different castes. Mainly there are six fixed places namely for Brahman male, Brahman female, non-Brahman-non-Pano male, Non-Brahman-non-Pano female and Pano male and female. This type of discrimination is maintained both by the side of the ponds and the canal.

The older and orthodox section of the Brahmins return from the bathing place chanting Sanskrit hymns. They visit the Siva temple and offer some water there before returning home. A few of the Khandayat, Keuta and Gudia also visit the temple but do not offer water. They only do obeisance to the lord. The Panos of course do not visit the temple but two of them were observed to be regularly prostrating themselves at a distance from the temple after taking their bath.

Eating:

The habit of eating and items of food differ widely in the village. The differences are based on caste,
economic, educational as well as ideosyncratic factors. Here the general mode of eating is being described to form a background to the discussion proper.

Men and women usually take their food three times a day. Those who can afford eat four times and still other may take food only twice or even once a day. The working people take bowlful of watered rice with salt, chilly and onions or simply with salt, as their breakfast. A piece of boiled vegetable or some sag or a piece of dried fish smoked in the oven is considered as a delicacy. The next meal, which is either a more substantial replica of the breakfast of boiled rice with either dal or vegetables is taken between one to four P.M. A similar type of meal is taken by seven P.M. This meal is not taken if the lunch is taken very late, say between four and five P.M. Well-to-do men take their breakfast by 8 A.M. in the morning. The breakfast consists of either fried rice with a drop of ghee or oil or parched rice. Tea is usually taken with these items of food. Watered rice is usually taken with boiled or baked vegetables or fried sag and salt, onion and chilly. Chakuli cake is a delicacy which is very few can afford to take frequently. So is the case with bread and other cakes. When these are taken for breakfast, boiled or fried vegetables are taken as side dishes. Lunch consists of rice, dal, vegetables (one or more dishes) sag and one sour dish. These items are increased or decreased according to means. Fish and meat are not regularly taken as they are not available for purchase. Fish can be taken when they are caught in the ponds or in the canal. Meat is more rare and is occasionally brought by Muhammadan butchers. (It is noteworthy
that killing of animals is prohibited within the village area. This is a tradition specific to this village.) It is said that Aparti Mohapatra, one of the illustrious ancestors who has been described in the background chapter, prohibited such killing and this tradition is being honoured even to this day. In the afternoon the breakfast items excepting the watered rice are taken with tea. All the items of lunch are taken during dinner only rice may be replaced by bread or chakuli cake according to the choice of the eater. Women of all castes and classes take watered rice for their breakfast even if other items had been prepared for their men folk. There is no difference in the items taken for lunch and dinner. The afternoon snacks are not taken by women as they take very late lunch. Their breakfast is however more substantial than the males. Tea is taken by very few women. Women generally take their breakfast, lunch and dinner after the males of the house have taken theirs. The working class women take their breakfast simultaneously with the males of the house as they are to accompany them for going to work. Preference being given to the males, one or two items may fall short when the females take their food.

Only Brahmans attach any ritual importance to eating. Breakfast and afternoon snacks have no ritual significance. The lunch is taken after some ritual offerings. Some grains of rice and a little of other items are put on the ground as offerings with the chanting of the Sanskrit hymns specially meant for this occasion. These hymns are considered to be the minimum which a Brahman must know. Before the first adult takes lunch he offers it first before the household deity and then partakes of it. Similar rituals are accompanied with dinner. A Brahman should not
get up before finishing his meals and if he gets up he does not take
the leftover food again. None who is not a Brahman should touch
him while he is eating. All castes of people, except the Pano take
their meals inside their houses. The Panos sometimes take their
meals in the narrow lane of their ward. This happens because of lack
of space and ill-ventilation inside the house.

A man does not feel shy while he is
eating. A woman has to avoid the elders while eating and if she has
come newly to the father-in-law's house she is very shy about eating.
In general it is considered a virtue for the women not to be too
eager to eat. Young married women should not take their food unless
they are asked to do so by their elders. They are also expected not
to grudge the shortage of food or if some item is lacking.

Sleeping:

It has been mentioned earlier in this
chapter that all sections of people excepting the old and the infirm
get up at dawn. The women get up earlier than the men as they have
to perform household duties. Likewise all sections of people go to
sleep very early in the evening. The working class people are asleep
before seven P.M. Very few persons remain awake after 9 P.M. This
routine, which the villagers had to follow due to want of lighting,
is gradually changing. Lanterns, which were rare a decade back, are
now to be found in almost every household. This has helped people
to move about after dark but the habit of taking food early in the
evening has not changed. Cooking, eating and cleaning of the kitchen
and utensils are considered as bothersome work in the night, which
should be completed as early as possible. If the men do not go to
bed after taking their dinner then they gossip here and there in the village. The women, after completing the household work for the night, also gossip among themselves. All castes and classes of people take an afternoon nap. The nap may be of a duration of one to three hours, depending on the daily work cycle of the individuals. Small children and old people sleep for longer hours in day time. Women burdened with household duties can only take brief naps.

Husband and Wife, unless they are very old sleep together. The small children sleep with them. The elder children sleep elsewhere and with the grand parents if they are alive. There are cots in not more than twentyfive households in the village. The cot is usually meant for the head of the household and may be given over to a newly married couple. Mostly bed is made of spreading a mat on the floor and putting some "Kantha" (old sarees and dhoties sewn together). Due to lack of space inside the house all except the married couples, sleep on one mat. If the house is too small (such as an one room house with a small and thin partition earmarking a section of the room as kitchen) then some adjustments in timing is made for sleeping in the night. If there is a young married couple, the older people stay outside the house till late in the night, so as to allow the couple enough time for coitus. When they enter the house arrangements are made for the women to sleep together around the kitchen. The males sleep together in the other portion of the house. During the winter all the females use one mat and all the males use another to cover themselves for preventing the cold. In well-to-do houses separate rooms are provided for each married couple and the others sleep in an inside portico or varanda. Cushions,
bedsheets, blankets and pillows are used in these houses. Very few people, even among the well-to-do families use mosquito nets as it gives them a feeling of suffocation.

Women generally go to bed after their malefolks. In some cases the males return late in the night after finishing their gossiping or came from playing cards and go to sleep after the females. It is considered good manners for the Wife to lie awake for the Husband. Before going to sleep the Wife massages the Husband. This practice is supposed to stimulate the sexual instinct. With the growth of sophistication this practice is just disappearing and many in the village would now regard it as unusual. Menstruating women sleep separately and they donot touch any body till menstrual flow has stopped, and they take a purifying bath with turmeric. With the breaking up of the joint families and growth of sophistication this practice is also dying out and is now only confined to the Brahmans staying in the Village. Brahmans, when they stay outside are also forced by circumstances not to observe this.

Cleaning:

The courtyard is sprinkled with cowdung water and swept early in the morning. This is done as the first work of the day by the women and nothing should be done before. It is considered as inauspicious if the courtyard is not swept very early in the morning - before the first crow crows. The house is swept after every body gets up and an unswept house, though considered unclean, is not considered as so inauspicious as an unswept courtyard. The kitchen is the second place which is swept and rubbed with a piece of cloth dipped in cowdung water. This is the only room which
is so rubbed. The courtyard and the floor of the house (if it is earthen) may be smeared with cowdung and mud from time to time. The courtyard is smeared more often, once or twice during a fortnight as it is exposed to heat and cold and gets dirty very easily. The floor of the rooms and verandas are smeared less often because of the difficulty of removing household articles most of which are placed on the floor. The floor and the walls must be thoroughly smeared after observation of mortuary rites of family members and near relatives.

The mode of cleaning the house differs from caste to caste and is also dependent on economic status and the size of the house. The Brahmans are more particular about cleaning than other castes. The non-Pano Shudras are less particular than Brahmans but individual families among them may equal them. The Pano houses are traditionally supposed to be unclean but it has been observed that because of the small size of the houses and paucity of furniture diligent Pano housewives can sweep and smear their houses more often than other caste people.

Cleaning the cowshed may be treated separately. In case of the Brahmans the cowsheds are situated at a distance from the house. In case of other castes the cowshed is attached to the house and may form the entrance to the house. The cleaning of the cowshed has a ritual significance for all castes except the Pano. It must be cleared and washed every day after the cows leave for grazing and the bullocks leave for work. Usually it is cleaned by the males before they take their bath. The Brahmans either clean it themselves which the majority of them do, or as is the case with a few families, they employ other persons including the Pano.
for this purpose. It is considered inauspicious among the Brahman and the non-Pano Shudra if the cowshed is not cleaned during the day due to some difficulties.

Washing the clothes for the purpose of cleaning is not done every day but the clothes are washed in water at the time of bathing every day. The napkins, which are used at the time of excretion are washed every day and in case of males they also serve as towels. All the castes, except the Pano, give their clothes to the washerman for cleaning. They also wash them once or twice a week at the time of taking bath. Soap and soda are used for this purpose. The women very rarely wash their clothes. They prefer to give their sarees to the washer-woman. The sarees worn at the time of menstruation must be given to the washerwoman for cleaning - otherwise they are not treated as cleaned. The women are also prohibited to wash their menstruation clothes. The Pano women of course wash their own menstruation clothes.

Children's clothes are washed by their Mother. The children in most cases and among all castes do not wear anything till they are about two years old. Even then they may wear a piece of cloth (pant, shirt and banyans are also used) occasionally, especially when they go outside the village or on ceremonial purposes. The clothing worn by children are therefore scanty. The Mother however has to clean the clothes on which the child sleeps and excretes. These have to be cleaned a number of times every day. Soap is used by a few.
Toilet:

Toilet in the village is chiefly confined to women. As an item of daily routine it is almost negligible for the males. Only the males who have come under urbanised influence attach some importance to their toilet. Male toilet mainly consists of combing the hair and using oil on the hair. Occasionally soap is also used. Female toilet is more elaborate. It consists of using turmeric paste at the time of bath, painting eyes with the black paste called "Kajal", using oil on the hair, combing the hair and binding it with a knot. Among the poorer section wax is used to brighten hair. Vermilion is used by married women and sometimes by the unmarried. Toilet is generally not allowed to widows but they can perform all the items of toilet except using vermilion, among all castes except the Brahmans.

The toilet materials described above are the traditional items of the village. Among the modern items, toilet soap, toilet powder, snow and creams have now come to be increasingly used among younger women especially among newly married women. The barber women cut the nails of the women. On ceremonial occasions "Alata" is worn on the feet. Turmeric powder is smeared on the body with oil on ceremonial occasions and for the cleaning bath after menstruation.

Cooking:

Among all castes cooking is done by women. It has been mentioned earlier that the kitchen is swept and smeared every day early in the morning. Among the Brahmans the breakfast may be prepared by the women before taking bath but the cooking for
lunch is done only after taking bath. The principle is that the metal pots, with which breakfast is prepared, and also a few earthen pots which are kept separately and do not form a part of the main earthen ware of the kitchen may be touched before taking bath. The main earthen ware, in which rice and dal are cooked are considered sacred and should not be touched without taking bath. These earthen pots should not be touched at the time of menstruation. They are polluted if touched by a dog or a crow or by a person belonging to another caste. They are also polluted if touched by a member of the family who is wearing clothes with which he had gone outside - a market place for example. The pollution of the kitchen is also observed by other castes.

For those who are habituated to taking watered rice in the morning, there is no early morning cooking. In some cases however a little cooking is required to fry some greens-leaves (sag) which is taken with watered rice. There is also no early morning cooking for those who take parched rice soaked in water and mixed with treacles or sugar as their breakfast. In case of those who take cakes (chakuli) there is elaborate early morning cooking especially if the pestle is to be prepared fresh in the morning. As tea is being taken by more and more families, the kindling of the oven in the morning has become necessary in a large number of households. To avoid the use of the kitchen in the morning a small oven is mostly erected outside the kitchen for preparation breakfast and morning tea.
Among the Brahmans and other families where the women do not go for work cooking starts at about 10 A.M. and completed by 12 O'Clock. Rice is the last item to be cooked as it is preferred to be served hot. The afternoon cooking starts by 5 P.M. and completed before dark. It may be as late as 7 P.M. for those who can afford to have lanterns. Afternoon tiffin, which consists of cakes or fried rice may start at four P.M. and is finished within half an hour. Where the women go to work cooking is a less elaborate affair. The oven is lit only once during the day either in the afternoon or in the evening. In winter cooking is done in the evening as hot rice is relished in the winter nights. Rice for the lunch of the subsequent day is cooked simultaneously and water is put in it. Breakfast is never cooked separately but cakes may be baked in the evening for the subsequent morning. The dishes prepared in a working class family are also scanty. Mostly rice is taken with a pinch of salt, onions and chillies. A smoked dried fish or spinach fry is also taken occasionally. Dal and vegetables are cooked rarely. For the working class people the most affluent season is also the season of heaviest work. It does not therefore become possible to devote more time to the cooking for preparing a larger number of dishes. It is one of the reasons why the women of a family stop working in the fields when the economic condition of the family improves.

Cooking is connected with a number of precedent activities such as fetching water, slicing vegetables and preparing spice paste. Rice is also to be winnowed and cleared of pebbles and paddy husks before being boiled. Fish is also picked
and cleaned carefully before being cooked. The housewife considers these activities as more laborious and boring than cooking itself. In well-to-do families, servants are employed to fetch water but the rest of the work are done by the housewives. No family employs a cook. The stock and store for cooking is kept by the women, especially the elder women of the family. The metal cooking utensils may be taken to the pond for washing but the earthen utensils are not taken outside the house. If moved outside the house, they are considered to be polluted and are discarded.

**Daily round of occupational activities:**

The table on estimation of working force in the village gives the total figures of the working population of the village. These figures show the caste and sex-wise strength of the working population. In calculating the working force both the actual and the potential workers have been taken into consideration. Actual workers are those who are engaged in some economic occupational activities other than household work. The potential workers are those who were not working at the time of the enumeration but on whom there was no social or ritual ban to take up any occupational work. From this point of view all the adult males of all castes, other than those who were studying or were physically handicapped have been enumerated as belonging to the category of working population. From among the adult females, the Brahman women have been left out altogether because of the ritual ban on them to undertake any work other than household work. No such ritual ban prevents the women of the other castes to undertake occupational work. Only individuals of all castes, who have been able to improve
their economic conditions during the last one decade prohibit their women to go to work. This prohibition is especially insisted upon the young women and more so if they are married. These women have also not been enumerated within the category of working class population.

For the villagers who stay and work in the village the main occupation is agriculture. This would be clear from the table stating the figures of persons employed in land as main and subsidiary occupation. Even those who stay and work outside the village own lands in the village and give some attention to it. The work pattern of the village is therefore based on the cycle of agricultural activities.

Work in connection with agricultural activities may be divided into three periodical phases - namely the ploughing and sowing period, the weeding and harvesting period and the slack periods in between harvesting and ploughing and in between sowing and weeding. The period between harvesting and ploughing which is roughly from December - January to May - June is the real slack season when the villagers take a holiday from agricultural work. The period between sowing and weeding which is roughly from June to August is also another slack season but during this period the fields require some attention and some preparation is needed for the approaching harvest season.

During the ploughing and sowing season the labourers work either in one shift or two shifts. Those who work in one shift get up before dawn and proceed to the fields immediately after breakfast. They gather the plough and the bullocks
from the landowner's house on their way to the fields. They work continuously till 1 P.M. in the afternoon. During the course of work they may rest once or twice for fifteen minutes to drink water and to allow the bullocks some rest. On completing the work they again return to the landowner's house to deposit the plough and the bullocks. After reaching home they take a hasty dip in a nearby pond slapping their body with a little oil. After taking their bath they at once sit down for lunch which inevitably consists of watered rice with a side dish of vegetables or dried fish or simply with salt and onion. After the meals they sleep on a piece of mat till evening. Though the rooms are ill-ventilated they sleep inside the house to avoid the heat of the sun which is very oppressive in the open. After getting up they attend to some minor household work and some may visit the landowner's house to feed the bullocks for which they receive some extra remuneration. They again go to bed at about seven P.M. after taking dinner. The dinner consists of watered rice or freshly boiled rice and dal or side dishes according to choice. Those who work in two shifts start for work at seven A.M. and return by eleven A.M. In the afternoon they start for work by three P.M. and return before sunset. Their other activities are just like the one shift workers with slight deviations in timings.

The women of all castes are prohibited from ploughing lands or digging the earth, therefore they have no work to do in the fields during the ploughing and sowing season. During this period they have to adjust their domestic work according to the requirements of their male folk. They have to serve the breakfast early in the morning and cook the lunch late in the
afternoon. During this period the Pano women visit the forests regularly to procure wood for fuel. They do not fell trees but only cut the dry creepers which are suitable for fuel purposes.

The table on the pattern of land utilization shows that only the Brahman and the Keuta lease out land to others whereas other castes either cultivate their own land or those leased in on share-cropping basis. The big landowners of the village are those who own above fifteen acres of land. Families owning fifteen acres of land or more are nine among the Brahmans and six among the Keutas. The maximum land holding is below ten acres among other castes. Thus from the view of the pattern of daily routine the persons employed in land may be divided into two groups: those who do manual labour in the fields and those who supervise the work of others. In the first category belong those who are agricultural labourers and those who own small amount of land. In the second category belong those who are prohibited from ploughing land because of the caste restrictions and those who have more land than they can cultivate themselves. The daily routine of the first group has been described earlier. The second group consists of the members of the nine Brahman families and six Keuta families who own more than fifteen acres. The adult males of those families, generally the oldest member of each family, goes to the fields for supervising the work of the labourers during the ploughing season. During the harvesting season they go to the fields both for supervising the work of the labourers and for checking the harvesting of the crops by the share-croppers. As is usual with the villagers they get up early but go round their daily routine in a leisurely manner. They
finish exercising and cleaning the teeth by seven A.M. and may spend sometime in morning gossiping. Breakfast is taken between 8.30 to 9.30 A.M. After breakfast they dress up, take an umbrella (some even take a walking stick with them) and start to the fields. On reaching the field they select a shady spot near the fields where the labourers are working and watch the progress of work. They give loud instructions when they see something going slow or going wrong. Those who have cordial relationship with the labourers may enter into a friendly chat with them. After doing their supervisory work they return from the fields much earlier than the labourers. On reaching their home they rest for a short while and fan themselves before taking bath. After bath they take their lunch at about one P.M. and take a nap up to three P.M. After getting up they may visit the fields again and return before sunset. After returning from the field in the evening they have a thorough wash and sit at a central place for gossiping. After finishing their lunch by eight P.M. they go to bed. The daily routine of females does not differ from those of the well-to-do families described earlier in this chapter.

The harvesting season falls during winter. As paddy is the major crop grown in the village harvesting paddy is the major work during the season. This consists of two main rounds of activities firstly cutting the paddy plants and bringing them to the harvesting yard and secondly thrashing and husking. The first round demand strict adherence to routine. The plants are to be cut within a limited period otherwise it would be spoiled. For this reason people become very punctual during this period. As harvesting is a much more pleasant job than ploughing and
weeding and also much more rewarding (bringing paddy home is considered as the reward a peasant receives for the years' toil). The workers ungrudgingly adhere to the exacting routine and the village appears empty during the working hours. In spite of the cold the workers get up early to put in at least two hours of work before sunrise. They work continuously till 10 to 11 A.M. after which they return home to take bath and eat food. Because of the cold very few take watered rice for breakfast. They may take a piece of cake prepared with rice and black gram paste which is baked in the evening. This is also dispensed with in many cases as they return early for lunch. They start for the second round of work at about 3 P.M. and work till dark. In moonlit nights they may even work till eight P.M. Tea is now being increasingly taken during the season and raw tea is often prepared in the field.

Performance of religious rites:

The most important of the religious and other rites are those which are performed on special occasions. Some of these rites occur in cyclical order every year. Others like mortuary and initiation rites occur when the occasion demands. These have been considered elsewhere. Here only the performance of religious rites as it occurs in the daily routine of the persons from various castes need be taken into consideration.

The majority of the Brahmans chant sanskrit hymns when they get up from their beds. These hymns are called "Prabhat-Bandana". (Prabha= morning, Bandana = Prayer). These hymns are meant first for Durga, second for Bishnu and third for Surya (sun). They either sit on their beds for chanting these
hymns or walking to the fields for excrement some also salute the sun at the sunrise. While returning after taking bath, usually they visit the Shiva temple situated in the middle of the village and salute Shiva by touching their head on the ground before the deity. Some of them pour a pot of water brought from the bathing place. Occasionally flowers and the leaves of the Bel tree are also offered.

When the elder member of the Brahman family enters his house after taking bath, it is his first duty to give a bath to the house deity and offer him food. The house deity for Brahmins is "Salagram". These are spherical pebbles of deep black glossy colour. They are supposed to be found on the bed of the river "Ganduki" near Himalayas. Only the Brahmins have the right to keep them in their houses and worship them. Besides the Salagrams metal images of Bishnu, Suraya, Laxmi, Krishna, Rama and Hanuman are also placed and worshipped. They are either placed on a wooden platform called "Khatuli" (meaning a small cot) or on a wooden throne called "Bibhan" (Bibhan is the colloquial form for the sanskrit word "Biman" which means a chariot. This word is in vogue only in this and the adjoining villages). The Khatuli is a wooden platform about 2' x 2' in size standing on four legs. There are wooden railing on the sides with decorations. The Bibhan is shaped like a miniature wooden temple whose height may vary from two to six feet. The house deities may also be kept in a small cupboard called "Kanthakura". The palm leaf books containing the Puranas are also kept with the house deities and offered worship with them.
These deities are washed in cold water. This water is regarded as sacred and thrown in a secluded place where there is no chance of anybody treading on it. After washing they are kept in their proper places and sandalwood paste is applied to them. The food offerings, if the worship is done early in the morning, may consist of fried paddy, fruits, treacles - all or one of them. If any cake or other vegetarian dish is prepared in the house, these are also offered. Every day before the lunch is eaten it is offered to the deity in a plate. The nonvegetarian dishes are not so offered.

In the evening when the gongs and the bells sound in the temple of Shiva, the elderly Brahmans start their evening prayer. Every elderly Brahman would be sitting in the front veranda of his house, finishing the day's work and having washed for the evening. Evening worship is also performed for the household deities when incense is burnt and oil or butter lamps are lit before the deity. Before taking either lunch or dinner the "Chalu" hymn is chanted and a few grains of rice with an equally small quantity of rice and vegetables are placed on the ground as offerings from the plates and some water sprinkled over it. Non-vegetarian dishes are served only after "Chalu" is finished. "Chalu" hymn is the minimum which a Brahman is expected to know.

The Brahman women perform a puja or "Osa" almost every day. The special "Osas" have been described elsewhere. The minor Osas are so numerous that they can be included in the daily routine of Brahman women. The specific method of performing of an Osa differs from one another. A common feature of the Osa is that
the worship is done by the women without chanting any sanskrit hymns. The women are prohibited from chanting hymns. Besides this prohibition most of the Osas, being of indigenous origin, have no sanskrit hymns to their credit. The worship for most of the Osas is done in the morning after bath but before taking any food. Some of the Osas are also performed in the afternoon and in the evening but they do not came within the purview of daily routine. The Brahman women also make offerings to the house deity but do not chant hymns. In the evenings they are too busy to offer any prayers but when the gongs sound in the evening they offer their salutations.

The non-Pano Shudras also visit the temple and pay obeisance to Shiva after their bath. They do not enter the temple to pour water on the deity like the Brahmans but get upon the corridor and go as far as the entrance door and may also stretch their hands inside the temple room. The Panos while paying obeisance do not touch even the corridor. Most of the Pano are not particular about this peformance.

The non Brahman castes also say their evening prayers or simply make salutations when the gong sounds. The non-Pano Shudras have a Bhagabatghar or Bhagabatgadi each. This is a spacious room where either a deity or a bunch of palm-leaves books are kept in the same manner as the house deities are kept in the house of the Brahmans. The caste people do not touch the deities of their castes but employ Brahmans to worship them. The Brahman bathes the deities in the morning and offers worship in the evening. The interested members of the caste gather in the Bhagabatghar in the evening to listen to Puranas read by Brahmans specially appointed
appointed for the purpose.

Recreational activities:

The chief among recreational activities of the village which can be included in the daily routine is gossiping. Indoor games like playing cards or playing "Pasha" (a game of dice) are also frequently resorted to but not every day. These however may also be included in the daily routine.

The Brahmans of the village have more leisure than other castes. They, therefore, can be found gossiping in group at any time in the day. The most usual time of gossiping is after the midday nap and in the evening. The topics of these gossip have a very wide range. News of international and national importance, village affairs, condition and prospects of crops, information about different factions in the village, personal scandals these are the common topics especially the latter ones. Usually persons belonging to the same age group gather together for gossiping but the gathering of persons of different age groups, except those who are regarded as youngesters, take part in gossiping together. The gatherings generally take place on some one's veranda or in the village square. The non-Brahman castes also gather for gossiping whenever they get time. The working class people have very little occasion for gossiping as they are not interested in most of the topics which form the subject matter for gossiping.

For the women gossiping is a much more absorbing pastime. The most usual time for gossiping for women is after the midday meal. In the evenings they are busy with cooking and cannot go out after dinner as the men do. Another feature of
female gossiping is that a major part of it performed at time of bath and excrement, women always go to take their bath in group and their bathing places are very noisy in discussions. The range of topics is much narrower than in the case of the males and village affairs and personal scandals are the main topics which are discussed during gossiping. Sometimes it also leads to quarreling.

Dice playing is an ancient play. This is played mainly by the older section of the Brahmans in the afternoon. Dices are thrown, calling for the required number in a very loud voice. It is not played by the women of the village. The dice cloth is in the shape of a cross whose hands are about two feet length and six inches in breadth. One inch squares are arranged in rows of three on the cloth by sewing pieces of clothes of various colours. The dices are in the shape of rectangular cubes 3" x ½" in size and are made of ivory. The draughts are dome shaped and made of wood. All these dice equipments together are called "Pasha Pali". There are not more than six Pasha Pali in the village. The game is played by four persons but usually about ten spectators gather round the game. These spectators are as much vigorous participants in the game as the players themselves. The game is not considered enjoyable unless there is a lot of shouting by the players and spectators.

Card playing is comparatively a modern game. This game is played by the younger sections both male and female. Standard playing cards are purchased for this purpose from the market. The game "Twenty-nine" is the game which is most commonly played. This game is played usually in the afternoon. Unlike "Pasha", males of different castes may sit together for card playing.
The Pano and the Dhoba of course do not play with other castes.

There is another minor dice game called "Tiger and goat" (Bhagha-Chelli). The dice square is traced on the ground with a piece of charcoal and pebbles of different sizes are used as draughts. This game is played by two players one representing the tiger and the other representing the goats. This game is mostly played by the youngesters and adults do not usually participate.

Playing the indoor games is an activity which is considered as whiling away the time. It is considered ill manners for the young to play the game before the elders. The elders from their side avoid the places where the game is being played by the younger people.

There are a number of outdoor country games which are played by the villagers. The chief among them are "Dodo" or "Kit kit", "Bohm-Chori" (Bohm = bride, Chori = stealing) and "Bagudi". These games are played both by the young and the adult. The old people do not and cannot take part as these games require a lot of running and dashing. Women and girls are also prohibited from taking part in the outdoor games. The main feature of these games is to chase and capture the opponents or defy capture by them. Chasing and capturing should be done in a single breath. There are also certain outdoor games specifically meant for children and youngesters. They are "Kanki" (which literally means a variety of butterfly) Guli and Kathi Chori (stealing the twig). In the "Kanki" game the player has to stand on one leg and jump over a number of squares hitting a coin shaped potsherd with the toes from
Guli is played with a pebble like ball, about half inch in diameter, made of glass or china clay. The play of guli can be compared to the play of golf. For playing Kathi Chori the children sit in a circle facing the centre. One child, the thief runs behind them and silently puts a twig behind one. If the child is not able to discover the twig behind him he in his turn becomes the thief. The games for the children are played by mixed groups of boys and girls and can be included in the daily routine as they are almost played every day, whenever there is an opportunity. The games for the elders are played occasionally so they do not form a part of the daily routine.

**Rearing children:**

One of the most important items of the daily routine of the villagers is rearing children. The mode of rearing children of various age groups sharply differs on the basis of caste and economic differences. This is also the sphere of activities where there are sharp idiosyncratic differences. Educational factors also play their role here.

Among the Brahmans the caste, economic and educational factors operate conjunctively. The child is primarily reared by the mother. It sleeps with the mother fed, bathed, and dressed by her, some of the mothers functions are taken over by the child’s Grand-mother. The extent to which this is done is dependent on the mutual relationship between the parents and the Grand-parents of the child. The child rearing practices among the Brahman are strongly influenced by the demands of cleanliness and early education. The inculcation of the personal and social etiquette
is another factor influencing the child rearing. From the social point of view the Brahman child has a longer childhood than the children of other castes, because of the demands of education and social etiquette. For the same reasons the transition of a Brahman child from childhood to adulthood is also slower than other castes.

Among the non-Brahman castes the child-rearing practices are influenced by the working habits of the parents and the prospects of the child's helping in the labour of the parents. For this reason the problem of the child's education has a lesser influence on the child rearing practices than is the case with the Brahman.

The task of inculcating social etiquette is also a lesser problem for the non-Brahman castes. The professional castes like Dhoba, because of the heavy and exacting demand on their hereditary profession, have to break in the children at a still earlier age for helping in the profession. Inculcating of cleanly habits do not pose such a problem for the non-Brahman castes and this problem is of least importance among the Pano.

Because of the wide differences in the method and objective of child rearing a general discussion about it as an item in the daily routine may be misleading, unless it done with relation to specific caste, economic and educational groups. Some of the very general features which is common to all may be referred to gere.

It has been mentioned earlier that the main burden of rearing children at the infant stage is shouldered by the Mother. She feeds the child at regular intervals. Almost all the
children are breastfed at the infant stage. Gradually cow's milk is introduced. For feeding the child with cow's milk the child is placed on the laps with mouth upwards and cold milk is put to its mouth with a shell. At the time of breast feeding the child is fed about ten times a day. Besides the regular feeding whenever the child cries it is breastfed. Milk feeding is done at least four times a day. Weaning away from milk feeding is done at an early age.

Before the child is one year old it is fed with the gruel of perched rice. At the age of two the child begins to eat rice as staple food. The milk eating period is prolonged among the economically well-to-do group. Among the poorer sections of the working class rice eating is practised early.

Children are rarely given a bath. Instead of bathing the children it is considered more proper to massage them with turmeric paste and oil in the afternoon. By giving bath to the child either in cold or warm water the child is supposed to catch cold. This practice is being given up by those whose parents, especially Mother, is educated.

The linen on which the child sleeps and urinates are washed in water once a day. When the Mother takes her bath. If the child urinates on dry clothes afterwards then these are not washed but dried in the sun. The child wears little till the age of four. It may wear a banyan or a shirt in cold weather. These are washed once a week. The child's garments are not given to the washerman but washed at home with soap or soda. In case of the working class people the garments if any are washed in water only.
When the children come to the crawling stage, the problem of watching them from hurting themselves, poses a problem for the parents. The non-working class people can keep a close watch over the children. This is not possible for the working class people, especially when both Father and Mother are working. They have to depend on some near relative who is too old or infirm to work.

When the child attains the age of four it is considered fit to start reading. Among the Brahman a formal ceremony called "Bidyarambha ceremony" is performed on an auspicious day after the child is four years, four months and four days old. This ceremony is done with some pomp and splendour if the child is a male child and especially when it is the first male child of the family. The child is clad in new clothes and his ear lobes are pierced with a gold wire. A teacher is called to handover 'Khadi' (piece of hard chalk to write on the slate or on the floor) to the child and make three circles on the ground with this by the child's hand. A feast is also held. Among other castes the Khandayat perform this ceremony when they can afford. The initiation for reading in this ceremony is only nominal, actual going to school happens a year afterwards. During this period the child is taught all the habits which he is expected to acquire as a member of the society. His behaviour is closely watched and all efforts are made to correct his habits. The attention bestowed on the child during this period is dependent on caste, economic and educational factors. Among the working class people where the parents cannot give much attention to the child begins to emulate the habits of the elders at an early age in certain spheres and behaves like other children in
in other spheres. The lapses of child among the working class people are more resented than corrected.

At about the age of fourteen a boy becomes an earning member in a working class family. His behaviour as an adult member is considered in part natural and in part precocious. His position in the family is determined by the mutual asserting capacity of the parents and the Son. In families which have a tradition in education and he means to give their Sons higher education, the male child at the age of fourteen is only a child, having a long way to go before he becomes an adult.

A girl in a working class family at the age of fourteen is a full-fledged adult woman whose marriage is due. A girl in the Father's family has no say in the family affairs. Attainment of adulthood by a girl, therefore does not throw up the problems of conflict with the parents as in the case of the boys. Adulthood for the girls is more a sexual consciousness than assertion of a positive role in the society. The girls in the working class families, who are also earning members, however have a more positive role and because of their status as an earning member they have a say in the family affairs. The girls in the economically well-to-do families and among the Brahman have a much more passive role compared to them.

One of the important aspects of child rearing comes to focus when a child becomes involved in or causes a quarrel. A large variety of responses are to be observed in this respect. In some cases the child is reprimanded, even if the others are in fault or the matter is ignored. It also cause a tense
situation beginning from mild resentment to bitter quarrels. The behaviour is largely dependent on the mutual relationship of the parents and their relative economic and caste status. It also depends on intrafamily relationship (nururing) round the child.

Daily income and expenditure:

Daily income and expenditure are patterned after the occupational activities and can truly be considered as a part of the daily round of occupational activities. Only those persons, who work as labourers on daily wage basis can be considered to have any daily income, but this has been considered here in a broader sense and includes the earning of income as it affects daily routine. Daily expenditure is a regular feature in the daily routine of all classes of people. Materials required for cooking, such as oil and spices are daily purchased from the village shops by the labourers and also those who belong to the lower income group. Persons in the higher income group make bulk purchases from outside. Daily expenditure here has also been employed in a broader sense and includes all normal expenditure on food, clothing, recreation, maintenance of the house and on occupational activities. Purchases from the village shop are usually on credit.

The big land holders of the village hoard their paddy in their granaries. They also sell the paddy
and either hoard money or lend it to others on payment of interest. The small land holders also hoard their surplus. The labourers live from hand to mouth and often have to borrow from the money lenders to meet their daily expenditure. The amount so borrowed is adjusted against their wages. The borrowed in these cases is bound to serve the money lender and is paid at a rate lower than that prevailing in the village. Wages are paid both in cash and kind.

The income of certain persons is enhanced by the earning of their Sons and Brothers working as salaried employees in government offices or in industrial establishments. The salaried employees are mainly found among the Brahmins whereas the latter are mainly found the the Khandayat and the Pano.

Women who do not work as labourers have no income of their own. Thus the women among the Brahman, landowning Khandayat, Landowning Keuta and a small number of the Pano do not have any income. Wages are considered the individual income of the earner. Income from land is family income, usually kept in the charge of the head of the family.

The practice of depositing money in the banks is not prevalent in the village.
This description of the daily routine of different castes and classes of the village is intended to serve as a background to the foregoing discussion of kin behaviour as is exhibited in the daily routine. This point would be discussed firstly by stating the pattern of kin-relationship relevant to daily routine. This would be stated separately for each caste and the various groups within each caste. The groups so selected are not in all cases sociologically corporated groups of interacting individuals or units but heuristic divisions based on economic, educational and other criteria. Secondly, selective cases would be cited to illustrate the preceding normative statements, stating conformity with and deviation from the norm. The high degree of positive correlation between economic status and educational standard would make the economic and educational groups to overlap each other.

General pattern of Kin-relationship:

In this dissertation only the primary kin have been taken into consideration. This consideration has of course to be done against a background, describing the pattern of kin relationship, in the wider sphere of expected behaviour. This would put the concrete kin behaviour in the village, on a comparative footing. Though the dissertation deals only with primary kin, a proper background to the study can only be given by presenting
briefly, notes on all categories of kin. These notes, which are given below are general in nature but they have been abstracted from field study in the village based on observation and interview. They therefore mainly reflect the general pattern of behaviour which holds true for specific castes as well as for the caste-society. The specific village orientation of such behaviour has only been dealt with in a passing manner in these notes as it has been subjected to a lengthy consideration in the chapters dealing with reciprocal behaviour of specific kin. All the kin categories considered in these notes, are not found in Bantalla, but it has been considered necessary to abstract them by interviewing persons in order to present a coherent picture of the kin pattern to serve as a background for the field data of the thesis. This has been done with the aim of presenting briefly all the kin recognised in anthropological studies, with specific relation to the situation in Bantalla. It has been presented in the form of a list along with the terms of reference and terms of address employed for each. In stating the terms of reference, those which are in popular use by different castes are stated along with their literary equivalents which are rarely or never used but which are known in the village. The knowledge is shared by a large number of persons in some cases and confined to a sophisticated minority in case of others. The literary terms have been given with a view to facilitate their identification and comparison outside the local area. The list has been graded according to primary, secondary and tertiary relationships.
Before presenting the list it may be stated that the categories of kin relations designated by Murdock (Murdock George Peter - Social Structure - Newyork 1949) have been accepted here as the guiding line as these categories are most exhaustive and widely accepted in the sociological field.

(A feature of the Oriya language should be noted here. This feature has significance for kinship, especially for understanding the terms of address and reference.

In Oriya language the pronoun "you" has three variations namely "Tu", "Tume" and "Apana". "Tu" is expressive of extreme familiarity, between friends and equals, affection of older towards younger persons or less frequently the affection of younger persons towards elders. It is also employed towards persons of inferior status. "Tume" is employed towards persons of superior status. Spouses also employ this term towards each other. The term "Apana" is used when the speaker intends to show high respect towards the person addressed. The use of "Apana" also makes the speech formal.

Verbs are also correspondingly changed according to the use of different variations of "you". This can be illustrated as follows:

You eat: - "Tu Kha" "Tume Khao" "Apana Khā-āntu"
You seat: - "Tu ba" or "Tu bus", "Tume Basa", "Āpana Basantu"
You come: - "Tu aha", "Tume Asa", "Apana Asantu"
You go: - "Tu ja", "Tume Jao", "Apana jā-āntu"

Thus to put it generally, the verbs corresponding to "Tu" are marked by an ending with "ā" whereas these
corresponding to "Tume" and "Apana" are marked by an ending of "a" (or "0") and "antu" respectively.

The pronouns "Tu" and "Tume" are commonly employed towards kin but the use of "Apana" is very much restricted in use. The use of these pronouns are indicative of the speaker's position towards the person addressed.)

A. Primary relatives:

1. Father:— The term of reference in popular usage varies for different castes. The term used by Brahmans is "Nana". The term employed by other castes is "Bapa" and "Ba". The term "Nana" is in vogue among the Brahmans of Puri district especially those who are designated as "Sasani". The use of this term by the Brahmans of the village indicates their emigration from Puri district. In almost all the village of the neighbourhood this term is not used by the Brahman. They use the term "Bapa" like the other castes. The term "Bapo" is used by all the castes as a slightly disrespectful term of reference. This is mainly used by the third persons and sometimes the Sons and Daughters and also by others. The literacy term "Pita" is used in formal and ritual occasions and also rarely in conversation. For example a priest may mention, while performing marriage rites that the name of his "Pita" is so and so. While speaking in a formal manner one may also say "this property was acquired by his (or my Pita."

In documents the term "Pita" is invariably used.

Brahmans use "Nana" as the term of address. The term of address used by other castes is "Bapa". Some
sections of the non-Brahmans especially the Kenta and the Pano use the term "Ba". This latter term is regarded as slightly disrespectful indicating familiarity on an equal footing with the Father.

Neither the term of reference nor the term of address differs on the basis of the ego being male or female. Father is usually addressed "Tume" and very rarely "Apana" among the Brahmans. Among the non-Brahman castes he is addressed "Tu" though in some cases "Tume" has been adopted.

2. Mother: For all castes, the term of reference is "Bou". The word "Ma" is used with lesser frequency. The latter word can be more or less respectable than the former according to the mode of conversation. Thus one may say "His (or my) Ma is a bad woman". Alternatively one may say "She is my (or your) Ma, I (or you) should respect her". Ma is also used as an abstract term. Thus one may say, "If one does not have a Mother (Ma), he has nobody in the world to call his own." The literary word "Mata" is used on formal and ritual occasions. This is used in documents. There is very little occasion to use the word on marriage and initiation ceremonies but it is frequently used in mortuary-rites.

The term of address employed by all castes for Mother is "Bou". In cases of those whose Mothers have come from other districts and who frequently stay outside, the term "Ma" is more in vogue. The pronoun "Tu" is invariably employed for addressing Mother.
3. Brothers: The term of reference for all castes is "Bhai". This term is usually prefixed by elder (Bada) younger (Sana). Among Brahmans the term of "Bhaina" is sometimes employed to refer to elder Brother and for other castes simply the term "Bhai" is used to refer to elder Brother especially among the sophisticated sections, while the younger Brother is sometimes referred to as "Sana Bhai" but most often he is referred to by his first name. Among the less sophisticated section of the non-Brahmans the elder Brother is mostly referred to by name. The elder Brother is also sometimes referred to by name if the relationship with him is not cordial. This mode of reference is also prevalent among Brahmans with lesser incidence. It has been mentioned earlier that "Nana" is used both as a term of reference and as a term of address for "Father", among the Brahmans. This word when coupled with the first name is also employed for referring to addressing the elder Brother. In this case "Nana" is usually used in its abbreviated form of "Na".

The literary term "Bhara" or "Brata" is used on formal and ritual occasions and in the documents (as in the case of the sanskrit terms for Father and Mother).

The term of address for elder Brother is "Baina" among Brahmans. Among the non-Brahman castes the term "Bhai" is used as the term of address, especially among those who have some degree of sophistication. If there are more than one elder Brother then reference is made as Eldest (Bada) Bhai or Bhaina, Middle (Majia) Bhai or Bhaina and younger (Sana) Bhai or Bhaina. Elder Brothers are addressed by their name among the less sophisticated sections, especially when the relationship is not cordial or when the
It should be noted here that, while addressing the younger Brother or referring to him or any other person inferior in status, by name one "ā" is suffixed to the name (to the first unitary word of the name, if it is a compound one. Thus Harihar (which is actually Hari-Hara) is made Hariā, Ramachendra is made as Ramā etc. This mode of reference and address is indicative of affection if employed towards younger Brother (or any person inferior in kin or caste status) and a term of slight if employed for elder Brother (or any person superior in kin or caste status). If, however, it is suffixed by the word "Bhaina" or its abbreviation "Na" or by "Bhai", it is indicative of respect. Thus, if the name of one's elder Brother is "Hari", then he is called "Haria Bhaina" or "Hariāna" or "Haria Bhai" as a mark of respect.

The pronouns "Tu" and "Tume" are used with equal frequency towards elder Brother, the use depending on the relationship between Brothers, and the economic status of the elder Brother and the degree of sophistication of the speaker. The use of "Apana" towards elder Brother is rare and depends on these factors. The younger Brother is invariably addressed as "Tu".

There is no difference in the terms of reference or address for Brother for male or female ego.

4. Sister:- Term of reference for Sister is "Bhauni" for all castes and is employed towards both elder and younger Sisters. Other terms of reference differ according to whether the caste is Brahman or non-Brahman. Thus elder Sister is referred
to as "Nani" by Brahmans and "Apa" by the non-Brahmans. If the elder
Sister is referred to as a specific individual then the word "Nani"
or "APa" is added to her first name. (i.e., Kanaka Nani or Kananka
Apa). If there are more than one elder Sister then reference made
as Eldest (Bada), Nani, Middle (Majhia) Nani, younger (Sana) Nani et
The younger Sister is called by her name. Most of the girls have two
names. One name is given at the name giving ceremony and used on
ritual and formal occasions. This is usually a Sanskrit name such
as Sarojini, Durga, Kamini etc. The second name is the one by which
they are called. The name is usually grotesque in connotation such
as Buddhi (old women), Kuni (small in stature). Some of the names
are completely meaningless such as Duri, Tuni etc. Sisters whether
elder or younger are referred to by their second name (such as Duri
or Duri Nani or Tuni Apa etc.) Among the less sophisticated, elder
Sisters are referred to by name.

The term of address for elder Sister is
Nani for Brahms and Apa for non-Brahms. They are also addressed
to by their first name the word Nani or Apa suffixed to it (i.e., Kuni
Nani). Among the less sophisticated of the non-Brahms, especially
among the Pano, the elder Sister is sometimes addressed by her name
but not when she is considerably elder than the speaker. Both elder
and younger Sisters are addressed "Tu". Rarely the elder Sister is
addressed "Tune".

There is no difference with respect of
male or female ego.
5. Husbands: A Wife refers to her Husband by the pronoun "He" (Se). If other men and women are to refer to the Husband with reference to his Wife, then he is referred to as Husband of so and so. The Sanskrit term for Husband is "Swami" "Pati" or "Bharta" (the literal meaning of these words is "master"). The Sanskrit word "Swami" is very often used in conversation. (such as "where is the Swami of this woman? or where is her Swami" or "Her Swami is dead etc." ) This word is also used in documents but not on ritual occasions. The word "Pati" has some specific usages. (for example one may say that "She has taken a different "Pati", which means, she has left her Husband to marry another. Pati is also used as adjective such as "Pati-Bhakti" means devotion to the Husband) The word Bharta is used on ritual occasions and sometimes in documents but very rarely or never in formal conversation. The word "Bara" though literally it means "bride-groom" is commonly used in conversation with the same connotation as "Swami". The difference between these two words is that "Swami" sounds a little formal and may not be used in direct conversation whereas "Bara" sounds more familiar and can be used in direct conversation and can be employed for younger women. Thus one may ask a young woman "How is your Bara" but not "How is your Swami". Another word of reference for Husband is "Ghaita". This word is considered as vulgar. Usually the Brahmans and other high castes never employ this word. Among all caste a Wife never refers to her Husband as "Ghaita" unless she is in a very angry mood. A higher caste man may employ it while referring to the Husband of a lower caste woman and even low caste people may employ it among themselves but in no case it is considered as a nice word
and would indicate insult if employed towards a higher caste person.

A Wife does not directly address her Husband. She employs the interjection "Hey", which is a rough equivalent for the English word "Hullo", when she has some thing to tell her Husband and intends to draw his attention towards her. Other words are also used as terms of address for example the words "Haihey" (meaning "Hullo/you") or "Sumucha" and "Subhuchi" (both these words mean "do you hear?") are usually employed. The pronoun "Tume" is inevitably employed by the Wife while addressing the Husband.

Education and other agencies of sophistication influence the modes of reference and address to a large extent.

6. Wife:— The Sanskrit word for Wife used in the village are "Stri" "Patni" and "Jaya". From among these words "Stri" (which means both Wife and woman) is very frequently used as a term of reference. The Husband may say "This is my stri". Others may also say "She is the Stri of such and such". This word is also used in documents. The word "Patni" is in rare use and that too by the sophisticated section and on formal occasions. The word "Jaya" is only used on ritual occasions and never in conversation. There are also two non-sanskrit words used as terms of reference namely "Bharija" and "Maipa". The first word is a corrupt form of the sanskrit term "Bharjya". This is the word which is most commonly used as a term of reference. The use of this term is confined only to conversation—it is never used in documents or on formal and ritual occasions. The word "Maipa" is considered as
vulgar, like the use of the word "Ghaita" for Husband. A high caste person may refer to a low caste woman as the "Maipa" of so and so, but the use of the word in direct conversation is considered somewhat insulting. Among the sophisticated the Wife is sometimes referred to by name but rarely.

The Husband ordinarily does not address the Wife directly. He tries to draw the attention of the Wife using such words as "Haihey" "Hey" (both these words are rough equivalents of the English word "Hallo") or "Subuchi" "Surucha" ("do you hear") etc. Among the sophisticated, specially among those who usually say outside the village the Wife is addressed by her name, when the Husband is not in the company of elders.

Education and other factors of sophistication affect the terms of reference and address.

7. Son:— The Sanskrit word for Son used in the village is "Putra". Another Sanskrit word "Santana" is also used in the village, though literally the word connotes "Child". In documents and on ritual as well as formal occasions the word "Putra" is only used. The Oriya word, mostly commonly used is "Pu-ah", is a corrupt form of Sanskrit word "Putra". The Son is also referred to as "Toka" the English version of which would be "Chap" or "lad". Thus one may say or (not my) "Toka". This word can be used to express either affection or slight, according to the mode of speech.

Usually Sons are addressed by their names when a feeling of affection is intended to be expressed, the Son may be addressed as "Pu-ah". However the usual mode of affectionate address is to call the son as "Bapa" (which means "Father"). The Son
is usually addressed "Tu" but among the sophisticated the Son is addressed "Tumey", even from childhood. An uneducated Father may address his educated Son "Tumey".

8. Daughter:- The Sanskrit words used for Daughter are "Kanya" and "Duhita". These two words are never used in ordinary conversation. Their use is restricted to ritual and formal occasions. The Daughter is also referred to as "Toki" which is roughly equivalent of the English term "Wench". Thus one may say that "Toki" or the "Toki" or "you Toki" (the term our or my is not affixed to the word "Toki" as that suggests some illicit or romantic connection). The use of the term "Toki" may be expressive of slight or affection according to the modes of speech. "Tu" is universally employed when addressing the Daughter.

B. Secondary relatives:

1. Father's Father: (Grand father)

The Sanskrit word for Father's Father is "Pitamaha". This word is only used in rituals, formal occasions and in documents and is very little known to the villagers compared with the Sanskrit words used for Father and Mother. The colloquial term of reference for Father's Father is "Bapā" for the Brahman. The term "Bapā" is used by other castes to refer to Father. (This has been described earlier in this chapter). The non-Brahman castes refer to their Father's Father as "Jeje Bapa" (The word "Jeje" means salutation by laying prostrate). This latter word has also been adopted by some Brahman families, especially those who usually stay outside.
The term of address for Father's Father is "Bapa" for Brahmans and "Jeje Bapa" for other castes. Both "Tu" and "Tume" are employed to address the Father's Father, the use depending on individuals rather than caste characteristics.

2. Father's Mother (Grand Mother):

The Sanskrit word "Pita Mahā" is used only on ritual and formal occasions and in documents and comparatively unknown to the villagers. The term of reference for the Brahman is "Ma". (The word "Ma" is ordinarily used in other parts to refer to Mother). The term of reference for the non-Brahman castes is "Jeje Ma". This word has also been adopted by some Brahman families especially those who usually stay outside the village.

The term of address for Father's Mother is "Ma" in the case of Brahmans and "Jeje Ma" in the case of non-Brahmans. "Tu" is invariably employed in address.

3. Father's Brother (Paternal uncle):

The Sanskrit term for Father's Brother is "Pitrubhyā", which is used only on ritual and formal occasions and in the documents. The colloquial term of reference is "Kakei" for Brahmans and "Dada" for non-Brahmans (It is to be noted that "Dada" usually refers to elder Brother in Bengal and other neighbouring states).

The term of address for Father's Brother is "Kakei" and Dada in the case of the Brahman and non-Brahmans respectively. "Tu" and "Tume" are employed by non-Brahmans and "Tume" and "Apana" is used by Brahmans in addressing Father's Brother.
4. Father's Sister (Paternal aunt):
The sanskrit word for Father's Sister is "Pitru Swasa" which is almost unknown. The colloquial term of reference is "Piusi" for all castes. Another term which is more commonly used is "Nani" for Brahmans and "Apa" for the non-Brahmans. (It is to be noted that both these words are used to designate the elder Sister but they are also employed to designate the female kin who belong to the same generation as the Father or Mother of ego but who are casual visitors to the village)
The term of address for Father's Sister is "Nani" and "Apa" in case of Brahmans and non-Brahmans respectively.

5. Father's Wife (Step Mother):
The sanskrit word for Father's Wife who is not Ego's uterine Mother, is "Bimata" but she is never referred to by this word. The sanskrit term of reference is the same as in the case of "Mother" and the usage is also identical. The colloquial term of reference is "Sabat Ma" or "Kamia Ma" which are used only when it is sought to be emphasized that she is not ego's own Mother. Otherwise the terms of reference are the same as in the case of Mother.
The term of address is "Bou" for all castes, "Tu" and "Tums" is employed by Brahmans according to personal relationship and "Tu" is employed by other castes.

6. Father's Son (Half Brother)
The sanskritised word for Father's Son (half Brother) is "Baimatruka Bhrata" which is never employed as a term of reference. The term of reference are identical with that of
7. Father's Daughter (Step Sister):
The Sanskrit term for Father's Daughter is "Baimatruka Bhagini" which is never employed as a term of reference. The terms of reference and address and their usages are identical with that of Sister.

8. Mother's Father (Maternal Grand Father):
The Sanskrit word for Mother's Father is "Mata Maha". This word is used as a term of reference only on ritual and formal occasions and in documents. The colloquial term of reference is "Aja" for all castes of people.

The term of address for Mother's Father is also "Aja" for all castes of people. "Tu" and "Tum@«" are employed according to personal relationship.

9. Mother's Mother (Maternal Grand Mother):
The sanskritised word for Mother's Mother is "Mata Mahi". This word is only used on ritual and formal occasions and in documents. The colloquial term of reference is "Aie" for all castes.

The term of address for Mother's Mother is also "Aie" for all castes. "Tu" is invariably used while addressing her.

10. Mother's Brother (Maternal Uncle):
The sanskritised word for Mother's Brother is "Matula". This word is only employed on ritual and formal occasions and in documents. The colloquial term of reference is "Mamu", used by all castes. This is also the term of address for
him. "Tu" and "Tume" are employed according to personal relationship by the non-Brahman castes. The Brahmans usually employ "Tume" and in rare cases "Apana" as terms of address.

11. Mother's Sister (Maternal aunt)
   The sanskrit word for Mother's Sister is "Matru Swasa" which is used as a term of reference only on ritual and formal occasions, and in documents. The colloquial term of reference is "Mousi" for all castes. (The term "Mousi" is also used to refer and address all elderly women with whom kin relationship is very distant and even when there is no kin relationship) The term of address is also "Mousi" for all castes. "Tu" and "Tume" are employed by Brahmans according to personal relationship and "Tu" is invariably employed by non-Brahmans.

12. Mother's Husband (Step Father):
   There is no exact sanskrit equivalent for Mother's Husband. There is also no equivalent colloquial term. Among the Brahmans, widow marriage is strictly forbidden. Therefore the concept of Mother's Husband (other than ego's own Father) is totally absent among the Brahmans. Among the non-Brahman castes, especially among the Keuta and the Pano widow marriage is prevalent. Among these castes the terms of reference and address are identical with that of Father and other usages are also the same.

13. Mother's Son (Half Brother):
   There is neither any sanskrit nor colloquial term to designate Mother's Son. Both the terms of reference and address and other usages are identical with that of Brother.
14. Mother's Daughter (Half Sister):
There is no sanskrit or colloquial term for Mother's Daughter. Terms of reference and address are identical with that of the Sister.

15. Brother's Wife (Sister-in-law)
The sanskrit term for Brother's Wife is "Bhatraj Jaya". This term is used only on ritual and formal occasions, and also in documents. There are different terms of reference for Elder Brother's Wife and younger Brother's Wife. For Elder Brother's Wife the colloquial term is "Nua Bou" among Brahmans. ("Nua Bou" literally means "New Mother"). Among non-Brahman castes the term of reference is "Bhauja" or "Bhauja Bou". The younger Brother's Wife is referred to as "Bhai Bohu" or simply as "Bohu" among all castes.

The term of address for Elder Brother's Wife is "Nua Bou" among Brahmans and "Bhauja" or "Bhauja Bou" among the non-Brahman castes. The younger Brother's Wife is not directly addressed by male ego. She is usually addressed through some body as "Bohu" or even by her name. Female ego addresses her younger Brother's Wife only by her name.

"Tume" is invariably employed for Elder Brother's Wife and "Tu" is employed for younger Brother's Wife by all castes.

16. Brother's Son (Nephew):
The sanskrit term for Brother's Son is "Bhatrajputra". This term is used as a term of reference only on ritual and formal occasions and also in documents. The colloquial
term of reference is "Futura" for all castes. This term applies to Elder Brother's Son and Younger Brother's Son.

Brother's Son is always addressed by his name. "Tu" is invariably employed in address.

17. Brother's Daughter (Niece):
The sanskrit term of Brother's Daughter is "Bhatrasyputri" which, as usual, is used only on ritual and formal occasions and in documents. The colloquial term of reference is "Jhiari" for all castes. The term "Bhaira Jhia" (Brother's Daughter in literal sense) is also used less frequently. Both these terms apply to Elder Brother's Daughter and younger Brother's Daughter.

18. Sister's Husband (Brother-in-law)
The sanskritised term for Sister's Husband is "Bhaginipati". Though confined to ritual and formal occasions and to documents, this is also used as a term of reference in conversation, especially among Brahmans. The colloquial term of reference is "Bhinei" for Elder Sister's Husband and younger Sister's Husband. This term is used very widely among all the castes.

The term of address for Elder Sister's Husband is "Bhaina" for Brahmans and "Bhai" for other castes. Usually this term is followed by the first name of the person. The word "Apana" or "Tume" is used according to the degree of sophistication and personal relationship and in cases of extreme familiarity "Tu" may be employed. Younger Sister's Husband is usually addressed by his name. "Tu" or "Tume" is employed according to personal relationship. Female ego mostly employs "Tume" and in rare cases "Apana".
19. Sister's Son (Nephew):

The Sanskrit term for Sister's Son is "Bhagineya", which is used only on ritual and formal occasions and in the documents. The colloquial term of reference for Sister's Son is "Bhanaja" for all castes. He is also referred to by his name. This applies both to elder Sister's Son and younger Sister's Son.

Sister's Son is invariably addressed by his name. "Tu" or "Tume" are employed according to personal relationship and the age of Sister's Son in comparison with that of the ego. There is no difference on the basis of the ego being a male or female.

20. Sister's Daughter (Niece):

The Sanskritised term for Sister's Daughter is "Bhagineyee", which is only employed on ritual and formal occasions and in documents. The colloquial term of reference is "Bhaniji" for all castes. This applies to Elder Sister's Daughter and Younger Sister's Daughter.

Sister's Daughter is invariably addressed by her name. "Tu" and "Tume" are employed according to the age of Sister's Daughter in comparison with the ego. There is no difference on the basis of the ego being a male or female. There is also no difference modes of address for Elder and Younger Sister's Daughter.

21. Wife's Father (Father-in-Law)

The Sanskrit term for Wife's Father is "Swasura". This is sometimes used as a term of reference. There is no distinctly separate colloquial term for Father of the Wife.
"Sasura" which is a corrupt form of the sanskrit term is widely employed as a term of reference. In certain cases the word is also pronounced as "Sasure".

The term address for Wife's Father is "Nana" for Brahmans and "Bapa" for other castes. These are also the terms of address for Father. "Apana" and "Tume" are employed according to the degree of sophistication.

22. Husband's Father (Father-in-Law):
The sanskrit term for Husband's Father is "Shwasura" which is used on ritual occasions and in documents but rarely as a term of reference. Husband's Father is usually referred to as "Nana" among the Brahmans and "Bapa" among other castes.

The term of address for Husband's Father is "Nana" for Brahmans and "Bapa" for other castes. "Apana" is rarely employed, the usual mode of address being "Tume".

23. Wife's Mother (Mother-in-Law)
The sanskrit term for Wife's Mother is "Swasru" which is only employed on ritual and formal occasions and in documents. The colloquial term of reference is "Shasu" for all castes. Reference is also made to her as "Bou" - a term which is employed for Mother.

Wife's Mother is invariably addressed as "Bou" by all castes. "Tume" is also invariably employed.

24. Husband's Mother (Mother-in-Law)
The sanskrit term for Husband's Mother is "Swasru" which is only employed on ritual and formal occasions
and in documents. The colloquial term of reference is "Shasu". She is also referred to as "Bou" by all castes of people. This term is also employed for referring to Mother.

The term of address for Husband's Mother is "Bou" for all castes. "Tume" is invariably employed in address.

25. Wife's Brother (Brother-in-Law)
The sanskritised term for Wife's Brother is "Shyalaka" or "Shyala" which is only used on ritual and formal occasions and for literary purposes. The colloquial term of reference is "Shala" or "Shalā" for all castes of people. There are no separate terms for Wife's Elder Brother and Wife's Younger Brother but to strike a distinction between them the term "Bada" or "Sana" is suffixed to it.

The term of address for Wife's Brother is "Bhaina" for Brahmans and "Bhai" for other castes. Wife's Younger Brother is addressed by his name. "Tumey" is employed for Wife's Elder Brother. "Tu" and "Tumey" are employed for Wife's Younger Brother according to personal relationship.

The Sanskrit term for Husband's Brother is "Debara" which is employed on ritual and formal occasions and for literary purposes. The colloquial term of reference for all castes is "Daira" for Husband's Younger Brother and "Dhedha-Sura" for Husband's Elder Brother. (The word "Dedha-Sura" literally means "One and half Father-in-Law) He is also referred to as "Bhaina" among Brahmans and "Bhai" among other castes.
Husband's Elder Brother is never addressed directly. Husband's Younger Brother is always addressed by his name. Though addressed by name the term "Tume" is employed as a mode of address. There is no difference on the basis of caste.

27. Wife's Sister (Sister-in-Law)

The sanskritised term for Wife's Sister is "Shyalika" which is employed only on ritual and formal occasions, and for literary purposes. The colloquial terms of reference is "Dedha-Sashu" (whose literal meaning is one and half Mother-in-Law) for Wife's Elder Sister and "Shali" for Wife's Younger Sister.

The term of address for Wife's Elder Sister is "Nani for Brahmans and "Apa" for other castes. (These terms are also employed to address Elder Sister among those castes). "Tumey" is employed towards Wife's Younger Sister and "Tu" or "Tumey" towards Wife's Younger Sister according to the degree of familiarity.

28. Husband's Sister (Sister-in-Law)

The sanskrit term for Husband's Sister is only used for literary purposes. The colloquial term of reference is "Nananda" among all castes.

Husband's Elder Sister is refered to as "Nani" among Brahmans and "Apa" among other castes. "Tume" is employed as the mode of address.
29. Wife's Husband (Co-Husband):

This term can be current only when a woman is allowed to live with more than one Husband simultaneously. This practice is not prevalent in the society under investigation. Therefore there is no recognised term for this.

30. Husband's Wife (Co-Wife):

The Sanskrit word for Husband's Wife is "Sapatni" which is only used for literary purposes. The colloquial term of reference for Husband's Wife is "Sauturi" used by all castes.

The Elder Co-Wife addressed by the Younger by name and the Younger Co-Wife addresses the Elder as "Nani" (among Brahmans) and "Apa" (among non-Brahman castes). "Tu" is employed for addressing the elder and "Tu" for addressing the Younger.

31. Wife's Son (Step-Son)

There is no recognised Sanskrit equivalent for Wife's Son (Step Son). He is referred to as "Putra" in Sanskrit. This word is used with same meaning and usage as it is employed for "Son".

The colloquial term of address for Wife's Son is "Puah". This is also the term of address for "Son" with the same usage.

32. Husband's Son (Step-Son):

There is no recognised Sanskrit term for Husband's Son. The term of reference and address are the same as in the case of "Son" with identical usages.
33. Wife's Daughter (Step Daughter)

There is no recognised sanskrit equivalent for Wife's Daughter. The terms of reference and address are the same as for own Daughter, with identical usages.

34. Husband's Daughter (Step Daughter)

There is no recognised sanskrit equivalent for Husband's Daughter. The terms of reference and addresses are identical with that of "Daughter".

35. Son's Wife (Daughter-in-Law):

The sanskrit term for Son's Wife is "Putra Badhu". This term is employed only on ritual and formal occasions and for literary purposes. The colloquial term of reference is "Bohu". Elder Son's Wife is referred as "Bada (elder) Bohu" and Younger Son's Wife is referred to as "Sana (younger) Bohu". The middle Son's Wife is referred to as "Majhia (middle) Bohu". These terms are used by all castes. Among the sophisticated section Son's Wifes are also referred to by their name.

The term of address for Son's Wife is also "Bohu". If required the Son's Wife is designated as "Bada", "Majhia" or "Sana" Bohu. They are also addressed as "Ma" (which literally means "Mother" but which is employed for addressing Daughter and other women kin belonging to the succeeding generation) They may also be addressed by their name among the more sophisticated. "Tu" and "Tume" is employed according to personal relationship.

36. Son's Son (Grand Son):

The sanskrit term for Son's Son is "Poutra". This term is only employed in ritual and formal occasions
and for literary purposes. The colloquial term for reference is "Mati", which is employed by all castes.

The Son's Son is addressed by his name by all castes. He is also addressed as "Bapa" (which literally means Father but which is employed to address the younger section of kin belonging to the succeeding generation) "Tu" is invariably employed as a mode of address.

37. Son's Daughter (Grand Daughter);

The sanskrit term of reference employed for Son's Daughter is "Poutri" which is used only on ritual and formal occasions and for literary purposes. The colloquial term of reference is "Natuni". This term is most commonly used in conversation by all castes.

Son's Daughter is addressed by her name by all castes. She may also be addressed as "Ma". "Tu" is invariably employed as a mode of address.

38. Daughter's Husband (Son-in-Law)

The sanskrit term of reference employed for Daughter's Husband is "Janata". This term is confined to ritual and formal occasions and also used for literary purposes. Very rarely this term is also employed for reference in conversation. The colloquial term of reference for Daughter's Husband is "Jo-In" for all castes.

Daughter's Husband is usually addressed by his name. Sometimes the word "Babu" is affixed to the name. (The term "Babu" is expressive for formal etiquette and is not employed towards kin who stand in a close relationship with ego. An
excepting in the respect is made only in the case of Daughter's Husband. Though belonging to the succeeding generation of the kin the Daughter's Husband, "Turney" and "Apana" are employed as modes of address. (Apana is used only among the sophisticated.)

Daughter's Husband belongs to another village. The kin relationship with him is therefore treated as tangent relationship.

39. Daughter's Son (Grand Son):
The sanskritised equivalent for Daughter's Son is "Douhitra". This term is used only on formal and ritual occasions and in documents. The colloquial term of reference is "Nati" employed by all castes.

Daughter's Son is addressed by his name. The term of address is made more familiar by making a slight change in the name. (for example "Hari" may be made "Haria", "Bata" may be made "Batia" etc. This has been described earlier). "Tu" is employed as a mode of address.

Daughter's Son being resident of another village kin relationship with him is treated as tangent relationship.

40. Daughter's Daughter (Grand Daughter)
The sanskritised term of reference for Daughter's Daughter is "Douhitri". This term is confined to ritual and formal occasions and for literary purposes. The colloquial term of reference is "Natuni" for all castes.

Daughter's Daughter is addressed by her name. "Tu" is employed as a mode of address by all castes.
Daughter's Daughter being resident of another village, the relationship with her is treated as tangent relationship.

C. Tertiary relatives:

The terminology for primary and secondary relatives has been given above in some detail. All the primary relatives and all but one secondary relative have been considered relevant for the present study. In dealing with the tertiary relatives, the relationship with a large majority of them have been found to be so distant and casual that they are not adequate enough for observation and analysis. It has therefore been found necessary only to mention those with whom the relationship is adequate for meaningful observation.

1. Father's Brother's Son (Cousin)

There is no recognised sanskrit term for Father's Brother's Son. The colloquial term of reference is "Dadei" (Father's elder Brother) "Pua" (Son) "Bhai" (Brother) for Father's Elder Brother's Son and Kakei (Father's younger Brother) "Pua" (Son) "Bhai" (Brother) for Father's Younger Brother's Son. Usually such a lengthy term is avoided and reference is made only as "Bhai" (Brother)

Terms of address and other usages are identical with that of Brother.

2. Father's Brother's Daughter (Cousin):

There is no recognised sanskrit term for Father's Brother's Daughter. The colloquial term of reference is "Dadei Jhiya Bhauni" (Father's Elder Brother's Daughter) or "Kaei
"Kakei Jhiya Bhauni" (Father's Younger Brother's Daughter). To avoid this lengthy term of reference is usually made as "Bhauni" (Sister).

Terms and addresses and other usages are the same as in the case of Sister.

3. Father's Brother's Wife (Aunt):
There is no clearly recognised sanskritised term for Father's Brother's Wife. The colloquial term of reference is "Jethei" for Father's Elder Brother's Wife and "Khudi" for Father's Younger Brother's Wife. These terms also serve as terms of address. Other usages are identical with "Mother".

4. Brother's Son's Wife (Daughter-in-Law)
There is no recognised sanskritised term of for Brother's Son's Wife. "Putura Bohu" is used as a term of reference. Terms of address other usages are identical with "Son's Wife".

5. Husband's Brother's Wife (Sister-in-Law)
There is no recognised sanskritised term for Husband's Brother's Wife. The colloquial term of reference is "Ja" (Bada Ja for Husband's Elder Brother's Wife and "Sāna Jā" for Husband Younger Brother's Wife).

Terms of address for Husband's Elder Brother's Wife is "Nani" for Brahmans and "Apa" for other castes. Husband's Younger Brother's Wife is addressed by her name or as "Bohu" (Daughter-in-law). "Tumey" is employed for Husband's Elder Brother's Wife and "Tu" or "Tumey" for Husband's Younger Brother's Wife according to the degree of sophistication.
6. Husband's Brother's Son (Nephew):

The Sanskrit term for Husband's Brother's Son is "Bhrati|putra" (Which means Brother's Son). This term is used only on formal and ritual occasions and for literary purposes. The colloquial term of reference is "Putura" (This term is employed for Brother's Son).

Husband's Brother's Son is addressed by his name. "Tu" or "Tume" is employed according to the degree of familiarity and sophistication. Other uses are the same as in the case of Brother's Son.

7. Husband's Brother's Daughter (Niece):

There is no recognised Sanskrit term for Husband's Brother's Daughter. The colloquial term of reference is "Jhiari". (This term is also employed to refer to Brother's Daughter).

Husband's Brother's Daughter is addressed by her name and other usages are identical with that of Brother's Daughter.

8. Son's Son's Wife (Grand Daughter in law):

The Sanskrit term for Son's Son's Wife is "Pautra Badhu", which is only employed on ritual and formal occasions. The colloquial term of reference is "Natuni Bohu" which is used by all castes.

Son's Son's Wife is addressed either by her name or as "Bohu" (Daughter-in-Law). "Tu" is invariably employed as a mode of address.
Family being the primary basis of kin behaviour and the basic unit of study for this dissertation, it would be necessary to understand the pattern of family organization in the village in detail. It would be necessary not only to take into account the existing forms of family but also to make an historical appraisal of the development of family organization in the village. Castes are to be taken separately into account as the pattern of sequential growth is different for different castes. The historical data due to lack of records pertaining to family organization have been based on the oral evidence of the older section of the people. This evidence has been checked and rechecked first, directly by putting the same questions to the same individual after a lapse of about two months and second, indirectly by corroborating them with other factors such as occupation, land-owner-ship, feuds etc. Only such data as could stand these tests have been accepted for being taken up for analysis. This method, has delimited the temporal length of sequential evidence to a period roughly stretching over forty years. During this period however, significant changes bearing importance for the family organization have taken place.

It has been stated earlier that the Brahmans are the earliest settlers in the village. They first came from a neighbouring village and settled in Bantalla as worshippers of the deities most probably adopting begging and priesthood as their profession. The genealogy of the first few generations show
lack of multiplicity of families and depicts a single line of one Son to one Father. It is not possible to ascertain the reason for this type of lineage.

Acquiring of land by the Brahmans occurred long afterwards their first settlement in the village, with a gift from the local ruler and with it comes divergence of the lineage. It may therefore be inferred that prior to acquiring land only one Son used to settle in the village while the others migrated to other villages and were not accounted for in the geneology. There can be no other possible explanation for this.

From the evidence of the older section of the people it appears that about forty years back a limited form of extended family prevailed in the village. Brothers never separated as long as the Father alive. Even there was no limited separation. All the landed property was owned and cultivated jointly by the family, though the Father some times earmarked a specific plot of land to a specific Son to avoid future disputes. Whenever there was such earmarking the land thus earmarked was also treated as a joint property and its fruits enjoyed by the family as a whole. Cooking was done in common. The Wives of the Sons of the head of the family participated in cooking under the supervision of their Mother-in-Law. Each woman played her part in the cooking according to her ability and willingness to work. Whenever there was unequal participation, it was ideosyncratic in nature - a deviation from the principle that all women should take equal part in cooking.

Besides common residence, common ownership of land and other property and common cooking, relationships
within the extended family was regulated by the authority of the head of the household. In addition to his authority there was also graded authority exercised by the Brothers according to their seniority and this was sometimes more assertive than the former. The Mother of the family also exercised some authority over her Sons, though it was considerably less than the Father of the family and lacked in sternness. She exercised much more authority over her Daughter-in-Law. The authority of a man over his Wife and children was limited, when his Father was alive. The authority of a woman over her children was still more limited when parents-in-law were alive.

With the spread of education, which affected the Brahmans more than any other caste, the family pattern began to change. The change was at first slow and halting but later on, it gathered momentum. This change was the direct result of education in a small way. Its indirect results i.e., opportunities for white-collared jobs outside the village and as a corollary to it residence in urban or semi-urban areas and partial segregation of the nuclear family/the joint family were the major factors responsible for the change. The change resulted in the breakup of the general norm of family organization in the village as a whole. This breakup of the norm was more intensely felt among the Brahmans. As a result of this even joint families un-affected by education began to breakup.

The breakup of the joint family among the Brahmans may also be attributed to economic changes concerning land. It has been statistically described in the back-ground chapter that the main spring of village economy is land. It has also been stated
that due to recent changes in the political setup / due to recent changes in legislative measures affecting land tenure the Brahmans have been forced to sell land to other castes. The relevant table shows that during the last ten years the Brahmans have sold maximum land to other castes. (The relevant table shows, out of a total of fifty two acres of land sold by all castes in the village, forty five acres have been sold by the Brahmans alone). The shifting in the land based economy in the village had had far-reaching consequences on the family organization. It drove the family income, derived commonly from land, below the marginal level. The family income thus became inadequate to meet the needs of a joint family. Thus the adjustment made possible through satisfaction of economic needs began to be disturbed. The head of the family could no longer shoulder the economic responsibility of the family to the satisfaction of all its members. His authority over the members of the family began to slacken. The married Sons were the first to dispute the authority of the Father and disregard the traditional duties and responsibilities which the younger and elder Brothers owed towards each other. Brother's Wife almost came to be treated as an alien. (irrespective of the fact whether she was elder or younger Brother's Wife). Brother's children became constant sources of dispute and quarrel.

 inadequacy

\( \times \) The paucity of land based economy, led the Brahmans to seek other avenues of income. The un-educated took up jobs as day labourers inside and outside the village. Some of them got employment in industrial establishments and became partly integrated with the industrial society. This led some of the adult males to migrate temporarily or semi-permanently to towns and
industrial centres.

Persons engaged in white collared jobs like clerks, executives, teachers etc., took their Wives and children with them only when their income permitted them to do so. The main difficulty for a man to take his Wife and children to the place of his work was lack of accommodation at those places and the cost of establishment. When living outside the village they have to purchase food materials from the market, at a price considered as extremely high according to their income standards, whereas in the village they could depend on the fields and kitchen gardens and obtain food materials only by putting in some amount of labour. Most of the white-collared employees could not therefore afford to take their families with them. At the place of their work, they stayed in bachelors messes or cheap hotels, or took a small room or lodging house and cooked their own meal.

Persons engaged in industrial establishments did not take their family with them without exception. For them it was still more difficult to find any accommodation and the cost of establishment was much higher at the industrial centres, compared to the non-industrial areas. Besides this the social atmosphere in the industrial establishments, according to them, was not conducive to healthy family life. They believed that females became corrupt when they came in contact with the industrial society. In spite of their concern for maintaining the chastity of their women folk, most of the industrial workers indulged freely in extramarital relationship. This very often meant visiting cheap prostitutes. Persons whose marital fidelity was not to be doubted in the village situation,
changed their outlook when living in industrial areas, separated for long periods from their families. They again reverted to their marital norm when they returned to their villages. In this respect the non-industrial workers differed from the industrial workers. The former as a group did not deviate from the marital norm, though there were individual deviation. The reason for this given by the industrial workers is that, in an industrial area one does not care what another does, whereas the non-industrial workers maintain that they have to be strictly vigilant about "Society" and the estimation of others. A further analysis of this would be made at the proper place.

Employment and residence in industrial and non-industrial areas has contributed towards change in family organization among the Brahmans of the village. The direction of this change was influenced by two contrary trends. Employment outside the village led the workers to have their individual incomes, which they earned without any direct or indirect help from other family members. They therefore became very reluctant to share it with other members of the family. They therefore became very reluctant to share it other members of the family and spend it on any them except their Wives and children, during their absence from the village. They therefore wanted to become independent from their family members. As against this they had to depend on other members of the family to take care of their Wives and children during their absence from the village. They also wanted their share from the products of land which could not be obtained without help from other members of the family staying in the village. This situation led to a variety of responses differing on the basis of individual cases. The details
of this would be discussed at the proper place.

To sum-up the above discussion, it may be stated that three factors, namely disintegration of land based economy, education and employment outside the village leading to temporary, semi-permanent or permanent emigration from the village, have affected the family organization among Brahmans in the village. These factors have not operated to the same degree among other castes. They have also not affected all the Brahman families to the same extent. The impact of working in industrial areas has been slight as the number of Brahmans working in industrial establishments is very small compared to the other castes. Disintegration of land based economy has also not affected those families who had enough land to resist their being driven below the marginal level. The amount of income derived from employment outside the village also determined the relationship of individuals with their families. If one individual had enough income he could become independent of his family and make proper arrangements for his wife and children even when he has to leave them behind him in the village, or he could contribute enough towards the economic betterment of the family and thus become a privileged member of the family receiving enough attention for his wife and children from other members. Apart from all these much also depended on the personal relationship of the individual with his family members, and the numerical strength of the family. If the individual happened to be the only son of the family his relationship would be different compared to another who might be having more than one brother. If one were newly married and had a young and inexperienced wife he would be more dependent on the
extended family than one having a mature wife experienced in the independent management of household under village conditions. It has been mentioned in the background chapter that the economic and educational range is the highest among the Brahmans. The family organization and kin behaviour among the Brahmans is therefore to be considered over a high range of differences. All these differences would be considered and illustrated with the help of case histories while discussing intrafamily kin behaviour.

It has been stated in the chapter one that the Khandayats stand third in order of importance as far as land based economy is concerned. The first and the second places going to the Brahmans and the Keuta respectively. Out of thirty-four Khandayat families in the village as many as twenty own land between one and five acres, whereas the average land holding is 3.65 acres. They cultivate the maximum amount of land by their own labour. The maximum number of sharecroppers are also to be found from this caste. The maximum number of persons from this caste are employed in agriculture as their main occupation. During the last ten years this caste has purchased fifteen acres of land and in this respect they rank second in the village coming next to the Keuta who occupy the first position. Besides the land based economy the Khandayat also occupy a very important place in other spheres of village economy. The highest number of persons from this caste are employed in industrial establishments as their main occupation. They however rank very low in commercial activities. Their employment in different categories of salaried employment is also equally low. As as far as per capita income is concerned the Khandayat rank sixth in
the village and they occupy the fifth place. The anomaly between the rankings on the basis of per capita and per family income can be explained by the fact that the average size of Khandayat family is second highest in the village.

The traditional pattern of family organization among the Brahmans was the extended family, the traditional pattern among Khandayats was the nuclear family. Evidence in favour of this has been comparatively easier to collect as this pattern has gradually changed only during the last twenty years. Every middle aged adult could clearly remember that, with the exception of two or three families, the rest were nuclear families among the Khandayats, twenty years back.

As stated above the traditional family pattern began to change some twenty years back and this change gathered momentum during the last ten years. Twenty years back, it was usual for a man to be separated from his family or orientation very soon after his marriage. Gradually joint families began to emerge. During the last ten years more and more joint families have become into being. It is also a unique thing that several nuclear families have been reunited to form joint families during the last ten years.

These changes can be correlated with the economic changes that have come over the village during the last twenty years and the pace of which has been very rapid during the last ten years.

While discussing the pattern of family organization among the Brahmans it has been stated that the land
based economy has disintegrated with respect to the Brahmans, the reasons being reduction of income from land below the marginal level and changes in the system of land tenure adversely affecting them becoming more acute due to the caste prohibition on tilling land. These very factors have worked to the advantage of the Khandayat. Twenty years back most of them worked as day or annual labourers and many were also engaged in share-cropping, borrowing land from the Brahmans for that purpose. Very few Khandayat families owned land and the land a family owned was utterly inadequate for their maintenance. The income of a family depended on the working capacity of the individuals both male and female. Of family property there was little and family income from land was negligible. As soon as a man married he had no economic reason to remain with his family of orientation. As an un-married man he had to depend on the family for getting his food cooked. This problem became automatically solved after marriage. With the newly married Wife as a cook and also as an earning member it was to his disadvantage to remain with the family of orientation, bearing the burden of supporting the non-earning members such as old and infirm persons and junior Brothers and Sisters not old enough to contribute towards family income.

With the dis-integration of land based among the Brahmans, they began to sell land to other castes. The price of land fell. When it become a marketable commodity losing the prestige value attached to it. The Khandayats however were not in a position to purchase the land immediately due to non-availability of ready cash. The immediate result was that the Khandayats took more and more land on share-cropping basis. Due to new land advantageous position over the Brahmans, the Khandayats could claim
higher and higher shares from share-cropping. Before the passage of land legislation a share-cropper can claim only half of the total produce of land out of which a portion was claimed by the landowner as subscription for various Pujas and as fees etc. These dues became illegal in the light of new legislation and the share of a share-cropper was fixed at three-fifth of the gross produce of the land. The position of the share-cropper was again strengthened due to the political movement in the area favouring the tillers of the soil.

These economic changes augmented by political activities helped the Khandayats in a two-fold manner. The day labourers and the annual labourers became cultivators, thus making it still more difficult for the Brahman to cultivate his land. Besides this, in order to purchase land offered by the Brahmans for sale a large number of persons went to industrial establishments to work as labourers and earn hard for purchasing land. With the growth of population and availability of more and more land for purchase the number of the industrial labourers grew. If a man had two adult Brothers, then one or two of them would go for industrial employment the Father and one adult Son to take care of land. Correspondingly the number of landowners among the Khandayats also grew and those who had land increased the size of their holdings.

All these changes had their effect on the family organization of the caste. By remaining with the joint family an adult male could share the products of an economic holding whereas being separated he could only lay claim to a share of un-economic holding. The division of labour within the joint family
on the basis of employment in agricultural and industrial occupations also became another cementing factor in favour of the extended family. Those who remained in the village and worked on land could bank upon the members of the family who worked in industrial establishments, for cash contributions towards contingent expenditure like marriage of a Daughter. Contingent expenditure also on agriculture like purchase of bullocks etc., could also be met from these contributions. Over and above every thing else land could be purchased from these contributions, thus adding to the prestige and economic betterment of the family. The members of the family at home therefore took extra care of the Wives and children of those working in the industrial areas and even sometimes accorded better treatment to them than their own Wives and children. The members working outside on their part were also interested to stay with the extended family for a variety of reasons. At the first place this guarenteed that their children and Wives would be well looked after. Secondly, a part of their income got invested in land, the only type of investment which the agriculturists of the village consider to be the sound. Investment on land is not only regarded as formation of capital, it is also looked upon as a sort of old age insurance. All these could be achieved by remaining integrated with the extended family.

It may be mentioned here that, as happened in the case of the Brahmans, the impact of the change on the family organization of the Khandayat was not uniform. Those families whose economic condition was much below the marginal level, could not take advantage of the economic changes. Even for going outside the village as industrial labourers required some capital for
maintenance of the family in the village for the initial period during which there could not be any earning. The cost of maintaining oneself at an industrial centre before getting a job was also another hurdle. Besides, this a person whose earnings was below the marginal level was always in debt, discharging his obligations towards his creditors by working for them on long term basis and under village conditions it was extremely difficult to shake off these obligations even when the prospectus of repayment of debt were bright as such an action seriously disturbed the agricultural operation of the creditor. Ideosyncratic factors such as nostalgic attachment to the family and the village and dislike for the city life were also cognate factors.

The specific kin relationships regulating from the change in the family organization among the Khandayats would be dealt with later and specific cases would be cited for illustration.

It has been stated in the background chapter that the Pano caste comes next to the Khandayats in order of numerical strength. Their economic position assessed on the basis of per capita and per family income is the lowest. Their average land holding is the second lowest (the lowest position going to Dhoba caste) All most all the families (27 out of 29) own land within a range of 0.2 acres. Their position is also equally low as share-croppers. Maximum number from among these are employed as agricultural labourers. Compared to the Khandayats and Keutas the number of persons employed as industrial labourers from among the caste is very low. Commercial activities among them is nil. Incidence of illiteracy among them is also the highest. Speaking in other words the Panos occupy the lowest place in the social hierarchy not
not only because of their traditional caste status as untouchables but also because of their economic and educational backwardness.

The economic condition of the Panos has remained somewhat compared to the Brahmans and Khandayats. During the last ten years they have neither bought nor sold any land. They have however improved their position in another direction. The main occupation of all Panos roughly ten years back, was agricultural labour. Only three families owned land. Two out of these three families owned land on service tenure basis. The head of one of the families served under the Government as Village watchman and another under the Zemindar of Darpan as peon. (They system of appointing village-watchman by providing them with land on service tenure basis had been abolished since 1963 and the land granted to them on service tenure basis has been settled upon regular tenancy basis). During the last ten years the Panos have shifted from their position as agricultural labourers to that of share-croppers. The land which the Brahmans found difficult to cultivate was either offered for sale or for share-cropping. Selling the land meant parting with it for ever and though land became a marketable commodity for those who could not afford to cultivate it, it nevertheless had emotional attachments. Share-cropping was characterised by the superior position of the land owner over the cultivators. The former could take away the land from the cultivator at any time, he was eligible to take half of the total produce of the land and can claim all the straw. He also collected the water rent from the cultivator and extorted about one fifth from the cultivators share as fee for maintenance of granery and the fencing and maintenance of the place where crops were harvested.
Besides this, the cultivator had to pay for the worship of the family deity of the landowner and for the performance of the "Sumia Puaja" (This puja is performed on the first day of the year according to Oriya calendar. All the accounts are closed on this day and fresh accounts for the year are started). The cultivator had also to pay subscription if the landowner's Son or Daughter married. He was also obliged to the landowner in many other ways. He could bank upon the landowner in for loan at the time of need, though he had to pay interest at enherent rates. In most cases these loans were never repaid and the interest went increasing and become a constant source of income for the landowner. The cultivator was also expected to do any type of nominal work for nominal payment or no payment at all. With the determination of the economic condition of the landowner, especially in the case of the Brahmans, the realisation of any due except the agreed share was stopped. With the passage of the tenants protection act in 1948, the cultivator acquired a partial ownership right over the land cultivated by him. The landowner could not take away the land from him as long as he paid his share. According to this act the cultivator was expected to pay only twofifth of the total produce and no share of the straw. All other fees became illegal. The over-all result of this legislation was that relationship between the landowner and the share-cropper which was heretofore informal and personal, became legalised.

It has been necessary to describe the process of share-cropping and the changes with regard to it in connection with the family organization among the Panos, because these changes are of utmost importance to understanding the family
organization of the Pano. These changes also had some side effects which affected the other castes in the village and brought in such changes which have significance for the study of kin relationship.

It has been mentioned earlier, that the Khandayats acquired land from the Brahmans by purchase and that it had a deep impact on their economy. The Fanos acquired land from the Brahmans by changing their status from agricultural labourers to that of share-croppers. Viewed from outside this is only a slight shift in their occupation. However from the point of view of the internal economy of the caste this change was very significant and if the amount of change be taken into consideration share cropping augmented a higher quantum of change compared to the acquiring of land by purchase, by the Khandayat. In the case of the Khandayats, the change was from the status of one type of cultivator to another type whereas in the case of the Pano the change was from agricultural labourer, without any right or responsibility for cultivating the land to that of cultivator with limited proprietary rights; but nevertheless bearing the full responsibility for cultivation. The change of status of the Khandayat cultivator was more juridical (and psychological because of the sense of possession of land) in nature whereas the equivalent change from agricultural labourer to that of share-cropper entailed a series of changes among the Pano. In the first place the purchase of bullocks and agricultural implements were found necessary for cultivating land. Secondly some amount of capital was needed to bear the cost of cultivation. Capital was also needed for maintenance of the family as wage earning and cultivation could not go on simultaneously. This capital was needed till the products
of land were available for cultivation. Money in cash was therefore essentially required. To meet this requirement the Panos resorted to the same method as was adopted by the Khandayats under similar conditions. The result was that a large number of Panos left the village to work in the industrial establishments to earn ready money so as to enable themselves or the members of their family staying in the village, to bear the cost of cultivation. It has been shown in the background chapter that when the number of persons employed in industrial establishments, as main or subsidiary occupation, is taken into account the Panos stand next to the Khandayats.

The effect of this change had also similar effects on the family organization of the Panos, the difference being that in their case the change was much more significant than the Khandayats. The traditional pattern of family organization among the Khandayat like those of the Brahmans was the joint family which broke up under the exigencies of the economic conditions. With the change in economy the traditional pattern again came into being in a limited manner. Among the Panos the traditional pattern of family organization was completely different. It has been mentioned in the background chapter that the Panos originally came to the village as labourers to dig the canal and later on to work in the long of the railways. After these works were completed some of them left the village in search of similar work else-where. The rest settled in the village as agricultural labourers mostly working for the Brahmans and also working for the Keutas and the Khandayats. Their original settlement in the village was as nuclear families. They maintained this form of family organization untill
new trends appeared in the economic set-up of the village. The lack of joint family organization among the Panos was so conspicuous that it was used to be cited as a proverb among other castes especially among the Brahmans. Whenever there was friction within the family and there was strained relationship among the family members threatening the continuance of the joint family other would describe it as "Pano-like behaviour".

The lack of joint family system had affected the Pano and the Khandayats differently. Among the Khandayats the adult Son separated his nuclear family from the joint family sometime after marriage, usually when he had some children while among the Pano this happened even before marriage. As a matter of fact his leaving the joint family was an indication that he wanted to be independent from family bonds so as to arrange his own marriage. It is one of the recognised duties of the Father to get his Son married. This holds true for all castes but among the Panos the Father is always reluctant to discharge this responsibility because of the expenses involved. Besides the expenses - which include cost of feasting and payment of bride price - locating a bride is a real difficult task. For this one has to travel far and wide and face indifferent treatment, even suffer humiliation from the parents of the bride. A Pano boy, therefore feels, soon after he attains adulthood that his marriage is being neglected by his Father and he shy like a Brahman boy to give vent to his feelings. This leads to quarrels between the Father and Son, the former declaring the Son is too irresponsible and economically insolvent to get married; and the latter retorting about his own fitness and the incapability of the
Father to manage the household. This often ends in the Son breaking away from the family.

In a family of agricultural labourers, separation from the family is very easy. There is no landed property to be divided. Personal belongings like clothing are entirely personal involving no dispute about their possession. Food materials being purchased daily out of the wages earned also raises no problems. A few pieces of metal tools and sharing the one or two room structure do raise some dispute. These disputes, are however, settled by the authority of the Brahman employer whose mediation is sought in these matters. This mediation is also given without being sought as the Brahman employer is always too willing to intervene in these matters. (Incidentally it may be mentioned that Brahman employers always like to encourage disputes among their employees so that they can play the role of the middle man. It is also always to their interest to keep their employees divided among themselves so that the latter would lose their bargaining power and always within the grips of the employer.) What actually happens in case of separation is that the Son brings one or two earthen pots (for cooking and keeping the food materials) and sets up a separate oven (Chuli) for cooking his food by himself. Verbal communication between him and his parents is reduced to the barest minimum.

Widowed Mother, Widower Father, Widowed or divorced Sister in most cases stayed separate from their Sons and Brothers respectively. The Son of course came to the help of his parents when they became old and infirm. An aged Wife would leave her Husband to stay with her Son or Daughter. It was a universal
phenomenon for Brothers not to stay together if they were adults.

Taking all these facts into consideration it can be concluded that family organization among the Panos was characterised by extreme atomization, the only stable bond being the relationship between spouses (growing weaker with the advancement of age) and between them and their young progeny.

The introduction of share cropping among the Panos and its resultant division of labour among the family members both for organizing the cultivation within the village and earning wages in industrial establishments to finance cultivation led to changes in the family organization resulting in the emergence of the joint family organization - a unique phenomenon among the caste. Among those who were able to shift to share cropping, the newly divided families came to be united once again and other families which otherwise would have broken up, remained in tact. As against this atomisation prevailed among those who were not able to shift from the economy of the landless labourer to that of share-cropper. Thus as far as family organization is concerned a wide gulf was created between the two groups.

It is also noteworthy here that the shift from labourer economy to that of cultivator's economy was accompanied by intense political activities centering round the Panos. The main objective of this political movement was to assert the rights of the share-croppers as granted to them according to Orissa Tenants Protection Act, 1948. The share-croppers among the Khandayats, though interested in this movement, played only second fiddle to it as they were more interested in acquiring the status of landowners. Another
noteworthy factor is that, though this political movement put forward the amelioration of the conditions of all the poorer sections of the population, engaged on land, as its declared objective it nevertheless ignored the claims of the agricultural labourers for higher wages. The persons who were most responsive to the movement were the vocal section of the small cultivators and share-croppers. The agricultural labourers were too inconspicuous to play a significant role in the movement. This section among the Khandayats were therefore indifferent towards the movement. The concerned section among the Pano were not so indifferent, as the movement assumed the character of a conflict between the low caste and the high caste.

To sum up the economic changes affected the family organization among the Panos and this change was further augmented by a political movement with economic and social objectives. This change in the family organization released a new type of kin relationship and kin behaviour which would be described at the relevant place.

The Keuta or the fishermen caste come next to the Pano in order of numerical strength. The economic condition of this caste has been described in the background chapter. Though numerically inferior to the Khandayat and the Pano, they hold a higher percentage of land than these castes - being in this respect only second to the Brahmans. Their average per family and per capita land holding is also the second higher in the whole village; the first place as usual going to the Brahman. They are also well represented in the higher brackets of land holding. In share-cropping
they occupy the second place in the village standing only next to the Khandayats. In spite of this economic status the proportion of agricultural labourers among them is quite high which indicates the high range of economic conditions prevalent within the caste. This point is further proved by the fact that during the last ten years they have purchased the maximum amount of land. In industrial employment they stand second in the village and in commercial activities they occupy first position at a par with Brahmans. Their per capita and per family income is also very high and they come next to the Brahman in this respect.

The family organization among the Keuta is characterised by high degree of diversity. Joint family is prevalent among those who are in higher brackets of income whereas among the lower income groups the nuclear family is the dominant form. It has been described above that the family form had been very responsive to the economic conditions and that economic changes have brought in equivalent changes in the family form among the Brahmans, Khandayat and the Keuta. The economic process among the Keuta should therefore be described for a fuller understanding of the family organization among them.

As described above economic changes among the Brahman, Khandayat and the Pano had mainly centred around land and that in the case of the Brahman education was an additional factor of significance. The impact of education among the Keuta is very insignificant. The economic changes centring around land had also had a different type of impact on them, its result being different among this caste compared to the Brahman, Khandayat and the Pano.
The purchase of land by the Keutas, which is the highest among all the castes, had not that sweeping impact upon them as the lesser purchase by the Khandayat had on them. Even the changeover from agricultural labourer to that of share-cropper among the Pano had a much more deeper impact. The reason for this is that most of the land purchased by the Keutas went to those who already had land and whose main occupation was cultivation of their own land. Not only the purchasers were already established as labourers but almost all of them belonged to the higher brackets of landowning. Purchase of further land by them augmented their status as owner-cultivators without bringing in any type of change in a new direction.

It has been mentioned in chapter II that the Keutas came to the village at different periods and for a variety of reasons. A section of the Keutas established themselves in the village to undertake trade and invested part of their income in land. They gradually established themselves as prosperous businessmen as well as thriving landowners. This dual economy was very conducive for the growth of joint family within the relevant groups of Keutas. The result was that the largest of the joint families were found among them. One of the families was so big that its size came to be talked about not only for the village but also in the adjoining villages. It contained about sixty members in all, ranged over three generations. The family owned about one hundred and forty acres of land, fifteen pairs of bullocks and thirty cows. An entire portion of the village was covered by the housing and adjoining kitchen garden area of the family. All the property was jointly owned and the income from land and commerce jointly enjoyed by the
family. Cooking was done in common. Each nuclear family, however, had a reserve of its own in cash and ornaments.

This family was certainly an exception and can be cited as an extreme form of joint family made possible owing to the personality of the head of the family and other extraneous factors like the amassing of wealth (a large part of which was accumulated by the head of the family during his lifetime), but the very possibility of such a family among one section of the Ksuta is indicative of some trends which is borne out by examining the family form among the rest of the group. This group consists of the families at the upper level of landowning whose income is augmented by commerce. Within this group joint family is the prevalent form without exception. Economic factors favouring its persistence within this group, are almost similar to that of the Khandayats. Like Khandayats the demands of cultivation and the necessity of maintaining economic holdings tend to keep a number of nuclear families bound together as a joint family. This situation is further strengthened by the sufficiency of land. Commercial activities also demand a further division of labour over and above the division of labour needed for agricultural activities.

The marked difference of this group, from the castes described above, is that family form has remained comparatively more static whereas in case of the others it has been marked by significant changes. Among the Brahmans the traditional form of joint family organization has been completely replaced by nuclear families and in the case of the Pano and Khandayat re-grouping of nuclear families into joint families has taken place. As against
this the joint family form has persisted within this group. This group has not been disturbed by the economic changes which came over the village and whose impact was very intensely felt during the last ten years. This group has been able to withstand these changes. Growth of population leading to division of land into un-economic holdings has been prevented in this case by increasing the family holdings by purchasing land from other. Wherever the income from land has gone down, it has been more compensated by the income from commercial activities. It may be noted here that the changes coming over the rural areas after 1947 (i.e., from the date India attained independence) have been marked by intense developmental activities opening up new avenues for commercial enterprise. This group of Keutas, with their tradition of commercial enterprises, have taken due advantage of these opportunities and have benefited the most out of it. Because of these activities this section has been able to increase the level of their income. This alternative source of income has also helped them to withstand the changes, which progressively decreasing income from the land would have otherwise brought about.

The joint family within this group is characterised by the following activities. As long as the Father lives, his Sons along with their Wives and children remain under the same roof. They enjoy the income of the family in common. There is an agreed division of labour to engage different members of the family in agricultural and commercial activities. The overall management of the agriculture and commerce remains in the hands of the Father. The agricultural products are stored in common and their consumption and sale are regulated by the Father, but the Sons are
also consulted and every thing is decided in consensus as far as
practicable. The capital invested in commerce is family capital
and the profits are accounted by the family as a whole. Cooking is
done in common. The wife of the head of the family supervising it
and the Son's Wives jointly participating in the work. The cost of
marriage of Daughters and Sons' Daughters are met by the family as
a whole.

After the death of the Father, his
functions are taken over by his eldest Son and the management of
family affairs continues as before. In deciding family affairs, the
Father adequately consults the Sons and matters are decided by
consensus, but decisions are the Father's. The eldest Brother cannot
exercise authority to that extent over the younger Brother. All
decisions, therefore, are joint decisions.

Another noteworthy change which comes
over the joint family after the death of the Father is the earmarking
different portions of family property to different Sons. This is
usually done during the life time of the Father to avoid future
disputes among his Sons. So, though the family property is not
actually divided after the death of the Father, different accounts
are kept for different portions of property. The earmarking of
property is more clear-cut in the case of land than in case of the
commercial assets. Cooking continues to be in common under the
supervision of the Mother. A vacuum is created after the death of
the Mother because of the younger Brother's Wives do not readily
accept the supervisory authority of the eldest Brother's Wife.
Gradually the common kitchen breaks up and separate kitchens are set
up for each nuclear family. Land and other property are still held in common but earmarking of different portions of property for different Brothers becomes more pronounced. From then onwards the formal division of property occurs step by step. The house and kitchen gardens are divided first. Commercial activities become the concern of the individual members of the family. Division of land is done last.

The other group of the Keuta consisting of agricultural labourers and landowners within the lower income bracket, present a different form of family organization. The economic condition of this group is not comparable to that of the Brahman, Khandayat or the Pano of analogous economic status. The Keutas of this group prepare parched rice. This is the main item of tiffin in rural areas and has a heavy demand. Preparing parched rice is also the caste profession of the Keuta and is tabooed as profession for other castes. The number of Keuta in the whole area is very small and the Keutas of Bantalla are very skilled in this profession. The parched rice of Bantalla is famous in the whole area. They therefore exercise a virtual monopoly over the preparation of and trading in parched rice. The profession being lucrative they are able to enhance their income from land and labour. (It may be noted here that most of the work in connection with preparation of parched rice is done during night time, from about 2.30 A.M. to 5.30 A.M. It does not therefore interfere with the work on land during day time)

The labour in connection with the preparation of parched rice is carried on by a team of Husband and Wife and requires a very high degree of co-operation between them.
Selling of parched rice is done both by men and women, mostly by the latter. The Keuta females, especially females of the group under current discussion, also work as labourers, doing all types of work on land except ploughing. The economic activities are therefore confined to the nuclear family in a very pronounced manner. Adult Sons therefore separate from the joint family soon after their marriage. The nuclear family is therefore the dominant among them. This section of Keutas have not been attracted to purchase land as they have found it sounder to invest in the parched rice trade. They have not also been attracted to work in industrial establishments as they have this alternative occupation. As in the case of the Panos, they have not also been inclined to change their economic status as agricultural labourer to that of share-cropper. As a matter of fact a number of them have even sold or leased out for sharecropping their uneconomical holdings to be free to give more attention to the trade. The progressively higher demand for parched rice and the expansion of the market area due to improvement in transportation facilities coupled with the replacement of barter system of purchase by cash purchase are the factors further responsible for strengthening the economic basis of this profession. All these have resulted in a stabilisation of the traditional economy of this and consequent persistence of the nuclear family to the total exclusion of the joint family.

The following factors about the family organization of this section of the Keuta are noteworthy. Husband and Wife and their unmarried children constitute the nuclear family, The adult Son, soon after his marriage, separates himself from the
family and occupies a portion of the house independently. Within about a year he builds up his own house by addition and alteration of the portion of the original house allotted to him or builds up his own house as a separate structure for himself. Separation from the family is marked by setting up another oven and husking lever for preparation of parched rice. If the land holding of the family is too uneconomic then it is either cultivated in common or leased out for share-cropping. When cultivated in common the Son bears a part of the cost of cultivation and contributes his share of labour. His Mother, after widowhood, does not rejoin her Son's family. She carries on her trade in parched rice. The old parents also donot rejoin the family of their Son as they are always able to earn their living by preparation and selling of parched rice. This business can becarried on till ripe old age. The preparation of parched rice, which requires strenuous labour, is given up with the advancement of age and the old people mainly depend upon trading rather than producing. It is more profitable for the younger people to concentrate their labour on preparation. They, therefore, willingly entrust the older people to take the commodity to distance places for profitable disposal. A man's widowed Daughter or Sister also lives separately, after depending on her Father or Brother for the short initial period. (If widowed young, the girls usually return to their Father's village). When a man or woman becomes too old and infirm to do any type of work their Sons of course come to their help. Some amount of economic cooperation always prevails between the separated nuclear family and the family of orientation.

The specific kin relationships emerging out of the stable nature of economy and family organization among
both sections of Keuta would be dealt with at the proper place.

The Dhobas constitute a small percentage of the population of the village. There are only five families of Dhobas, with a total population of twenty one, in Bantalla. It has been described earlier that the economy of the Dhoba is mainly based on their traditional occupation which is washing of clothes of the higher caste people. In Bantalla the Dhobas serve the Brahman, Khandayat, Gudia, Badhei and Keuta. The service is performed on "Jajmani" basis. The clientele is fixed and inherited from Father to Son. The clients from their side also inherit the services of the Dhoba. If a man is utilising the services of one Dhoba, then his Son is bound to employ him or his Sons. Conversely if a Dhoba is serving a man then his Son is bound to serve him and his Sons.

The women occupy a very significant place in Dhoba economy. The services of Dhoba are chiefly required on two occasions. After the death of a person or the birth of a child, pollution is observed for ten and seven days respectively. During this period clothes are not washed. Only such clothing as are worn at the time of bathing (A piece of dhoti or saree or napkin) are washed but in that case no soap or other cleaning ingredients are used. After the pollution period is over, all the clothing of the village has to be washed by the Dhoba. The clothes are not considered ritually clean if they are not washed by the Dhoba. The second occasion, when the services of the Dhoba are considered as essential is for washing the clothings of women worn at the time of menstruation. After the period of menstruation these clothings are kept at a secluded place and should not be touched by any body unless taken and
washed by Dhoba women. On the latter occasion the clothing can only be collected and washed by the Dhoba woman as it is taboo for a man to touch them. On the former occasion the clothes are washed by both Dhoba male and female but it is the duty of the female to collect the clothes from the house of the clients. On both the occasions therefore the woman plays the significant role and a man cannot serve his client without a female to help him. It is therefore usual for the Dhoba males to marry as early as possible.

In addition to their traditional occupation with its fixed annual income and casual income on special occasions, all the Dhobas are engaged in cultivation of land as their subsidiary occupation. The income derived from subsidiary occupation is very insignificant compared to the income derived from the major occupation of washing clothes. The inter-relationship between the traditional occupation and the family organization among the Dhoba is therefore worth considering.

Dhoba economy is significantly different from that of the other castes in the village. In the case of other castes it has been seen that economic activities are somewhat individualistic in nature. One is free to shift from an occupation to another. The choice of occupation is only limited by the individuals. Convenience, ability and the economic prosperity of the occupation to be followed. No body can challenge the choice of one's occupation as such. In case of the Dhoba there is absolutely no choice. He has not only to stick to the profession of washing clothes, he has also to stick to the specific clients and be hereditarily attached to them. Refusal to serve a client is
considered as a serious offence on the part of the Dhoba and the pressure of the entire village (excluding the Pano, whose clothes of the Dhobas are not permitted to wash) would bear upon the culprit to bring him to book.

Besides the compulsion to follow the occupation the Dhoba is also handicapped by its exacting nature. The stock of clothing of his clients being limited, he is bound to conform to a strict time schedule. This time schedule has to be more strictly observed in cases of pollution as otherwise all the normal activities of the concerned family would come to a stand still.

The exacting nature of his profession have their obvious impact on the family organization of the Dhoba. A nuclear family, with only one adult women, is severely handicapped to meet the demands of the profession as the primary responsibility of the work, if not the main burden, falls on women. The Dhoba woman is not permitted to carry clothes during her menstrual period. During this period she is not also able to do heavy work. Again she is severely handicapped to do any work during pregnancy and after child birth, because, besides her health reasons, she herself has to observe pollution after the child birth.

The Dhoba male, if he is the only adult in the nuclear family is also equally handicapped. Though the responsibility of collecting the clothes from the clients' houses is the duty of the woman, it is only the man who is answerable for negligence. The main burden of physical labour also falls on men. Therefore, if the man is all alone in the family he would not be able to go to the market place, visit relatives, take rest when he is ill.
and undertake any contingent work. He is also handicapped when he is to observe pollution on account of death of a person in his family or during a child birth.

All these factors lead the Dhoba to depend heavily on his kin outside the nuclear family. Apparently therefore, there is every reason to suppose that the prevalent form of family among the Dhoba would be the joint family. In case of other castes, it has already been observed, economic factors have led to the persistence and reappearance of joint family as the prevalent form of family organization. In the case of Dhoba however, a complete different situation has come to prevail. The economic factors, though heavily favouring it, have not led to the prevalence of joint family as the pattern of family organization. A Dhoba adult usually separates from his family of orientation soon after his marriage. The Jajmani obligations are carried out on the basis of mutual cooperation among the kin outside the fold of family without such kin remaining within the fold of a joint family. This is possible only in case of the Dhobas as they are the only professional caste in the village. Like all professional castes it is characteristic of the Dhoba to have a strongly organized caste guild. The Dhoba of Bantalla have such a guild organization though it does not have formal office bearers. It also does not have a formal name. It is vaguely referred to as Jatibhai Sabha. If one fails another in discharging his or her obligations towards another caste member then the Jatibhai Sabha takes the culprit into account. The mutual obligations are chiefly confined to those members who would have otherwise constituted the joint family on patrilineal basis. Thus
a man can claim the services of his Brother and Brother's Wife, his Father and Mother and they can on their turn lay claim to his services at the time of difficulty. This Jatibai Sabha assumes the functions of the joint family in many respects and is more effective than it in certain spheres. It arbitrates in quarrels and disputes between Husband and Wife, Father and Son and Brother and Brother. It has a large say in matters like marriage of one's Sons and Daughters divorce cases, death rites etc. The nuclear family though the dominant form of family organization, among Dhoba, has a very limited autonomy compared to other castes. The caste guild, assuming the essential functions of the joint family among the Dhoba prevents its occurrence among them.

The mutual obligations are carried out in the following manner. If a man becomes ill or has to go outside the village, he entrusts his Brother or Father or Father's Brother to give the necessary service to his clients. If a woman falls ill then it is the duty of her Husband's Mother or Husband's Sister of Brother's Wife to do the work on her behalf. When an elderly man becomes a widower his Son's or Brother's Wife performs such services as would have been performed by his Wife (The obligation here is only to perform the services to the clients but does not necessarily extend to the domestic sphere like cooking though these are also undertaken). The widowed Mother lives and works with her Son's family. A widowed Sister may remain attached to her Husband's family or returns to her Brother's family. Young widows inevitably remarry, as procuring a Wife among the Dhoba is a difficult job.
The Gudia by tradition prepare sweetmeats and sell them. Though the literal meaning of Gudia is one who deals with Guda (trickle), their main caste profession in the village is preparation of fried rice, which is greatly in demand by the villagers. They constitute a very minor caste in the village, there being only two families in all in the village. Their population is not therefore adequate for statistical analysis. Out of the two families one is a joint family and another a nuclear family. The Gudias are also fresh immigrants to the village, compared to other castes. The behavioural aspect of kinship among them has observed to be similar to that among the Khandayat.

The population of the Badhei is equally small. Like the Gudia, there are only two families of Badhei in the village, with a total population of fourteen. The Badheis by tradition are carpenters. It has been indicated in chapter one that the traditional occupation of the Badhei is their major source of earning. Next to Dhoba they are the only caste whose traditional occupation is as important as agriculture. Like the Dhoba, they also serve the villagers on Jajmani basis charging each family one and half kilogram of paddy per plough. A Badhei is not expected to follow his caste occupation so rigidly as the Dhoba. He is comparatively free to accept new clients or reject old ones. Another difference is that the Badhei can serve the lower castes while Dhoba has only to serve such castes which are superior to him in the caste hierarchy.

The population of the Badhei is not adequate for numerical analysis. There being only two families it is
not possible to offer any analysis about family organization. One of the families is a nuclear family and other a joint family. It will not be accurate to say that both the forms of family are in equal ratio to each other among the caste.

In this discussion on family organization emphasis has been given on economic factors. This may lead to the conclusion that family organization is highly responsive to economic changes. To certain extent this is true. The equally important role of other factors also need to be emphasized here.

It has been observed that the Brahmans have been affected much more than other castes by the economic changes during the last ten years. These economic changes have brought in consequent changes in the family form - totally replacing the joint family by the nuclear family. The caste orientation of these economic changes, conforming to the caste characteristics of the Brahman, are also brought equally into focus by these changes. The shifts in economy have led the different castes to seek alternative occupations. Education and learning are treated as the traditional characteristics of the Brahman. It has been mentioned in the chapter one that the Brahmans of Bantalla originally emigrated from a "Sasan" village in Puri district. The Sasan type of villages were established at various parts of Orissa by the Gajapati kings and their subordinate rulers. From among these Sasan villages those set up by the Gajapati kings in the Puri district are the most characteristic of the type. In these villages the Brahmans were provided with abundant, land free from any taxation. Still more land was settled upon the village deities of Shiva and Bishnu and kept
under the management of the Brahmans. Some service castes like the Bhandari (barber) and Dhoba (Washer- man) were also settled in these villages and provided with land, to render service to the Brahmans. Later on, the Brahmans procured some Bouri families to work as agricultural labourers. (The Bouri is a caste of untouchables who occupy a lower position than Dhoba and higher position than Pano in the caste hierarchy)- The Bouries in the Sasan villages functioned as agricultural serfs having no right over land. They even did not have any right over their house-stead, and were hereditarily attached to specific Brahman families to do all types of labour for them.

The Brahmans of Bantalla coming from a Sasan village of Puri, originally had all the characteristic of the caste in their parent villages. In Bantalla also land was settled upon them by the local Zamindar (who was designated as "Raja" or king) free from any taxes. Land was also settled upon the Shiva deity of the village and kept under the management of the Brahmans.

The economic changes centering around land resulted in a realignment of economic relationships in the village. Advantage was taken of these changes by castes like Khandayat and Pano to improve their economic conditions. In the case of the Brahman the caste tradition was resistant to their deriving any benefit out of these changes. The caste taboo on ploughing made them dependent on other castes to plough their lands. There was no taboo on the doing work in the fields other than ploughing but the habit of enjoying the products of land by employing other caste people had developed as an economic tradition corollary to the caste tradition. The economic changes however were taken advantage of in another direction in
seeking the benefits of modern education. The Brahmans were always educationally more advanced than other castes. Though not absolutely binding on him, a Brahman was nevertheless expected to know some sanskrit hymns and be acquainted with Puranas like Ramayana and Mahabharata. This tradition helped them to shift from traditional education to modern education. The shift from traditional education to modern education was no doubt marked by a change in attitude. Traditional education was an end in itself its attainment being a mark of personal distinction. It also satisfied the religious motive. It had of course its utilitarian value. Acquaintance with the procedure of the various rituals and the specific sanskrit hymns connected with them could help a Brahman to earn some income as a priest. The profession of purohit however was not a significant occupation for the Brahmans of the village. The relevant table in chapter one would show that compared to other sources, the income derived from traditional occupation is very insignificant. For the majority of the Brahmans, therefore, the traditional occupation was sporn of its utilitarian value. As against this the attitude towards modern education was completely different. Like the traditional education, great prestige value is attached to modern education, but unless it leads to salaried employment, it is considered useless. The instance of one person, who joined politics after graduation and depended partly on the income of his Father and partly on public charity for his maintainance, can be cited here. As long as he was studying he enjoyed due prestige from the villagers. When, after graduation, he joined politics and his contemporaries (whose performance in schools and college was much inferior to his)
joined government service, his prestige went down and the others were rated higher.

Among the Brahmans therefore the total change was a result of interaction between the factors of economy and caste tradition. The traditional factors were resistant to change in other spheres. The changes in the family organization among the Brahman, should therefore be viewed from this angle. The change in family organization among the Brahman was marked by the complete replacement of joint family by nuclear family. The breaking up of the joint family also occurred among the other castes like Khandayats, Keuta and Pano but the factors responsible for it among them had been different from the Brahman.
METHOD OF FIELD PROCEDURE

The problem of the dissertation was first conceived in the year 1953, when I was serving as a Research Scholar in the Department of Rural Economics and Sociology, Utkal University. Within the scope of the activities of this department I was to register for the Ph.D. degree of Utkal University on a topic concerned with Rural Sociology. My choice naturally fell on "Caste". Dr. J. Sarma, who was then Reader in Sociology in the department also advised me to take up a problem connected with caste in the rural setting as she herself was very much interested in it. To choose caste as the theme of the dissertation was easy enough but to select a specific problem connected with it was much more difficult. Finally after going through the available field studies on caste I chose to take up daily routine as the specific area of my studies. In no Sociological study in India, daily routine had been systematically studied as a major topic and it is also one of the least studied problems in Sociology in general. I was therefore attracted towards the problem.

After choosing the problem and preparing the research design, the next step was to select a village for study. Right from the outset I decided to take up a village in the Jajpur sub-division of Cuttack district. I wanted the field of study to be aptly representative of a region. Historical evidence shows that Jajpur sub-division of Cuttack district can be taken as the heart of the region of Orissa. The boundary of Orissa had always been fluid in the past and most of its areas were included within the
political boundaries of other States. As a matter of fact, Orissa emerged as a distinct political entity only in 1936, when it was constituted as a separate Province. Before that its territory was included in the then Province of Bengal, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and the present Andhra Pradesh, which at that time was a part of the presidency of Madras. Prior to 1936, the districts of Cuttack, Puri and Balsore, formed a division of Bihar under a Revenue Commissioner. Inspite of its political non-entity during this period, Orissa was recognised as a distinct region, characterised by a common language and other distinctive social and cultural features. Even today the district of Cuttack is considered as the core of Oriya culture and the language spoken in the Jajpur subdivision of the district as standard Oriya language.

After locating the region, the next step was to select a typical village. The typical character of the village was to be determined on the basis of the population size and caste composition. On the basis of the Census reports I ascertained that the population of an average village would be less than 800 but more than 500. This is not the State average but average for the district of Cuttack. The State average is much smaller because of the inclusion of an exceptionally large number of small hamlets from the tribal areas.

There was no broad based data for fixing up typical characteristics of a village on the basis of caste composition because castewise enumeration has been discarded by Census of India after 1931. The only guidance could be obtained from village studies. I therefore consulted available village studies beginning from small articles in journals to large books. These
books I studied against the background of available sociological literature on caste (These books have been cited in the Bibliography). On the basis of this reading I came to the conclusion that the adequacy of a village for the study of caste should be determined on the basis of the caste composition, as well as on the number of castes. The caste composition should be as follows: Firstly there should be the caste of Brahmans at the ritual apex of the village society, secondly there should be one or more "Service" castes, serving their clients on jajmani basis in their traditional caste occupation, Thirdly there should be some castes below that of the Brahman, who are regarded as clean castes but between whom the superiority or inferiority in the caste hierarchy is not clearly fixed, and lastly there should be a caste or castes who are treated as untouchables. The larger the number of castes the better it would be fitted for study but in search of a typical village, emphasis should be on an "Average" number of castes. If the number is too small or too big, the typical character of the village cannot be maintained. Keeping in view all these points I contacted a total of twenty villages in different Police Stations of the sub-division of Jajpur. Because of my prior association with Bantalla, I had that village in mind all the time, Nevertheless this search was made to ascertain the suitability of this village and to find out if another village would be more suitable. As result of this search Bantalla was found to be the most suitable village for studying caste, from the point of view of the present dissertation. Accordingly field work was started on the first of March, 1968.
Rapport with the people had already been established before I started the field work. I had the advantage of one who belonged to the society of this village and had all the advantages which it implied. Yet I did not belong to the village fully - a fact of which I myself and the villagers were conscious. My role in the village as a detached observer was quite clear and worked to my advantage during the course of field work.

Bantalla is my ancestral village. My Father's Father lived in this village. My Father was born here but studied and served outside the village and finally settled in the city of Cuttack. Nevertheless he is treated as a member of the village, takes interest in its affairs and has a position of prestige in the village society. I was born and brought up outside and visited the village during holidays and on festivals like Dolyatra. The visits were more frequent when the grand-parents were alive. After their death the visits became less frequent but relationship with the village was maintained. All the villagers are personally known to me. Whenever I visit the village all the adult males and elderly females greet me and talk with me. They also consider me to be above the disputes and persons belonging to opposite factions confide in me. Besides this personal relationship, my role as a social scientist was also clear. While I was studying Anthropology in Lucknow University people were curious to know what I was studying. I tried my best to explain the subject matter of social Anthropology to them. They were greatly amused to learn that things like their marriage, regulations, family life, mode of worship, even daily routine were susceptible to "Scientific Study". When I
conducted the field investigation the people were quite prepared to give information. Some of them even rated the study so high that they repeatedly reminded me to let them know the results of the study in a somewhat similar manner as they would ask a doctor to let them know the results of their blood examination. The illiterate people thought that this information would be utilised for the welfare of the people. Though I did not flatly contradict them, I nevertheless explained the remoteness of such a possibility. Being employed in the Tribal research Bureau, Orissa, I have wide experience of conducting field investigation in various parts of the State and everywhere I have found that the people suspect that these investigations are conducted for increasing taxes. In Bantalla however, not a single person raised such an objection.

I was conscious of the dangers of studying one's own society, especially the village with which one is intimately associated. This topic has been thoroughly discussed by Srinivas and the points raised by him were taken as the guiding line. I employed my previous knowledge about the village and my subjective experience concerning it, to check the information but throughout the dissertation I have not used any information which was not obtained by interrogation and observation.

Before starting the work I had counted upon the adult males for supplying information and was sceptic about women. During the field work it was a pleasant surprise to find them as communicative as the males. On topics like cooking or cleaning they alone could supply the details. Most of them had the feeling that it enhanced their self-respect to make me listen to what they
knew and what in my turn I did not know. Thus the coverage included all the adult males except five. Three of them continually stayed outside the village and did not visit the village in course of the field work. The other two were too old and diseased. All the adult females except eleven were also covered. Out these eleven one was semi-mad and her information was of no worth. The rest were newly married young women with whom it would have been indecorous to discuss any thing. Two of them were the Wives of my younger Brothers (distant Cousins) who had had to avoid me at any rate.

The coverage, thus is the entire population except those from whom there was physical or social difficulty to collect any information. This may be called as a census coverage. Such a coverage is essential in a single village study and has been preferred to a sample coverage.

For collection of data the techniques of participant observation and unstructured interviews were mainly employed. Participation was not only easy but also inevitable. While staying in a village one has to perform his daily routine in which contact with others could not be avoided - and "daily routine" was the subject matter of field investigation in this case. Rate of participation in all the items of daily routine was not even. For example I could go to take my bath in the canal with others and behave like other but this could not be done with regard to cooking. Participation was, however, possible on most of the items of daily routine.

In unstructured interviews, I usually raised a point and listened to what the informant said. Further
questions were not asked till the informant has talked to his satisfaction. After the lapse of some days (not less than fifteen days) he would again be interviewed for corroboration. I also found it very useful to encourage two persons to discuss and argue with each other. Their argument was especially useful when each held a different opinion. Each would then cite instances in favour of his argument and give his interpretation of the same. These instances were of value and could not have been obtained by simple interrogation.

The field work started on 15th April 1958. I went to the village with the purpose of doing field work there for eighteen months, which is considered standard period for field investigation in a village. After doing work there for eighteen months, it could not be possible to do further sustained work as I joined Government service in the Tribal Research Bureau and had had to do other work in other areas. I visited the village when my official work allowed me to do so. Thus I continued to work for brief periods till March 1962. During these four years the total period of field investigation came to twenty two months. In one way it was better than continuous field work over a shorter period. I had the opportunity to observe the people over a long span of time, and was able to actually perceive the effect of the time factor on certain aspects of behaviour. For example when I started the field work there was a newly married couple (Brahman) who had not completed the first year of their marriage. By the time I completed the field work they had become quite mature in their marital life and were parents of two children. The development of their reciprocal relationship over
this period could be observed and recorded as a very valuable data.

A door to door census was taken before starting the investigations proper. This census was taken mainly to help the investigations. The census on which the tables on population, economy and education are based was taken much later, on 10th March 1965 for which a special trip was made to the village. (The period of this trip has not been counted for calculating the period of investigation). This was done for obtaining more up-to-date data.

Though field work as such was completed by March 1962, it was found necessary to visit the village whenever any lacuna in the data was noticed. (These periods have not also been counted for calculating the period of investigation).

During the course of work certain land records, settlement notes and palm leave documents were examined for obtaining data on the history of the village.