Chapter-3
Social Organization
CHAPTER - 3
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

When we consider the village as a cultural unit, it can be observed that belief system followed by the people is engrained in the life cycle rituals as practiced by its individual members belonging to different caste, gender and age groups. These rites and rituals are in turn governed by a set of rules and obligations put forward by the social organization of the village. Thus it is the intertwining of these two critical aspects of the village life that acts as a major predisposing factor that affects the well being of the inhabitants of the village. The social organization enmeshed with the belief structure of the village gives us a window to understand the behavioural patterns of the people especially when it comes to the domain of interpersonal gender based interactions and reproductive health. It is with this perspective that the researcher intends to study the social organization of the village and the life cycle rituals practiced the people of the village.

Principles of Social Organization

By social organization we mean the ways in which individuals as well as groups are organized and related to one another, with in the framework of a given society. The culture of any society provides with a blue print that lays out the major tasks to be performed and specific directions to carry out assigned the functions (Hoebel and Frost 1976).

In the village agriculture plays a significant role when it comes to the fulfillment of the daily needs of the people as it is the agriculture which determines the type of food that they eat, kind of dress they wear and their daily routine. The traditional occupation of the villagers being agriculture and agriculture related occupations like
smithy and carpentry that shape the social organization of the people. The social organization of the village is based on two systems that are manetana (lineage) and jati (caste). It is the manetana (lineage) and jati (caste) that gives identity to the people of village in all forms of their social interaction. Both aspects have their principles which determine nature of social organization of the village.

a. Manetana (lineage)

The lineage system in the village is expressed in the form of manetana. It is through this system that they trace their ancestors. The system of manetana is based on Principle of ‘descent’; ‘authority’ bestowed on the different individuals, ‘inheritance’ of property, and the ‘post-marital residence’ and is exogamous in nature. The manetana is a patrilineal descent group which encompasses aspects of social life of the people of the village. Manetana pervades smaller patrilinear related social units which is referred to as families ‘mane’ by the villagers. All the people belonging to one manetana can trace their ancestry. The members belonging to a manetana are capable of knowing the ascendants through whom they are linked. The membership to manetana is by birth. Any member of the village is identified by her/his manetana in every day life. Typically a male in the village has three names, first is his personal name, the second one is his father’s name and the last name is the name of his manetana. For example, Shivappa Basappa Dasankoppa, where Shivappa is his personal name, Basappa is his father’s name and Dasankoppa is the manetana to which he belongs. Therefore names of manetana are used as sir names in all walks of their social life. The people of the village believe that a child is solely born out of his father’s blood and belongs to father. This is the reason why descent membership flows from father to son. The patrilineal descent ideology gives a special place for the male member that determines their authority over the females in domestic activities.
It is implicitly accepted that after marriage the major role of male towards his wife and children is to separate himself from his “family of orientation”. This separation usually occurs in a gradual manner. Whatever property they have maintained in their household is under the authority of father or the eldest brother. It is significant to note that among the people of the village the ties between patrilineally related households maintain intimate social personal interactions with their families living in nearby houses. And this is commonly seen among the households of the brother’s or households of the patrilineally related male parallel cousins. The reason for this they say is that they are of the same blood and they worship the same family deity. Such kin groups exhibit maximum degree of economic and social cooperation. The jati, that is the caste group, is made up of several manetana (lineages) that act as the basic functional units when it comes to the occupational structure of the village. Occupations in the village are caste based and therefore hereditary. Agriculture is one such occupation that requires collective action by the manetana (lineages) in order to achieve the necessary results. The co-operative nature of the manetana (lineages) and their tendency to be localized gives these groups the solidarity and cohesiveness to effectively undertake kamata (agriculture) in the village. The jati (castes) that exhibit these kinds of features in the village are Panchamsali, Hande Kurubaru, Kurubaru, and Maratharu. These castes are associated with large agricultural land holdings. This results in an increase in the agricultural produce of the village as a whole. The villagers see kamata (agriculture) as the major source of food and wealth creation in the village. It is for reason that these castes enjoy a higher status in the overall hierarchy of the village. The manetana (lineages) among the priestly castes that is, Ainaru and Badigeru do not exhibit the kind of solidarity and cohesiveness that exists among the manetana (lineages) of the agrarian castes. This is owing to the fact that these priestly castes do
not require that kind of inter-lineage co-operation while undertaking their occupational
pursuits. Similar situation prevails when we observe the manetana- lineage system
among the Holeyaru that is the untouchables. Each manetana (lineage) of these
Holeyaru caste group is engaged in providing services to one of the upper agrarian
castes. These services are hereditary in nature. As result of this, lineages among these
caste groups do not function as co-operative units which have far reaching implications
for the group as a whole.

Thus patrilineal descent and virilocal residence and the tendency of the
manetana (lineage) to be localized among the people of this village give a man’s
domestic life a greater continuity. In both type of the households that is nuclear and
extended, it is the whole group that constitute a single economic unit where in all the
members are mutually dependent on one another for the production of food and
satisfaction of their day to day needs. The family is always under the authority of oldest
male member. He may be a father in the nuclear family, or he may be an oldest son
succeeding his father in the extended family setting. It is he who looks after all the
affairs of the households and holds the final say in all household matters matters.

The members of manetana form a co-operative unit who are actively involved
in the life cycle rituals of individual household. Birth, marriage and death are such
events. During these occasions the members of manetana come together in order to
collect the necessary articles for the ceremony and see to it that everything goes well
with the ceremony.

When it comes to marriage, manetana is more clearly defined. Manetana is an
exogamous unit that is agnatically defined. No two persons belonging to same
manetana are permitted to marry. This is the reason as to why the membership to manetana becomes important in marriage rituals where in the “consanguinal”/ “affinal” distinction is critical. The continuity of manetana and mane depends on the patrilineal descent principle. It is this principle that defines inheritance and succession among the villagers. Only male members are considered for the inheritance of landed property. The females are married out and sent to their husband’s family and they do not inherit anything from their parental property. However they are allowed to come back and stay in the natal family in the time of crisis. People say that a woman’s place is in her gandana mane (husband’s household). After the marriage the females are supposed to belong to manetana of their husband and hence their affiliation changes.

b. Jati (caste)

If a researcher has to make an in-depth analysis of social organization in the Indian context, it is imperative on her/his part to first understand the caste system of the social grouping under study (Karve 1984). Caste system as form of social stratification plays an important role in social organization among the people of the Nigadi. Membership to caste is by birth and caste identity plays an important role in a person’s every day life. The caste system in the village is based on the principle of madi (purity) and mailigi (pollution) which establishes the status of a caste within the hierarchy of the village. This principle of purity and pollution therefore tends to divide the caste hierarchy of the village into two broad categories, the uccha jati (pure castes) who live in the main settlement of the village called as uru and the neecha jati (polluted castes) who stay in the keri, a street which is located outside main settlement of the village and the relationship between these castes are expressed through the commensal
relationships between them. For instance, if a woman living in the keri wants to draw water from the public bore-wells or taps they have to ask the women living in the ‘uru’ to fill for them. They are not allowed to directly touch the tap or the water. The people belonging to Madaru and Kali caste of the village cannot enter any of the houses in the main settlement neither do the people living in the uru are allowed to enter the houses in the keri. The main occupation of the people living in keri is to clean the houses of people living in the uru, mend their shoes, and help them in the agriculture related activities. In marriages and in other big feasts and ceremonies held in the village, it is the people living in keri who wash the plates and clean the left-overs during the occasion. These people are not allowed to dine with people belonging to uru who sit in a separate pavali (line) while having food during feasts and ceremonies conducted in the village. The people belonging to keri are given food separately at the end of the ceremony as they are supposed to take away the left overs and clean the place.

The ritual hierarchy in the village comprises of the priestly castes of Ainaru and Badigeru at the top, the agrarian castes of Pancahmsali, Hande Kurubaru, Kurubaru and Maratharu in the middle, and the untouchable castes of Kali, Madaru, Bhajantri, Waddaru and Valmiki at the bottom. This does not mean that there is only type of caste hierarchy in the village. It was observed that there is hierarchy between the upper and middle level castes and within the different middle level castes but it is not so pronounced when compared to the overall hierarchy between the pure and polluted castes as discussed above. The people belonging to Ainaru caste assert their superiority over the other castes by the performance of various rites and rituals necessary in everyone’s life of the village. On the other hand, Badigeru also enjoy a higher status in
the village as they alone have the right to perform *pooja* to the Goddess Dyamavva, the village deity. The commensal relationships between the upper castes determine the hierarchy that exists between them. The commensal relationship within the middle level castes or between upper and middle level castes can be seen during the exchange of food and its consumption on occasions like puberty rituals, death rites and pregnancy rituals. The castes which are at the top of the hierarchy that is, *Ainaru* and *Badigeru* take only raw food from the middle level castes of the village. They do not eat cooked food from the hands of these middle level castes like *Panchamsali, Hande Kurubaru,* and *Maratharu*. At the same time people belonging to *Panchamsali* caste do not take cooked food from *Kurubaru, Maratharu* and other castes but they eat cooked food from the hands of *Badigeru* and *Ainaru* of the village. Therefore if a *Kurubaru* family has to give food to a pregnant woman belonging to *Panchamsali* caste, she/he gives the pregnant woman *ona ulupi* (dry food) like dry grams, dry fruits, wheat flour, and *jowar* flour. However, when we consider the overall hierarchy of the village that gets operationalized in the day-to-day activities of the people, one can observe the effect of other social organizational aspects like income, education and politics on the ritual hierarchy of the village.

**c. Lagna (marriage)**

Marriage forms an important stage in the life of an individual. It gives social sanction and legitimacy to the union between man and woman and subsequently for the procreation. For the villagers, marriage is not just a union between two individuals but it is a relation established between two *manetanas*. Marriage gives a new set of relationships for the individual and to the family of which the individual is a part. It
symbolizes a special alliance between two manetanas. The yajamanru (married man) and his wife muthaide (married woman whose husband is alive), if they have children enjoy a higher status in various rituals and ceremonies conducted on various social occasions.

Marriage is arranged by the parents in the family for the young people and is not an individual affair. Apart from physical beauty and personal attributes the elders see whether the boy or a girl would adjust with the family that she/he is married into. And people are of the opinion that these attributes come from a family in which he or she is born and brought up. Hence the parents look for such families who have the reputation of having brought up the children according to their value system while choosing a suitable boy or a girl for marriage.

Every society has a specific set of rules concerning whom to marry and whom not to marry. The people of Nigadi follow the rule of manetana exogamy and jati endogamy. Thus, caste endogamy is the last bastion for maintaining the ritual status of the castes. According to the villagers marrying within the same manetana is prohibited as it is like marrying ones own siblings. The elderly people of the village say that, along with manetana exogamy and caste endogamy there use to be the practice of following bagi and bedagu. These bagi and bedagu are clan like organizations which are exogamous in nature. But the people of Nigadi say presently they do not to follow this and consider only manetana and jati while choosing a suitable male or female for marriage. The people are of the opinion that if they follow the principle of bagi and bedagu they are not able to find the suitable alliances for their children. Majority of the younger people were not even aware of the bagi and bedagu to which they belong.
The Badigeru of the village follow the gotra system along with manetana exogamy and caste endogamy during the marriage. Gotras are clan like organization made up of two or more lineages that are exogamous in nature and which follow patrilineal descent. There are five gotras among the Badigeru of Nigadi, they are Manu, Maya, Shilpi, and Suparnasya named after the rishigalu (sages). The Badigeru of the village belong to suparnashya gotra and are part of a single manetana.

The people belonging to Ainar caste of the village follow the Panchapeetha system- the five monastic order of the Ainaru caste- that are exogamous in. These Peethas are five in number they are Ujjaini Peetha, Kedar Peetha, Shrishaila Peetha, Rambhapuri Peetha and Kashi Peetha. The Ainaru of the village represent the Ujjaini Peetha.

The rule of prohibition of marrying parallel cousins is also considered to be important for the villagers. The rule of manetana exogamy takes care of patrilateral parallel cousin marriage. Marrying matrilateral parallel cousin is also prohibited on the grounds that they are equivalent to one’s own siblings.

Among the villagers there is a practice of marrying within the kin group. Marrying sodarmavana magalu (mother’s brother’s daughter), sodaratti magalu (father’s sister’s daughter) and akkana magalu (elder sister’s daughter) when they are younger if the ego is male are allowed, preferred and is followed by people belonging to all the castes in the village.
Table 7: Caste-wise Distribution of Kin and Non-Kin Marriages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl No</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Patrilateral Cross Cousin Marriages</th>
<th>Matrilateral Cross Cousin Marriages</th>
<th>e Z D Marriages</th>
<th>Kin Marriages</th>
<th>Non-Kin Marriages</th>
<th>Total No. of Marriages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Panchamsali</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kurubaru</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hande Kurubaru</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maratharu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Badigeru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Musalmanru</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Madaru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Madivalaru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ainaru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ram Kshatriya</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Hadpad</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bhajantri</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Waddaru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Valmiki</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kali</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jigaru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
<td><strong>25</strong></td>
<td><strong>55</strong></td>
<td><strong>107</strong></td>
<td><strong>417</strong></td>
<td><strong>526</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Table 7 shows that there is practice of kin-marriage in the village, that is, 107 of the marriages occurred within the kin relations which include patrilateral cross-cousin marriage, matrilateral cross-cousin marriage, and marrying mother’s brother when the ego is female. Villagers prefer kin-marriages to non-kin marriages. They say kin-marriages keeps the property within the same family as it does not go in the hands of the outsiders. The villagers also believe that under these types of marriage the woman who is married will have a close bondage with her conjugal family and therefore will look after the husband’s mother and father in any kind of an eventuality.

It can be observed from above table that category of marrying mother’s brother when the ego is female covers more than half of the marriages, that is, 51% of the total kin-marriages. People say that tavaru mane (natal home) is special place for the women. They want to keep the relationship strong and marriage alliance is seen one such means of continuing this relationship. The sense of belongingness to the family is more among the females who marry their mother’s brother compared to other forms of kin marriage.

For the girl who is getting married is like coming to her grand parents and the relationship between brother and sister is strengthened through this type of marriage. People go in search for non-kin marriage alliance only after they exhaust a suitable match with in the kin-group. Monogamy is the common practice. A man goes in for second marriage only if the first wife is dead, or if he does not have children from the first wife. It is through the kin-marriages that the bondages between the manetana (lineages) of particular jati (caste) are strengthened, especially among the upper agrarian castes of Panchamsali, Hande Kurubaru, Kurubaru and Maratharu that are critically dependent on the inter-lineage co-operation when comes to kamata (agriculture). This further paves the way for the economic, educational and political
empowerment of these jati (castes) and a higher status in the overall caste hierarchy of the village.

e. Mane (family and household)

Family as an institution is founded on the man’s essential biological and social needs. Society as a living entity is continuously replenished through the mechanism of family. Among the villagers of Nigadi, family is referred to as mane. It also forms the basic dwelling unit of the people of the village. Family as a social grouping caters to all the needs of its members irrespective of age, status and nature of social stratification. For example, the elderly people get the necessary care they require and the children learn the value system through the institution of family. Thus mane (family) forms an institution par excellence where in each member contributes towards the betterment of the every other member.

Mane (family) in the village is formed on the principle of patrilineal descent and virilocal residence and is constituted by married males who are patrilineally related and their wives and children living together. As the females grow up and marry, they shift their residence from their tavaru mane (parental family) to stay with their husbands in the gandana mane (husband’s family). In village it is more common to find a house with a man, his wife and his unmarried children.

The term mane is a broader concept which refers to both family as well as household. The members of mane (family) live in a single dwelling, share a common hearth, pool their resources and hold their property in common. The simplest domestic and procreative unit is the nuclear family—a man, his wife and their children occupying a dwelling unit. Majority of the households in the village are constituted by nuclear families. But people of the village are of the opinion that ideal family is of koode irodu (extended family) where brothers with their wives and children stay. Villagers take pride in saying that they live together in an extended family where in all the
patrilineally related brothers are staying together with their wives and children. This form of family acts as a basic unit of production and consumption. It is significant to note that the extended family of the male siblings and closely related male parallel cousins form a cooperative unit especially when it comes to kamata (agriculture) the primary occupation of the majority of the villagers. The *kude irodu* system that is the living in extended families is a characteristic feature of *manetana* (lineages) belonging to agrarian castes of *Panchamsali, Hande Kurubar, Kurubar* and *Maratharu*, while these extended families are comparatively less in number among the priestly castes and the untouchable castes. However, these nuclear families grow into extended families households when they have more sons and those sons are engaged in different occupations and also cling to the traditional occupation of agriculture. There are a few households constituted by the extension of nuclear family with the marriage of adult males into an extended family. These families do not retain their forms as the married sons move out of their family of orientation due to problems that arise between the brothers over the education of the children, land disputes, difference of opinion between the wives of these brothers, and for their own independent economic pursuits.

Villagers make a clear cut distinction between two types of families. One of them is *kude irodu* (living together) and the other one is *byare irodu* (living separately). *Kude irodu* (living together) therefore is an extended family where in the brothers live together with their wives, children and parents. *Byare irodu* (living separately) is referred to as nuclear family where in brothers get separated from the parental extended family and live with their wife, and children. The extended families are short lived because the families of procreation of their sons establish their own individual families sooner or later. Even though people identify two types of families that are *koode irodu* and *byare irodu* we can find several variants of these types in the village.
### Table 8: Caste-wise Family Types

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SNo</th>
<th>Caste</th>
<th>Sub Nuclr Fmly</th>
<th>Sub Nuclr Fmly with dependnts</th>
<th>Nuclr Fmly</th>
<th>Nuclr Fmly with dependnts</th>
<th>Broken nuclr fmly</th>
<th>Polygnous Fmly</th>
<th>Extended Fmly</th>
<th>Widwrs single person family</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Panchamsali</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Kurubaru</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Hande Kurubaru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Maratharu</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Badgeru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Musalmanru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Madaru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Madivalaru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ainaru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Ram Kshatriya</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Hadpad</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Bhajantri</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Waddaru</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Valmiki</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kali</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Idigaru</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Sub Nuclr Fmly-Sub Nuclear family household, Sub Nuclr Fmly with Depndnts-Sub nuclear family with dependents, Nuclr Fmly-Nuclear Family, Nuclr Fmly with depndnts-Nuclear family with dependents, Broken nuclr fmly-Broken nuclear family, Polygnous Fmly-Polygonous family, Extnded Fmly-Extended family, Extnded fmly with depndnts-Extended family with dependents, Widwrs single person famly-Widowers single person family, Widws single person famly-Widows single person family
Sub-nuclear family household- A household is referred to as a sub-nuclear or an incomplete family when the couple has not yet given birth to children and neither has adopted one. Such a family is likely to be completed in the course of time when the couple has children. There are altogether 12 sub nuclear families belonging to different castes of the village. 5 of this sub-nuclear family household belong to Panchamsali caste and five of the sub nuclear family belongs to Kurubar caste of the village. And one each belonging to Badigeru and Madaru castes.

Sub-nuclear family household with dependents- A household is called as sub nuclear family household with dependents when an individual or group of individuals come and stay in the sub nuclear family. There is one sub nuclear family household in the village belonging to Ainaru caste.

Nuclear family household- Nuclear family household consists of parents and unmarried children. Most of the nuclear families in the village are separated from the larger extended family and live in a composite household where land and other belongings at home are divided. Those who do not have enough financial support to build a separate house live in such composite households where each section of the house is divided and the rooms are allotted to different nuclear family households. Each of these nuclear family households have a separate hearth and cook their own food. Members of the family who are economically well off have built separate houses immediately after the division of property. But the kin relationships within the family continue wherein the individuals of the whole composite household, or the nuclear family household belonging to same manetana, are supposed to fulfill certain obligations like brothers who are separated come together and arrange their younger
sister’s marriage. They also participate in all the rituals and festivals. Even though they are living separately they come together while doing agricultural work and help each other. There are 128 nuclear families in the village of which majority of them belong *Panchamsali* caste that is the 54 of the village, 17 of the households belong to *Kurubaru*, 13 of the nuclear family households belong to *Musalmansru* caste, and 9 of the nuclear family households belong to *Maratharu* caste of the village.

**Nuclear family households with dependents**- This type of family household is formed when relatives from outside the family stay in this nuclear family. For instance, wife’s brother’s children or sister’s children come and stay in this nuclear family for education. There are four such families in the village 2 of which belong to *Kurubaru* caste, one belonging to *Madaru* caste and the other one belonging to *Madivalaru* caste of the village.

**Broken-Nuclear family households** - A broken nuclear family is formed when one of the spouses is dead or separated and the other spouse lives with the unmarried children. There are 25 broken nuclear families in the village and most of which are broken family household because of the death of one of the spouse.

**Polygynous family households**- It is a type of family which is based on number of spouses. It consists of a man and his two or more wives living along with the children. There are seven polygynous families in the village, four of which belong to *Panchamsali* caste, one polygynous family household belong to *Hande Kurubaru*, one belong to *Madaru* caste and one belong to *Musalmansru* caste of the village.

**Extended family households**- Extended family households is formed when patrilineally related brothers stay together with their wives, children and parents in a
common household and share a common hearth and property. Extended family households go well with the occupation of agriculture wherein this type of family forms a co-operative unit engaged in agricultural activities. There are 134 extended families in the village. Of the 134 extended family households 54 belong to Panchamsali caste of the village, 20 of the extended family households of the village belong to Hande Kurubaru caste and 20 of them belong to Kurubaru caste. These three caste groups are the major agriculturist castes of the village and own more land and therefore live in extended family households. Agriculture needs more hands to work in the field and according to villagers agriculture is a group activity and therefore such families live in extended family households. 13 of the extended family households belong to Maratharu caste, and 11 of the households belong to Badigeru caste of the village.

**Extended family households with dependents**- There are 17 extended family households with dependents in the village 6 of these extended family households belong to Panchamsali caste and three of them belong to Kurubaru caste. Extended family with dependents, for example, is formed when a sister after marriage comes back to her natal home because her husband is dead or she is separated from him. Sometimes she is alone or some times she also brings back her children along with her.

**Single-person family households**- These families are formed when only one person widow/widower lives in a separated house. There are 9 single person family households, three of which belong to Panchamsali caste, one belonging to Hande Kurubaru caste and two belonging to Musalmanc caste of the village.

Therefore when we consider the social organization of people of the village it is the centrality of the institution of caste and lineage that cuts across all aspects of their
social life. These two institutions determine marriage patterns and the subsequent family structure of the villagers. It is the manetana that is the core of kinship organization which embodies the rules of patrilineal descent and virilocal residence. These principles are expressed through family and marriage. The inter-caste relationship and marriage among the villagers is determined by the caste to which the individual belongs to.

f. Life Cycle Rituals

The life of an individual, in any given society can be seen as a process in which that individual, either male or female passes through several statuses which connotate a change from one age group to another or from one occupation to another (Van Gennep 1977). This progression from one group to another is always accompanied by certain special acts in the form of rites and rituals. In most of the pre-literate societies, these changes in a person’s life involve actions and reactions between sacred and profane that are meant to regulate and guard the members of the society from any kind of a suffering, discomfort or injury. These transitions that take place from one group to another and from one social situation to next, and are implicit in every stage of a person’s existence in such a way that man’s life on a whole can be seen as a succession of stages with similar ends and beginnings, normally encompassing stages like, conception, pregnancy, child-birth, puberty, adulthood, marriage and death. For every one of these stages there are rituals and ceremonies whose main purpose is to enable the individual to pass from one defined position to another which is equally well defined. As the goal is the same in each of these rituals, it follows that the ways of attaining a position should be at least analogous if not identical in its details. Within the
anthropological parlance, the sequence of acts observed in the form of rites and rituals at different stages of human life are referred to as “rites of passage”. The term was first used by the Belgian anthropologist, Arnold van Gennep (1977) who wrote a classic book based on the study of life cycle rituals of different cultures of the world by the same title that is, “Rites of Passage”. Basically these rites of passage are characterized by three interconnected stages namely; rites of separation or isolation, rites of transition or marginality and finally the rites of aggregation or incorporation. According to Edmund Leach (1976), these rites of passage not only signify the change in the status of an individual but also act as an interval markers in the progression of the social time.

The rituals practiced by the people of the village also follow the same pattern explained so far. These rituals give us an in-depth view of social cultural dimensions of events that takes place in the life of an individual. For instance pregnancy rituals, child birth and postpartum care are the events that have ritual value and that need to be understood in order to understand the culture of the people.

The life cycle begins with conception. The information collected from the villagers reveals that there are no specific rites and ritual performed to mark this particular event in the life of a woman. However, they do identify this event and the term used for it is *hottale ninhaiti* (*hottale* here refers to stomach and *ninhaiti* refers to stopping, symbolically meaning the stoppage of menstrual cycle) which means conception. The woman, who has conceived, at the first instance, feels shy and hesitant to reveal it to the members of the family. Once the family members get to know about this from the woman herself, that she is not menstruating, they in first place try and confirm it by observing the women for two to three months. Otherwise she is taken to a
doctor for check-up. The elder women of the village say that the woman’s breast grows
bigger if she has conceived and she gets nausea in the early morning or in the evening.
she feels like eating food which is huli (sour) or khara (spicy). Even if there is cessation
of menstrual cycle the family members wait till the fourth month because they think
that chances of miscarriage are more during this period, and pregnancy is announced
only in the fourth month. Once the pregnancy is announced, the parents of the pregnant
woman bring bayake uta-food prepared for the pregnant woman keeping in mind her
likes and dislikes. Normally they bring sweet dishes like holige, kadbu, huggi, and
shavige.

PRE NATAL CEREMONIES

*Sire kaarya* (Pregnancy ceremony)

*Sire karya* is a ceremony observed when a woman becomes pregnant for the
first time, as it is considered to be a significant stage in the life cycle of a woman. This
ritual is conducted in the *gandana mane*-woman’s husband’s place by woman’s
parents. According to the traditional belief prevalent in the village, the appropriate time
to conduct this ceremony is during the sixth month of the pregnancy. The people of the
village are of the opinion that it is only then that they are sure of the survival of the
fetus. Sometimes the ritual is conducted in the eighth month so that it becomes
convenient to the woman to go to her natal home for delivery. This particular *kaarya*
(ceremony) is observed for only the first pregnancy which is referred to as *chochalu
basru* (first pregnancy). In the sixth month or in the eighth month of the pregnancy
relatives from both the sides that is husband’s family and natal family fix a *chelo dina*
(auspicious day) to perform the *sire karya*. On the occasion of this *karya* (ceremony) all
the relatives from the natal family of the pregnant woman come to see her because it marks an important stage in a woman’s life and is an occasion for celebration for her natal family. The parents of the pregnant woman bring specially prepared dishes on this occasion which includes belsadda phalahara (sweet dishes made of jaggery) like karigadabu, shavige, holige and also - Jolad roti (pan cake prepared of jowar) and palya (curry). Women of the village say that it is their parents’ affection towards their daughters’-preethige maadthaare (as a mark of affection) that makes parents them to spend money on these rituals. It is customary on the part of the parents of the pregnant woman to bring a set of new clothes to their daughter and her husband. If the parents can afford they bring their aliya (son-in-law), bangara (gold) in the form an unguna (ring) or a chain (chain) as a token of their love and affection towards him. On the day of the ceremony both the husband and wife are given yeritaare (ritual bath) and are made to sit on kambli (wollen blanket) on which rice grains are sprinkled. The expecting mother is made to wear hasiru sire (green saree), hasiru kubsa (green blouse) and hasiru bale (green bangles) and the husband wears new cloths brought by his atte and mava (mother-in law, father-in-law). The green colour is used on these occasions as it signifies fertility and prosperity for the villagers. The pregnant woman’s forehead and hair is decorated with the jasmine flower called dandi, and a garland is put around the husband’s neck. Five muthaideru (married women whose husband’s are alive) perform aarati (wave lamp) to the couple. The appa, avva (father and mother) of the pregnant woman while coming for the ritual bring along with them vana kobri (dry coconut), adki betta (betel nut), yeli (betel leaves), uttatti (dry dates), akki (rice grains). These items are together known as udakki samanu. These items are offered to the pregnant woman in a ceremony called as udi tumbodu (filling the lap). During this
ritual, ceremonial songs, *sobaana haadu* are sung in appreciation of the motherhood and at the same time narrating the pains and sufferings a woman undergoes during her lifetime. This ceremony, where the couples sit together, waving of the lamps and singing of the ceremonial songs by the *muthaideyaru* (married women whose husband’s are alive), *udi tumbodu* (filling the lap) are all together referred to as *sobaana karya*. And after these rituals are over the pregnant woman is sent to the village diety, Goddess *Dyamavva* and perform the ceremony of *udi tumbodu* (filling the lap) of the Goddess. It is believed that these offerings bring prosperity and good health to the pregnant woman, her child and to her family of procreation as a whole. The *Musalmanru* of the village perform this ritual but the only difference is that they do not wave the lamp to couple and send the pregnant woman to the temple of the village diety instead they read the relevant part from the Holy Quran. Later the relatives from both the sides that is conjugal and natal homes are given feast.

Once this ceremony is over the pregnant women is invited by *sambandikaru* (relatives), *nadkondavru* (friends) of her husband’s village and is given the food she likes. They also perform *arati* (waving the lamp) and give her a *kubsa* (blouse piece). The pregnant woman’s *akkandiru* (sisters), *chigavva* (mother’s younger sister), *doddavva* (mother’s elder sister) come to her husband’s home, bring her specially prepared sweet dishes, gift her *sire* (saree) and perform *arati* (wave lamp). After the *sire kaarya* is over she is sent to her *tavaru mane* (natal home) in the eighth or ninth month of the pregnancy for delivery and post natal care. During this time she carries the coconut that is given to her during *udi thumbo kaarya* (filling the lap) and kept it safely in the *tavaru mane* (natal home) and later this is used during the *totla kaarya* (naming...
Sire karya (pregnancy ceremony) is performed when the women become pregnant for the first time after marriage. This ritual is performed by all the people belonging to agrarian castes, that is, Pancahmsali, Hande Kurubar, Kurubar and Maratharu and the priestly castes of Ainaaru and Badigeru. But the people belonging to Holeyaru caste groups that are the untouchables do not perform these rituals in their houses. They are dependent on the members of the upper castes under whom they work. It is only when these upper caste people give the necessary articles to the members of the lower caste that their life cycle rituals are said to be complete.

POST NATAL CEREMONIES

Aideshi (fifth day ritual)

It is believed by the villagers that childbirth pollutes the house as well as the family members. There is discharge of blood during childbirth and the bleeding continues for five days and this blood is considered to be holi (polluting). Therefore the house is purified, that is, madi (pure) on the fifth day after birth. And for this, they wash the clothes, clean the bed, and smear the floor with cow dung. The mother and the child are given ritual bath-yeriodu, and the Ainaaru (priest) is invited to perform the pooja (worship). The people belonging to Badigeru caste invite achari, who officiates during their rituals. While the members belonging to Maratharu caste call bhatru during this occasion. Later, one of the elder members of the family washes the feet of the priest and sprinkles the water all around the house which is believed to remove the pollution of child birth. This ritual takes place on the morning of the fifth day. At night, a tumbler filled with paddy grains with a gund kallu (grinding stone) is kept under the horsu (cot), where the mother and the child usually sleep. By the side of this tumbler a deepa (lamp)
is kept burning for the whole night. The mother should guard the lamp and see to it that the lamp is kept burning by being awake for the whole night. It is believed that Goddess Shetigavva comes to their house that night and writes hanebaraha (the fate) of the child. The mother is supposed to pray the whole night to Goddess Shetigavva so that she writes good things in the fate of her child. On the next day the paddy grains that are kept in the tumbler are given to soolgitih (midwife) who had conducted the delivery and in case of hospital delivery it is given to any one of the of the soolgitih in the village after coming home.

For one month after delivery the mother will be fasting on Tuesdays or Fridays for five continuous weeks which is known as Shetigavvana vaara. On these days she does not eat anything during the day and in the evening she goes to the temple of the village deity and only then she has food oppattu (having food only once in a day). On the last day of fasting that is on the completion of five weeks she invites five female children and five male children (the children here are those whose milk teeth has not yet fallen) and perform the karya (ritual) of udi thumbodu (filling the lap) of these children. The children are selected for performing this ritual for the reason that the villagers say that the children of that age are like God as they are innocent. On that day they prepare sweet dishes like holige, karigadbu and serve them to these children. It is believed that, only after all these offerings are made that the Goddess Shetigavva is said to be pleased. These ceremonies are performed after every child birth.

Musalmannru of the village have the practice of performing of what is called Baag namaz soon after the birth of the child. A Mullah (priest) or an elderly male member of the family performs this namaz (prayers) chanting the lines from the Holy
Quran, and gives a name to the newly born child. The child is fed with breast milk after the baag namaz is performed and mother is given food to eat.

**Totla karya (cradle ceremony)**

*Totla karya* (cradle ceremony) is conducted on twelfth day after birth for the male child and thirteenth day for the female child among those castes belonging to Hindu composite groups. On this day the house is cleaned and both the mother and child are given the ritual bath- *yeriodu*. Then they tie the cradle in the *padsali* (hall). Decorate it with flowers. It is on this day that the child is laid on in the cradle for the first time. The *muthaideyaru* (the married women whose husband’s are alive) sing *jogula pada* (cradle song) and perform *arati* (wave the lamp) to the cradle. The child’s *appa* (father), *aija* (father’s father), *amma* (father’s mother) and other relatives from the child’s father side get gifts for the child. People say that the first right to give gift to the child lies with the relatives on the father’s side as they belong to the same blood. Ainaru (priest) is invited and he calls out four names of Gods and the fifth name which the family selects for the child will be spelt out in the child’s ears by the child’s *sodaratti* (father’s sister). It is said that it is the right of the *sodaratti* to name the child. Later her brother gives her a gift for naming his child. On this day a tumbler full of different grains-*gugri*, are kept under the cradle which is distributed to all the invitees after the ceremony is over. There is a practice in the village that one of the children in the family will be named after their *aija, amma* (husband’s father, mother) so that they are remembered always.

The birth pollution among the *Musalmanru* is observed for forty days after the birth of the child. On the fortieth day the house is ritually cleaned. The naming
ceremony is performed on the fortieth day and is called as chilla. Both the mother and child are given ritual bath on that day. The mother has to perform namaz and only then she is allowed to have food. The naming ceremony among Muslims is otherwise conducted in the same way as in the other castes of the village.

*Muru chuchodu (Ear piercing ceremony)*

On a *chelo dina* (auspicious day) as decided by *Ainar* (priest), the child is taken to *pattar* (goldsmith), its ear lobes are pierced and a pair of ear studs are put. The parents of the child give a *kobri* (coconut), *adiki* (betel nut) and *yeli* (betel leaves) along with the cost of the earring, to the *pattar* (goldsmith). This is done either in the third or fifth month of birth for both male and female children. Only after piercing the ears the child can be left on the floor because it is believed that poisonous insects will not come near the child once its ears are pierced.

The *Musulanru* of the village do not observe this ceremony. They pierce the female children’s ears at the age of 3 or 4 years as part of the female attire and not as a ceremony.

*Hosthala daatodu (Crossing the threshold of the house)*

This ritual is performed when an elder member of the family sees the child crossing the *hosthala* (threshold of the house) for the first time. Soon after that they break a coconut in front of the *hosthala* (threshold) and distribute *churumuri* (puffed rice) to the family members and neighbours. This symbolizes the child’s entry to the outside world.
**Jawala thegyodu (Tonsure ceremony)**

The cutting of the hair of the child for the first time is observed as a ceremony. The child is made to sit on the hosthala (threshold) and the child’s sodarmava (mother’s brother), cuts the hair ritually by touching yeligatri (two rolled betal leaves held cross-wise) to the child’s head. Later the child’s father gives chaaja (gift) to the sodarmava (mother’s brother) for performing the ceremony. Most of the villagers perform this karya (ceremony) mane poorthakke (in a simpler way) and do not spend much on this ceremony. This ceremony can be performed in the fifth month, ninth month, first year or third year of birth according to the convenience of the family. If the parents or grand parents have taken any oath to God before the birth of the child that they will perform the tonsure ceremony in a particular temple, they take the child and get the ceremony done in the same temple. In case of Musalmamu they go to Dargah in order to shave the hair of the child if they have taken oath.

**Doddaki ago karya (Puberty ceremony)**

It is a common belief in the village that a girl reaches doddaki agodu (puberty) at the age of twelve, and the blood discharge that is seen during that time is called as hanneradu varshada holi- which literally means pollution that accumulated over twelve years. On the day the girl gets first menstrual discharge she is given a bath by her sodaratti (father’s sister). The sodaratti (father’s sister) applies bevina tapla (neem) and arshina (turmeric) on the girl’s body and gives her bath for five days. The girl who is menstruating is secluded and not allowed to move around the house or touch any of the things in the house for five days. The people of the village believe that it is the right girl’s sodaratti to give her the ritual bath. And this right flows from the fact that the
girl’s father and girl’s sodaratti share the same blood and that is why sodaratti takes special care of the girl who is a part of her tavaru mane- her natal home. On all the five days, she is made to sit in a corner of the house, that is, either in the adigi mane (kitchen) or in the (padsaali) hall and is given a separate gangala (plate) and cherige (tumbler) for having food. Every evening sodaratti gives the girl a ritual bath and the other female members in the house perform arati (wave the lamp) to her. It is believed that the girl has hasi mayyi (tender body), and because there is loss of blood from her body she becomes weak and therefore she is given food which is nutritious-paushtik ahara. For that the girl is given sweet dishes-belsada palhara to eat during these five days which includes sajjaka, shyavige, and alavi and also hot roti and rice. The girl should not be given tangla aahara (stale food). On the fifth day she is allowed back into the day-to-day life of the household. She is given ritual bath in the morning of the fifth day. The Ainaru (priest) is called on this day to purify the house, the girl washes his feet and drinks that water and the same water is sprinkled all around the house. This ritual is known as karana kudsodu and people of the village believe that this purifies the house from menstrual pollution. Once she is ritually purified, the girl is sent to the temple on an auspicious day, which can fall either on the fifth day, ninth day or twelfth day or sometimes it even extends to twenty one days which they decide after consulting the priest (ainaru). On this fixed day they perform the karya (ceremony) on a large scale and which is called as yebso kaarya. On all these days the relatives and friends-nadkondavaru visit the girl and bring her belasad phalahara (sweet dishes). Every evening she is made to sit in a chair and muthaideyaru (married women whose husband’s are alive) perform arati (wave lamp) to the girl. On the last day of yebso dina she is yeriodu (given bath) by her sodaratti (father’s sister). She is then draped in
a green saree brought by her sodarmava (mother’s brother). She is made to wear hasiru bale (green bangles), dandi (forehead is decorated with flower) and she is made to sit on a chair. Later the muthaideyaru (married women whose husband’s are alive) perform arati (waves the lamp) and sing sobaana haadu (the ceremonial songs). And in case if the marriage of the girl is fixed before she reached puberty with her sodarmava (mother’s brother), both the girl as well her prospective husband are made to sit together for the kaarya (ritual). Later on the ritual of udi thumbo kaarya is performed and then the girl is sent to the temple of the village diety, Dyamavva. The woman who give ritual bath to the girl on all these days are also given ritual bath-yeriodu and the girl’s parents gift them with a saree or kubsa (blouse piece), she is made to wear bangles and auspicious women perform arati (wave the lamp) to her. This ritual marks the initiation of the girl into their caste. The people of the village celebrate the occasion of the girl reaching puberty.

Among the Musalmanru of the village the puberty rituals are performed in the similar way as that of the other castes. The only difference is that instead of sending the girl to the temple she performs namaz. For Musalmanru of the village this ritual does not mark the initiation of girl into the caste. They have a ritual called hadiya which marks the initiation. Hadiya is performed after the girl or boy completes the reading of Quran, the holy book of Musalmanru. On this day they are made to read the Quran and perform namaz and feast is given to the relatives and friends.
Aitana, Munjvi and Sunti (Initiation ceremonies among different castes of the village)

In the case of Ainaru caste the initiation ceremony of a boy is performed when the child is 11-13 years of age, when he is capable of understanding the mantras (sacred scriptures) read out to him. On the day of this initiation their guru (spiritual master) is called and teaches how to chant mantra (sacred scriptures). Later the guru pours ghee, milk and cow’s urine which is called as abhisheka on the boy’s head. The guru gives him a jolige (pouch) which is saffron in colour. This marks the boy’s initiation into the caste and also at the same time he is eligible to become an Ainaru (priest).

Among the Badigeru and Maratharu of the village a boy’s intiation is marked by a ritual called munjvi, wherein a janivara (scared thread) is tied around the chest by their achari (spiritual master) and sacred scriptures are taught to the boy. This ritual is performed when the boy is of 5-13 years of age.

Among the Musalmanru of the village sunti (circumcision) of a boy marks his intiation into the caste. This is performed when the boy is between 5-12 years of age. A ritual bath is given to the child after which he is made to sit on a brass pan without any dress. And then the mullah or khaji cuts a little skin from the upper end of the penis with a knife and applies ash on the cut-end portion and the piece of skin which is cut is buried in the ground. For 21 days special care is given to the child. On the 21st day he is put with flower garland, made to wear new clothes. After this ceremony he becomes a part of Musalmanru caste.
At the end of all above mentioned initiation ceremonies, the parents of the child give a feast to their relatives and friends.

*Lagna (Marriage)*

The term used to refer to marriage in the village is *lagna*. The people consider *lagna* (marriage) as an essential part of both woman’s and man’s life. Marriage therefore marks a significant stage in the life cycle of an individual. The individual becomes a full fledged member of a social grouping only after marriage and only when he/she begets children. Married males and female gain social significance to perform and participate in all the rituals and ceremonies conducted in the village.

Once the girl is matured the parents start to worry about her marriage. The villagers are of the opinion that the girl who has reached puberty should not be kept at home. She should be married off as soon as possible. Whenever the boy’s parents or relatives come to know that there is an eligible *kanya* (girl), the boy along with the relatives and parents come to see the girl. If they like the girl and her family they invite the girl’s family to their house. Once both the sides like each other, the boy’s side on a fixed day, go to girl’s house and perform the ritual of *hannu ido kaarya* (keeping the fruits) and say *naavu hannu ittivi hennu beku*, (we have kept the fruits and want the girl) and in turn the girl’s family goes to boy’s house on another day and say *hennu kodtivi* (we are giving our girl) and then they have lunch at the boy’s house.

Once this ritual is done elders from both family go to priest to fix a *chelo dina* (auspicious day) for marriage. Before the ritual of *lagna* (marriage), *ile* (betrothal ceremony) needs to be performed. It can be any day before the marriage. In order to avoid the expenses of a separate betrothal ceremony villagers perform it on the previous
day of the marriage and *hannu ido kaarya* is considered as fixation of the marriage formally. *Ile* (betrothal ceremony) is considered as necessary ritual for fixing the marriage. They say that once the *ile* is performed half of the marriage ritual is over.

*A Hande Kurubar* couple in the marriage ceremony

**Ile (Betrothal ceremony)**

On the previous day of the marriage, the bride along with four to five women go to the groom’s place of *lagna kaarya* where the marriage is to be held. The *hiriyaru*-elders of the village, *Ainaru*-the priest are invited for the *ile kaarya*-betrothel ceremony. A *kambli* (blanket) is spread in the center of the room that is in the *padaali* (hall). Few grains of rice are sprinkled on the blanket and both the boy and girl are made to sit on it. The girl sits on the right and boy on the left. The girl is dressed in new sari specially brought by boy’s father for the occasion. The father of the girl also gives her a gold ring.
and five kubsu (blouse pieces) along with the other ornaments. He gives his prospective aliya (son-in-law) a complete set of new dress including a pataga (turban), dadi dhotra (a shoulder cloth) and an ungura (gold ring). Five muthaideyaru (married women whose husband’s are alive) perform arati (wave lamps) to the couple. Later both the boy and girl are made to bow to the priest and also to the elders present, which is known as daivada namaskara. At the same time they are made to take the blessings of their family deity. After this ceremony all the invitees are given betel leaves, betel nut and sugar.

The preparation for marriage begins soon after the hannu ido akaarya. They start cleaning the akki and kaalu, (rice and grams) making the firewood ready for mass cooking and cleaning the house.

Marriage ceremony starts with worshipping of the rubbo kallu (grinding stone) in the house. People consider the rubbo kallu- the Goddess Laxmi who symbolizes prosperity and well being of the family and therefore her blessings is sought before the marriage ceremony. And after that, the house is ritually cleaned and neighbours, relatives are invited for this ritual. The turmeric roots which are washed are put in the grinding stone and crushed. On another day before marriage they perform a ritual of javali pooja (worshipping the wedding dress)

The next ritual is arshina hacho kaarya (ceremony of applying arishina). This ritual is performed on the previous night of marriage after the ile (betrothal ceremony) is over. A blanket is spread in the center of hall and few rice grains are sprinkled over it and a deepa (lamp) is kept. Both the bride and groom are made to sit on it. The bride sits on the right side and groom on the left side. One of the muthaideyaru (married
women whose husband’s are alive) begins applying *arshina* (turmeric) to both of them, and later on other relatives also apply the turmeric paste. At first they apply to groom on his feet, then to the chest and then to face, next to the bride in the same manner. Later both the bride and groom apply turmeric to each other. At the end of it the *muthaideyaru* (married women whose husband’s are alive) perform *arati* (wave lamp) to the couple.

The next ritual is *surige sutti*. In the earlier days this *kaarya* was performed on the previous night of the marriage but now days it is performed in the early morning on the day of marriage. The *muthaideyaru* (married women whose husband’s are alive) keep four vessels filled with water in four corners of the marriage *handra* (pendal) which comes in square shape. These four vessels are connected to each other by a string of thread. One vessel is kept in the center of this square. The bride and bride groom are brought to the *handra* (pendal) and made to sit in the center of this square. Once they sit in the center the strings are turned around the necks of these four vessels for 25 times. *Abhisheka* (pouring ghee and milk) is performed over the bride and bridegroom. After they are given bath and are made to wear new dress. Then the *muthaideyaru* (married women whose husband’s are alive) perform *arati* (wave the lamps) to the couple.

They are then made to wear the wedding dress and then come in front of the *ainar* (preist) to take the oath in front of the gathering. The bride holds a lamp and a dry *kobari* (coconut) in her hand. The auspicious women *muthaideyaru* (married women whose husband’s are alive) wave lamps and then the bridal couple goe into the house to take the blessings of the family diety. Later they come back in front of the gathering.
After that, they are made to sit on chair. Ainar (preist) chants mantras (verses) from the sacred scriptures. The groom ties the guddaali (the sacred thread) to the bride’s neck. Later people from the gathering come to couple shower akki kaalu (paddy grains) and bless them. For the marriage ceremony all the relatives, friends, neighbours and villagers are invited and after blessing the couple a feast is given to all the invitees.

The next day of the marriage they perform a ritual called nagolli karya which is almost like surige sutti ritual, but in this ritual both the husband and wife are applied turmeric, given bath and later taken for a procession in the village. Earlier couples were taken in procession on the horse but now a day’s procession is conducted in a tractor.

Marriage among the Musalmanru of the village is referred to as Nikah. Among the Musalmanru caste the marriage is conducted in the girl’s house. The girl and boy are not allowed to see each other before marriage. It is the boy’s sister or mother who selects the girl. During the marriage the girls is decorated with new dress and her palms and the legs are decorated with madarangi. On the previous day of the marriage Musalmanru of the village perform the ritual of haldi choli (applying turmeric). The groom who is dressed in the traditional dress of marriage is called by the name shaadi ke barat. Strings of flower garlands are put on his head which covers his face which called as sehara. Once he is dressed up for the wedding he is supposed to perform namaz which is known as Naaffil namaz. Later the wedding dress brought by the groom is sent to the bride. She wears that dress and then they take the consent of bridegroom for marriage which is known by the name nikahnama. Later one of the female member from the groom’s family ties the taali (sacred thread)) to the bride in the name of groom. After this the bride who is fully covered in alvan (a red cloth) is brought to the
And the gathering gives blessing to the couple by showering dry dates and dry coconut on the couple. Even when the couple is sitting side by side they are not supposed to see each other. It is only after the groom sees the bride’s face through an image in the mirror that they can see each other directly. And after all these rituals are over a feast is given to the people who are present on the occasion and then the groom along with his friends and relatives takes the bride to his house.

**Masanada kaarya (death rites)**

When ever a person dies of old age, the news is sent around the village about the death and later it spreads to all the other villages around, through relatives and friends. Villagers, relatives and friends start coming in to house of the dead person. The close relatives of the dead person sit around the body and mourn. The Ainaru (priest) is called among Panchamsali, Hande Kurubar, Harijanru, and Kurubaru. Once all the close relatives have arrived from the far off places the dead body is given bath by applying oil. Vibhooti (Sacred white powder) is applied all over the body. Later on, cloths are put to the body of the dead person and are kept in the padsaali (hall) in a sitting position. Near the body, a lamp and flowers are kept. People who have gathered go near the dead body, wave lamps and touch the feet of the dead person. Once all the people who have gathered have waved the lamps, the dead body is taken to the masanagatti (graveyard) in a procession. Both men and women go in this procession along with the dead body. The masanagatti (graveyard) is situated in the outskirts of the village. If the dead person’s wife is alive her guddali (sacred thread tied during marriage), kaal ungura (toe ring), kunmuma (vermilion) are removed and even her bangles are taken off. Later depending on the caste to which they belong, they are either
The people belonging to Panchamsali, Ainar, Hande Kurubaru, Madaru, Kali castes bury the dead bodies of an elderly person but if the cause of death is accident, or diseases like cancer, AIDS, or suicide and if the dead person is unmarried they cremate the dead body. The people belonging to Kurubaru, Badigeru, Maratharu, Bajanthri cremate the dead body, whatever may be the cause of death. They dig a goodu (pit) to bury the dead body in sitting posture. Meanwhile the house is ritually cleaned. The village has got a separate graveyard for all the different caste groups of the village.

Among the Panchamsali, Hande Kurubaru, Madaru, Kali and Kurubaru after the burial rites the family members go to the priest to fix a chelo dina (auspicious day) for performing the ritual of dina. This day is fixed based on the time and day of death. It can come either on the third day or fifth day or even on the same day of death. On this particular day the house is ritually cleaned. The dead person is brought to jagli (place where Gods are kept). A small idol of dead person made up of silver is taken and milk, ghee and cow’s urine is poured on it which is called abhisheka. A feast is given to the villagers on this occasion. Once this ritual of dina is over the house becomes ritually madi (pure) and the rites relating to death are said to be complete. Among the Badigeru, Marathau and Bajanthri this ritual of dina is performed on 12th day of the death. On that day they collect some ash from the place where the dead body was cremated and put it in a lake, or a river.

Among the Musalmanru of the village, the Mullah (priest) cleans the dead person’s body and then the body is put with sainka kapda (a new white dress). For the female body a red coloured cloth is put. Attar (camphor and perfume) is applied all
over the body. The Mullah writes a few holy words from the holy Quran with attar perfume on the cloth which is known as kalma. Then the body is kept in a doli (coffin) and is decorated with flowers. Relatives carry the doli (coffin) to the masanagatti (graveyard). In the burial ground they perform namaz which is known as jenajeke namaz. Later the dead person’s body is shown to everyone present in the masanagatti (graveyard). After showing the face to everyone the body is kept in the pit in lying posture. During this time the Mullah chants few spells from the holy Quran. Then they fill the pit and after that they take forty steps backward from the grave and then return back home. Meanwhile the house is ritually cleaned and is kept ready.

On the third day of the death they carry betel nut, betel leaves, guava, burnt gram, bananas, sweets and churumuri (puffed rice) to the graveyard and keep it near grave. Garlands are also placed. This ritual is known as teen dinka jearate. On the ninth and tenth day of death a ritual is performed known as jearate. On these days relatives and friends are invited. Special food is prepared in the name of dead person and is offered to invitees. The special food which is prepared is kept in the place where the person had died with a belief that the dead person’s soul will visit that place on these days.

On the 40th day, a ritual is performed known as challis din ke pate. On this day mullah is invited to chant the holy words. Special food is prepared and offered to him. This ritual marks the completion of all the death rites among the Musalmanru of the village.

Therefore it can be inferred from the above discussion on social organization and life cycle rituals that, the basic principles that drive the actions of an individual are
to be found within the institutional framework of *jati* (caste), *manetana* (lineage) and *mane* (family/household). It is these principles that ultimately shape the beliefs, values and practices that get reflected in the life cycle crisis of an individual. It can therefore be said that the behaviour of people especially when we talk of the reproductive health is also determined by the same principles of social organization as the rest of the domains of the social life of the people like education, economy, polity and occupation.