Kinship is a relationship that one member sees with the other. Though kinship may germinate in a given context, it includes some traditional relationships such as caste, community, language or religious group etc.

MacIver defines society as a web of social relationships. The relationship may be between persons who are related by blood and/or by marriage or otherwise. Kinship is the study of relationships between the persons related by (consanguineous) and/or by marriage.

Murdock defines the form of culturally patterned behaviour within the network of social relationships on which it (society) functions. It is apt to assure a close terminal congruity between terms of reference and the social relationship on which the denote kinsmen interact.

In every human society, kinship plays a vital role in relation to the various forms of behaviour between different persons for maintaining social unity. For the purpose of our analysis a brief description of the family organisation of the Lambanis at the Tinur Tana is given below.

**Behaviour Patterns**

In every family there are three main basic sets of behaviour patterns: the one between the spouses, another between parents and children and the third between siblings. However, the norms of kinship formulated by the people give little idea of the degree of latitude or of flagrant violation or of counter-interests which emerge from observed behaviour.

**Husband and Wife Relationship**

The relationship between husband and wife emphasises the husband's legal rights and makes little mention of the wife's emotional influence. A wife is bound to her husband by law. At the same time, a husband knows that, if he wishes to have a harmonious home, he must temper his mastery with consideration for his wife. A wife may be lazy, may neglect her children, may refuse to cook for the husband and his kin, or in other ways break her side of the marriage bargain. The husband is entitled
to beat her, albeit not in excess. He must not break the skin and if he should, she may return to her parental home and her people will exact a fine before allowing her to go back to husband's home. Adultery by the wife is spoken of as "stealing from the husband" and formerly the wife was severely beaten and the lover, if caught in the act, could be killed. Today the lover is fined in the court and the woman may be beaten though, if the husband has been away for some years, her action is often condoned and she is said to "hit birds" for her husband who has the right to the adulterine children.

The patterns of behaviour are different in the nuclear and joint families. If the spouses adhere to the traditional pattern of behaviour, there will be usually smooth relations. The wife is subordinate to the husband in the family religion - the husband is the priest of his ancestors and it is his obligation to keep well disposed towards his wife. Difficult birth is sometimes attributed to the anger of his ancestors because of bitterness between himself and his wife. When the young couple have cleansed the hearts, the baby is permitted to come forth.

A woman's relations with her husband's people may at first be characterised by mutual politeness, accompanied perhaps
by a show of authority on their part but if she proves a good wife they gradually unbend and treat her as a daughter. There is no form of taboo or other prescribed avoidance between relatives of any kind.

Parent Child Relationship

Children are regarded as a man's greatest asset. Polygamy is the nature of man, while the nature of woman is satisfied through children. Parents keep a watchful eye on their children. It is the duty of the parents to advise, and train their children for leading a proper life in course of time.

Children are trained to regard the father as the legal and economic authority. It is hard to convey the extent of the subservience of the Lambani son to his father. He works for him, consults him in all his negotiations, refers to him as his head and takes legal oaths by the father. The sons are thought to respect the father's word and even married sons are never regarded as free from the father's control. As long as they live in his homestead, they are expected to hand over to him what they earn and he may, if he wishes, give them back a portion from it. The parents remain actively interested in their children.
**Sibling**

The different claims of the children to the family property are dependent on seniority and sex. Sex and age are the two criteria which distinguish the relationship between the siblings. Together with the emphasis on sex and age differences comes an awareness of the importance of seniority of birth which overshadows even the question of age. They learn to call people by their kinship names.

The social identity is closest for the children of the same sex by the same father. The relationship between a brother and his sister before their marriage will not be the same after the marriage. In a way the brothers go their separate ways after their marriage. Brothers are jealous in sharing the ancestral property. Due to the usual quarrels among their wives the brothers rarely stay together after the death of the parents.

In the extended families, the elder brother plays a vital role in the family affairs after the death of the father. He looks after all the functions arranged in the house. The ancestral worship is performed mostly in his house and the other brothers contribute their share of expenditure. The elder brother has the responsibility to arrange for the marriage of
his siblings. The occasions like birth, puberty, illness, death and marriage bring the Lambani siblings together.

Grand Parents and Grand Children Relationship

The grand parent-grand children relationship has various aspects. Marriage between relatives of two generations apart perpetuates the family links without impinging on the parent child behaviour. Since marriage is patrilocal, a child often grows up in the home of the paternal grand parents. The grand parents also teach the young to respect their parents.

A grand mother often guides her grand daughter in domestic work. There is a joking relationship between grand parents and grand children and it is more intership between the maternal grand parents. In marriages with either a paternal or maternal person, the link may be through a common grand parent as well as with more distant members of their clans.

Parents-in-law and Children-in-law Relationship

The type of relationship is a formal one between parents-in-law and children. In a way the marriage is outside of the kin. However, there is familiarity between them in case of intership in marriage.
A kind of relationship develops among the parents-in-law and children-in-law through a type of marriage like inter-kin or outside the kin. Meanwhile, in case of outkin marriages, the relationship is a formal one whereas in the other, in the inter-kin marriage, there is more affection even before the marriage.

In Lambani community at the Dindur Tan'a, the researcher observed the relationship between father-in-law and son-in-law in more respects than one. Between them there is not much conversation.

However, in case of inter-kin marriage, there is a joking relationship. Here there is a marked avoidance between the mother-in-law and the son-in-law. The relationship between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law is the dominance (of the former) — mainly because of patrilocal residence. The relationship between the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law is one of avoidance.

The daughter-in-law gives respect to the mother-in-law and takes guidance from her in domestic works. They do not joke at each other.
Relationship of the Father's Sister and Brother's Children

The relationship of the father's sister and brother's son/daughter is one of affection and joking. Among them, the aunt can joke with her brother's children in a mild way but in turn the nephew is not supposed to joke.

However, the niece may joke with her aunt. The father's sister feels closer to her niece than an aunt to her nephew. The main cause is the sex difference for such a relationship. The mother's brother's or father's sister has a special role to play at the rituals of her brother's child's life cycle functions such as birth, puberty, marriage, etc.

In a way, there is a link between the conjugal family and natal family ensured by the presence of the father's sister in the continuation of the relationship such as aunt giving (in marriage) her daughter to her brother's son or taking (in marriage) her brother's daughter for her own son. In marriage this relationship is similar to the one of mother's brother and sister's child.

Thus, among Lambanias, in spite of the changing social relationship, the bonds of kinship have continued to remain strong due to exogamous and preferential marriage.
**Lambani Kinship Terminology**

In the Lambanis' kinship terminology, the interior of bifurcation operates which refers to the second ascending generation. The father's father is referred to as Nada and the mother's father is referred to as Nana.

In the first ascending generation, the father is referred to as Bapu/Ba and the mother as Yadi/Ya.

The siblings of the father and mother of the same sex fall into one category of the father and mother. They are further distinguished in relation to the age of the father and mother. The father's elder brother is referred to as "Motapu" and younger brother as "Kaka" whereas the mother's elder sister is "Motamasi" and the younger one "Nanaki Masi". One cannot marry his/her father's brother's or mother's sister's children as they are treated as brothers and sisters. The term "Motapu" and "Kaka" are also referred to as the mother's elder and younger sister's husband. Likewise, the term "Motamasi" and "Nanaki Masi" are applied to the father's elder or younger brother's wife.

In the first ascending generation the father and mother's opposite siblings fall into another category of mother-in-law.
and father-in-law. The term "Mama" is applied to the mother's brother and "Phuppi" to the father. The father's sister's husband and mother's brother's wife are the potential father-in-law and mother-in-law. Mother's elder and younger brothers are referred to by using the prefix "Moto" and "Nanakya" to the usual term "Mam". The father's sister's husband is "Phuppa" and the mother's brother's wife is Mami.

Among the Lambanis the ego's own siblings and the parallel as well as cross-cousins fall into the category of brother and sister. Further they are differentiated according to the relative age.

"Moto Bheya" and the younger brother is referred to as "Nanakya Bhayi". The elder sister is "Moto Bhehen" and younger is "Nanaki Bhehen". The term for son and daughter are "Beta" and "Beti". These terms do not extend to the children of the same sex siblings like Kannada kinship terminology though in most of the areas people who are ignorant of these terms use them like the Kannada kinship terms, i.e., "Beta" and "Beti".

The brother's son and daughter are called "Beta" and "Beti". Here the sex of the ego is not taken into account while referring to them.
The husband and wife are referred to as "Dhani" and "Gonni" and their father and mother are called "Sasaro" and "Sasu". The husband or wife's father's brother is also called "Sasaro" and the same is also true with the husband's or wife's mother (she is called "Sasu").

In Lambani kinship terminology, the sister's husband is "Bhenevi". In case of outer kin marriages anyway, he is "Bhenevi". The term Jet/Devar is used to husband's elder and younger brother.

The terms "Bhojai"/"Bodi" are used for the elder and younger brother's wife. The wife's elder and younger sisters are referred to as "Sasu"/"Sali". The husband's elder and younger brother's wife is referred to by a separate term as "Jatani".

Different types of relations through marriage alliances, have different terms in the Lambani kinship terminology. The husband's brothers are differentiated in relation to the age of the ego. The husband's elder brother is "Jet" and the younger one is "Devar". Their wives are called as "Jatani" and "Daravani" respectively. The husband's sister is "Nana" irrespective of the age in relation to the ego and her husband is
referred to as "Bodi" irrespective of the age in relation to the ego. The wife's sister is "Sali" and her husband is referred to "Saflu". The terms "Bhaji"/"Bodi" are used while referring to the brother's elder and younger brother's wife.

The sister's husband is referred to as "Bhenevi" irrespective of the age in relation to the ego.

**Chart 1**

**Kinship Terminology Among the Lambanis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Kin</th>
<th>Terms of Reference</th>
<th>Terms of Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Dhani</td>
<td>Aya/Ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Gonni</td>
<td>Aya/Ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Father</td>
<td>Bapu</td>
<td>Bapu/Ba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Mother</td>
<td>Yadi</td>
<td>Yadi/Ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Brother</td>
<td>Bhai</td>
<td>Bhiya/by name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Sister</td>
<td>Bahan</td>
<td>Bhi/by name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Son</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Daughter</td>
<td>Beti</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Father's elder brother</td>
<td>Motapu</td>
<td>Motapu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Father's younger brother</td>
<td>Kaka</td>
<td>Kaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl. No.</td>
<td>Kin Description</td>
<td>Terms of Reference</td>
<td>Terms of Address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Father's younger brother</td>
<td>Kaki</td>
<td>Kaki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Father's elder brother's wife</td>
<td>Motadi</td>
<td>Motadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>Elder brother's son</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14.</td>
<td>Younger brother's son</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15.</td>
<td>Father's father</td>
<td>Dada (Dada Bapu)</td>
<td>Dada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16.</td>
<td>Father's mother</td>
<td>Dadi (Budayi)</td>
<td>Dadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17.</td>
<td>Son's son</td>
<td>Poto</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18.</td>
<td>Son's daughter</td>
<td>Poti</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19.</td>
<td>Elder's brother's wife</td>
<td>Bhojai</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.</td>
<td>Younger brother's wife</td>
<td>Bodi</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21.</td>
<td>Husband's elder brother's wife</td>
<td>Jatani</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22.</td>
<td>Husband's younger brother's wife</td>
<td>Devarani</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23.</td>
<td>Husband's elder brother</td>
<td>Jet</td>
<td>Mama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24.</td>
<td>Husband's younger brother</td>
<td>Devar</td>
<td>Devar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25.</td>
<td>Husband's elder sister</td>
<td>Nana</td>
<td>Bai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26.</td>
<td>Son's wife</td>
<td>Bodi</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl. No.</td>
<td>Kin</td>
<td>Terms of Reference</td>
<td>Terms of Address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Father's brother's son</td>
<td>Bhai</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Father's brother's daughter</td>
<td>Bahin</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Husband's brother's son</td>
<td>Beta</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Husband's brother's daughter</td>
<td>Beti</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kinship General (A)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Kin</th>
<th>Terms of Reference</th>
<th>Terms of Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Father's sister</td>
<td>Phupi</td>
<td>Phupi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Father's sister's husband</td>
<td>Phupa</td>
<td>Phupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mother's sister</td>
<td>Mavashi</td>
<td>Mavashi (Masi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Mother's sister's husband</td>
<td>Mavan</td>
<td>Mavsa (Masa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Mother's brother</td>
<td>Mama</td>
<td>Mama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Mother's brother's wife</td>
<td>Mami</td>
<td>Mami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mother's father</td>
<td>Nana</td>
<td>Nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mother's mother</td>
<td>Nani</td>
<td>Nani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Elder sister's husband</td>
<td>Bhenevi</td>
<td>Bhenevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sl. No.</td>
<td>Kin</td>
<td>Terms of Reference</td>
<td>Terms of Address</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Younger sister's husband</td>
<td>Bhenevi</td>
<td>Respected by name / Bhenevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Daughter's son</td>
<td>Poto</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Daughter's daughter</td>
<td>Poti</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Kinship General (B)**

| 1.     | Husband's father | Sasaro | Bapu (Mama) |
| 2.     | Husband's mother | Sasu | Yadi (Mami) |
| 3.     | Wife's father | Mama/Phupa | Mama/Phupa |
| 4.     | Wife's mother | Mami/Phupi | Mami/Phupi |
| 5.     | Wife's sister | Sali | By name |
| 6.     | Wife's brother | Salo | By name |
| 7.     | Son's wife's father | Samudi | Respected by name |
| 8.     | Son's wife's mother | Samudan | Respected by name |
| 9.     | Daughter's husband | Jamai | Respected by name |
Kinship General (C)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sl. No.</th>
<th>Kin</th>
<th>Terms of Reference</th>
<th>Terms of Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Sister's son</td>
<td>Bhanajo</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Sister's daughter</td>
<td>Bhanaji</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Mother's brother's son</td>
<td>Bhai (Mama)</td>
<td>Respected by name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Mother's sister's son</td>
<td>Bhai</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Mother's sister's daughter</td>
<td>Bahin</td>
<td>By name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Father's sister's son</td>
<td>Mama</td>
<td>Respected by name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Father's sister's daughter</td>
<td>Bahin (Bhanaji)</td>
<td>Respected by name</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Marriage as a Social Institution

Marriage is a necessity in the history of human evolution. We use the word 'marriage' for wedding nuptials or matrimony. The actual meaning of marriage (Vivāha), in their dialect 'Vaya', refers mainly to the ceremony of carrying away the bride to the house of the bridegroom. It requires either religious or social sanction for a man and a woman to live at one place to satisfy
their sexual desire and to procreate children and thus perpetuate the generation.

As a social institution, marriage has been defined by Westermark as "a relation of one or more men to one or more women which is recognized by custom or law and involves certain rights and duties both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of children born of it."

Marriage is found in all human societies. For marriage arises out of the biological needs of human beings. But marriage is not merely the fulfillment of biological needs. In terms of human social life, it means such more than fulfillment of biological needs. In all human societies a number of folk-ways more as, customs and usages are interwoven with marriage.

Among the Lambanis, it is found that marriage is compulsory and no one can escape from it. One must marry not only for sexual satisfaction, but also for fulfillment of household tasks and looking after each other during the old age. Bachelorhood is unacceptable since it does not make one to fulfill all the

essential aspect of their community. Marriage is generally taken to be the institutional or dynamic aspect of the family.\footnote{Sisbert, P., \textit{Tribal India} (Jaipur: Rawat Publications, 1976), p.37.}

Among the Lambanis marriage within the clan is forbidden by the law of exogamy. Practice of incest, and marriage within the clan is a serious crime not only to the clan but also to the whole village. As such, the practice is extremely rare. Should such a marriage take place, the village exiles the couple according to the decision of the village court.

Child or infant marriage is very rare in the Lambani community. In this tribe almost all marriages are arranged marriages. Love marriage and inter-caste marriages are rare in the community.

Types of Marriage

Let us describe about the types of marriage like monogamy and polygamy. We must know the meaning of these types of marriages. Monogamy means one man marries one woman and polygamy means one man can marry more than one woman.
Among the Lambanis there are only two types of marriages, namely, monogamy and polygamy. Polygamy is allowed among wives not only work, but also earn for the family. Lambanis, as already described, are split up into four groups, namely, Bhukya, Pamhar, Chovhan and Vadatya. Each of these groups is exogamous, and contains a number of sub-sections. Every member of the group sub-divisions is related to each other as brothers and sisters. That is why, they are not allowed to marry with one another. Lambanis marry their sister's daughter and maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter. In this tribe, people do not marry the daughter of a paternal uncle or maternal aunt, as such traditional connections are considered as incest.5

The following table gives the opinion of 105 respondents about the type of marriage.

Table 1: Types of Marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Marriage</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Monogamy</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>94.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polygamy</td>
<td>06</td>
<td>05.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The majority, i.e., 99 (94.29%) respondents like monogamy, i.e., they want or they like to have one wife only. Six (5.71%) respondents side with polygamy of having more than one wife.

**Age at Marriage**

Age at marriage among the Lambanis varies for males and females. The general age of marriage for boys is when they grow into adulthood, that is, when they begin to grow moustache and whereas for a girl the marriage is fixed when she attains puberty. Generally, child marriage is strictly prohibited in this tribe. However, the marriage is performed for girls even before they attain puberty. The age at marriage both for female and male of Lambani respondents is given in the following table. The Lambanis are not in favour of early marriage.

**Table 2: Age at Marriage**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>08.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>91.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table shows that majority of the respondents i.e., 96 (91.43%) do not want their children/sons to be married at an early age. Only 9 (8.57%) respondents like an early marriage of their sons.

Table 3: Age at Marriage for Male Lambani Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15 - 20</td>
<td>005</td>
<td>04.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 25</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>95.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table gives the opinions of 105 respondents, about the age of their sons at which marriage should be performed. Majority, i.e., 100 (95.24%) of the respondents opined that their sons should be married between 21 and 25 years. Only 5 (4.76%), respondents were of the opinion that their sons should marry at the age between 15 and 20 years.
Table 4: Age at Marriage for Females

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 - 20 years</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>95.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21 - 25 years</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>04.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to this table, out of 105 respondents, 100 (95.24%) were of the opinion that the ideal age of marriage for their daughters should be between 16 and 20 years. Only 5, (4.76%), expressed that the age should be between 21 and 25 years.

A significant fact that may be noticed is that generally boys are at least 4 to 6 years older than girls at the time of their marriage.

Table 5: Inter-Caste Marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>004</td>
<td>03.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>96.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Majority of the respondents i.e., 101 (96.19%), did not favour inter-caste marriage. Only 4 (3.81%), respondents agreed with this type of marriage. This shows that they do not like to have any marital relationship with the people of other castes. If this type of marriage takes place in the Tanda, people will criticise them and they will never be allowed to participate in any ceremonies like marriage, festivals etc. in their society. But inter-caste marriage is rare in the tribe.

**Widow Remarriage**

Traditionally widow marriage was forbidden mainly among the Brahmanas and Vaishyas. The social reform movements like Arya Samaj and Brahmo Samaj encouraged widow remarriage. Widow marriage is traditionally permitted among many castes and there is no restriction as to the number of times she may remarry. Among some sections like the Kodavas and the Lambanis a widow can marry her deceased husband's brother. 6

Widow remarriage is common among Lambanis. The younger brother of the deceased husband is considered the most eligible person to marry his brother's widow. An elder brother is not

allowed to marry his younger brother's widow. When a widow marries her husband's younger brother, no tera is given. (Tera means the amount to be paid by the bridegroom's party). But the younger brother has to supply liquor and pan supari (betel leaves and betel nut) to the caste people. The re-married widow has no title to her previous husband's property and her children by him also do not go to his family and inherit his property. If the widow prefers another man and elopes with him, the first husband's relatives claim compensation and threaten to abduct a girl from this man's family in exchange for the widow. The ceremony of the Kudike, styled "Ghugari Chalero" in the Lambani language, takes place at night before the assembly of the castemen in the presence of the Naik which is necessary. The woman is presented with a new cloth and a tera of fifteen rupees and some bullocks. But nowadays this type of marriage does not exist in the Lambani society, especially, in the study area.

Table 6: Opinion Structure on Widow Remarriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Happy</td>
<td>002</td>
<td>01.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unhappy</td>
<td>005</td>
<td>04.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Opinion</td>
<td>098</td>
<td>93.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This table gives the opinion of 105 respondents about the widow remarriage.

Majority, i.e., 98 (93.34%), respondents did not express any opinion about widow remarriage. But only 1.90% i.e., 2 respondents were for widow remarriage and 5 respondents opposed this.

Child Marriage

The following table gives the opinion of 105 respondents about the child marriage

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Decision</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>001</td>
<td>00.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>99.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows that the majority, i.e., 104 (99.05%), respondents rejected or were against child marriage. Only one person was in favour of the child marriage.
Dowry System

Table 8: Opinion of Respondents Regarding Dowry System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dowry</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Acceptable</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>48.57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not acceptable</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>51.43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total:</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This table shows the opinion of the respondents about the dowry system. Out of 105 respondents, 54 (51.43%), respondents were against the dowry system, and 51 (48.57%), were of the opinion that dowry can be taken if offered, in terms gold, money, silver etc. But generally they do not favour the dowry system.

Functions of Marriage

The Banjaras, as already noticed, are split into four groups namely, Bhukya (Rathod), Pamhar, Chovhan, Vadatya, and (in some places) also Khadot. Each of these groups is exogamous and contains a number of sub-sects. The members of each group to which its sub-division may belong to regarded as brothers and sisters and are not eligible for marriage with one another.
Marriage of a man with his sister's or maternal uncle's or paternal aunt's daughter is generally allowed. But this rule of exclusion is gradually losing its vigour, and such marriages are becoming more accepted now. A Banjara may not marry the daughter of paternal uncle or maternal aunt, such relationship connections being considered as incest. Two sister may be married by one man, but not simultaneously, and two brothers may marry two sisters.7

The Banjara marriages are frequently performed in the rainy season. This season is usually forbidden to most Hindus, but seems to be most convenient to the Lambanis because in the dry weather or season they usually travel. For the marriage ceremony they pitch a tent in lieu of the marriage Pandal and on the ground they place two rice pounding pestles round which the bride and bridegroom take seven rounds. Some substitute for the pestles, a pack saddle with two bags of grain, to symbolise their camp life.8

Chidanand Murthy9 says that the marriage with the sister's daughter does not exist among the Lambanis of Karnataka.

However the researcher found many cases of marriage with sister's daughter.

Selection of Partners

"Sagai" (The Betrothal Ceremony)

When both the bride and bridegroom agree to marry, the elders or parents of the bride and bridegroom conduct a ceremony. This is the engagement ceremony. It is called "Sagai" by the Lambanis.

If, after this ceremony, either party withdraws without any proper reason, he (or she) will be liable to pay a fine fixed by the Panchayat.

Gol Khayero

After the ceremony of Sagai (engagement) there will be another ceremony which is also an important stage and this is called Gol Khayero. In this process the bridegroom's eldest family members, head of Tanda (Nayak), goes to the girl's house and meets a large party of the girl's Tanda and others in the neighbourhood. The place selected for meeting will be generally a temple or the girl's house.
Here the bridegroom's father, deposits a part of the bride price (ranging from 5 rupees - 25 rupees generally) in a small bag along with dried coconut. A woman of the Bhukyal group and another of Jath Gotha take this bag. Afterwards, the bag will be handed over to the man of Bhukya and another of Jath descent. The bags are generally placed on their right shoulders. Then both the parties distribute jaggery to all the members who have gathered in the place. The Nayak who is the head of the Tanda is the first person to receive the jaggery. It indicates the important role of Nayak in the process of the ceremony. After the distribution of the jaggery, an experienced elderly man sings a song in the Lambani dialect explaining the importance of the family as follows:

**PANCH PANCHAT RAJBHOJOR SABHA PANCHARI**
**LAKH UN PANCHARI SAVALAKH BRAHMEKA LAKALI,**
**BANANA BANIYAR POTI LAKI VALIVATHA JATHI**
**CHARA NAYEK DHAKAE PADI UPARA NAYEK,**
**NAYEK GDE GADERA BHIRURA NAYEK, DALAPALKH PANAMAKH NAYEK, NAGEKA PARAKO THO HERA MAYIRO LALAKA NAYEKA**
**MOTHI HATTA TUCHAYNI, THOTHI HATTA**
**MA CHAYNI**
**JAGADEKAN PAGABHANTE, SATI SATH PESTEER**
**NATHOKETHYEY**
RAKADHATHO NATH, NARAKADTHO THACATHAR
NAYEK"

Meaning

"O, chief, the betrothal is solemnized as ordained by God. With the feast over, the two families are now equal, nearer, and deeper. Let this family bond get stronger for several generations to come. Let them not do anything that breaks the bond. Rupture brings grief."10

"Rang Teru" (Rang Ceremony)

After the completion of the jaggery ceremony, "Rang Teru" (colour distribution) ceremony will be arranged. If the bride is of the Bhukya clan, then those of the Jath clan must offer the colours. This ceremony ends with the fixing of the date of the marriage. In the ceremony of jaggery and "Rang Teru", women are strictly prohibited to participate in these functions. They remain inside watching the new bridegroom and amusing themselves by cracking jokes at the expense of the bride. The girl's father gives a dinner at night. Next day the boy and his party return to their native place.

Marriage can be of several types. All over tribal India and other parts of the world as well, we come across rules laying down prohibiting, preferences and prescriptions on deciding the form of marriage.\(^{11}\)

On account of their nomadic way of life, the Lambanis do not engage a Brahmin priest to officiate at the marriage rituals, for they invariably stay away from villages and towns. So one of their elders from Vadatya clan, well-versed in the rituals, generally officiates. But when they come into increased contact with the other Hindu peasants who availed of the services of the Brahmin priest, the Lambanis, in the process of their permanent settling down, began to seek the services of the Brahmin priest whenever available.\(^{12}\)

In any Indian social group, the institution of marriage is sacred. The Lambani marriages do not come to an end soon. In the olden times, the Lambani marriage activities used to last

\(^{11}\) Majumdar, D.N. and Madan, T.H., *An Introduction to Social Anthropology*, 1956, p.80.

for a month. Generally, Lambani marriages take place in moonlight. The Lambani marriages begin at the residence of the groom. Most of the ceremonies take place at the residence of the bride.

**Saflitanero** (Fixing the Date of Marriage)

"Saflitanero" is one of the most important and first ceremonies of a marriage. In this ceremony, the astrologer or priest fixes a day for the marriage. Bunches of mango leaves, a shady enclave of coconut leaves in front of the bridegroom's home signify the auspicious occasion. The Panal in front of the home is decorated with mango leaves. And at the centre of the Panal a plough share is kept covered with a woollen blanket (Kambali). On it is placed a couple of the holy vessels (Kalasa). This is known as "Saflitanero". On this occasion, the people of the Tanand the head of the Tan (Naik) are invited.

**Vaayi** (Stamping Ceremony)

In the night of the "Saflitanero", the "Vaayi" ceremony is performed. It is also an important ceremony of marriage. This is performed at the night a little before the marriage. It is the ceremony of initiating the groom into the life of a householder. This ritual involves ceremonial stamping at the left
shoulder of the groom along with his younger or elder brother. 
This is known as "Yadayirdag" or "Gosairdag".

To celebrate "Yadayi" the floor of the house is plastered with cow-dung. On either side on the floor are placed hen-shaped, sweet balls made of wheat flour and jaggery. Seven sweet balls are kept on each side. At the centre is placed a sacred water vessel ("Kalasa"). Holy lamps are lit and kept by the side of the groom and his younger brother. A pin is pierced at the edge of a piece of firewood. The stick is held on the lamp till the pin is heated red. Both of them (the persons) are stamped on their left shoulders with the red hot pin. This signifies that both of them are qualified for marrying. If this ceremony is not performed, they are not regarded as fit for marriage. At the time of this ceremony the following song is sung:

KOLE AVE KOLE JAVA
KOLE MAYI JOGA SAMALA
MUNGEE AVDA MOGARA
THAILI AVDA BANA CHA
DHOLO GHOTO BASALO
PATHALiya SAyARA CHA
GURU GOSAIRABA SADA SADA
Meaning

"The hen comes and goes. The seven sweet balls symbolise hens. One set goes to the chief of the Tanḍa and another to the groom's mother. On each sweet ball a hollow is made and in the hollow a cotton wick immersed in oil is burnt."

Care is taken to see that the holy light is not put off when the left shoulder is pressed with the red hot pin. The scar is as small as a grain. One may ride a white horse. "Guru Gosaibaba will take care of you forever."

After chanting the Mantra the sweet balls are offered to the chief of the Tanḍa. The chief performs "Vaḍayi". After the completion of the "Vaḍayi" ceremony, "Ghota Kadero" ceremony starts.

Ghota Kadero (Sweet Drink)

"Ghota" is made out of jaggery, poppy seeds, cloves, calcium, pepper and nutmeg. It is prepared by the groom with the help of his friends. An earthen pot is filled with the sweet drink. A new piece of cloth is used to cover the pot. This ceremonial pot is called "Kalaser bināiga". This pot is
placed in the auspicious Pandal. In this pot one-rupee coin
given as offering is put.

**Vetaaduna Bhar Kaæero (The Bridegroom is Taken Out)**

After preparing the "Ghota", the next morning after the
bath, "Vetaaduna Bhar Kaæero" ceremony is performed. Before coming
out of the house the bridegroom offers worship to the family deity.
When he comes to the door, a boy and a girl come to his right.
At the bidding of the head there, they take handfuls of rice
from the dish, throw it on the bridegroom's head and retire.
Then a second pair of a boy and a girl repeat the procedure.
The bridegroom then steps out of his seat and bows before the
assembled members, repeating the salutation called Häm Räm. It
means that the bridegroom pays his respect to the assembled
people. Then the "Ghota" will be served to the elders assembled.
Here the official leaders like Naik, Davo and Karabhar should be
present. They are also honoured with usual ceremonial offerings.
After having the jaggery and sweet drink, witty sayings
("Kasalat") will be presented by some one as follows:

**KASMAS KASAY KASTURI**

**GHASAN KADE GHOTA**

**SNDÀ, SNDÀ LOTA MARE**

**LO SAGAN BHAß GHOTA**
Meaning

"The sweet drink is prepared from different kinds of the spices pounded together. So please drink it." After this "Kasalat" there will be another "Kasalat" as follows:

PANCH PACHERI PANCHERI JAGATH
VARALI SAPARI
SARALO PAN
CHUNNO CHARAKO
KATO PARAKO
LO RANG PUTO

Meaning

"Honourable elders of the Panchayat do receive the betel nut leaves and lime and also the sweet. Please receive the same with our respects."

Vetajuna Valayero (Farewell to the Bridegroom)

This ceremony will be held when the bridegroom is taken out of his house. This is called "Vetajuna Valayero" (farewell to the bridegroom). When the bridegroom leaves his house, he cannot enter it alone. He should enter it along with his wife. The whole Tanda, along with the elders, bids farewell to him to go to the bride's house.
The elder ("leria") called personal assistant should help the groom until the whole ceremony is over. He should be able to give answers to all the questions asked by the Tanda people as well as the chief of the Tanda (Nayak) assembled before the groom's house and until he goes to the bride's house. The bridegroom is offered Rs.2/- by the chief in the name of Guru Gosaina. When he goes to bride's Tanda, he cannot enter it without the permission of the Tanda chief. The elder ("leriya"), along with the groom's father, meets the chief of the bride's Tanda. They enquire of each other's health and well-being. This kind of approach is known as "Kasalat". This is expressed as follows:

DALAMALYTHI DARSHAN PAYEK
HEYATHITHI MALAGATH
APAN GOTA GANGASEJ
KEM KASALATH

Meaning

"We have met with good wishes. Now we are in the same lineage ("Kula"). Let all our relatives and neighbours remain like the confluence of the river Ganga."
After the exchange of good wishes, the chief calls upon the bride's family and ask it to invite the bridegroom and his retinue. Usually, they get this permission at night. The elderly women of the Tanda gather at a place and proceed to invite the bridegroom and his retinue. After this, the "Moiy" (sweets) brought by the groom are distributed to the Tanda members of the bride. Jocular songs are sung at this time and in a way they are intended to tease one another. Finally, the bridegroom and the elder ("leria") are given water to drink. The "leria" receives it saying the "Kasalat":

PANCH PANCHATH SAGASAGERI RAMERI
PACHARE LAKH UN PACHARE SAVALAKH
SAGAN BHAI JAVALA LO

Meaning

"Oh esteemed kith and kin who have assembled here in this hall which is like the royal court (Durbar) of Lord Rama, will you please take water?" Then the bride's folks sing and cut jokes and escort the bridegroom and his retinue to the bride's house. The bride is all along in a mood of melancholy. Before he enters the bride's house, the groom has to pay two rupees as gift or offering to the bride's elder brother. After the gift
is accepted the preparation for the evening ceremonies starts.13

**Akoldi Dhokayero (Touching the Cow-dung with Axe)**

The bride and bridegroom walk a small distance towards the south where some cow-dung has been kept. The bridegroom holds an axe in his right hand and cuts the cow-dung into seven bits. The bride also does likewise. This is known as "Akoldi Dhokayero".

**Tiko Lagadero (Tilak Ceremony)**

Among the Lambanis the Tilak ceremony is known as "Tiko Lagadero". The Tilak material is a paste made of sacred turmeric or yellow powder. The elder brother of the bride draws a mark of Swastik ( selfies ) on the back of the coat worn by groom and also on the bride's dress. At the time of applying the turmeric paste on the bride's forehead she is overcome with emotion. She weeps resting her head over her brother's shoulder, feeling that she now belongs to the other family. Her sorrow is expressed as "Dhavelo".

Mendi Lagañero (Fasting of Turmeric)

Menthol, black gram ("Udù") and turmeric are ground and powder is prepared. Lambani young maidens mix this powder with edible oil and apply this on the forehead of both the bride and groom. This is known as "Mendi Lagañero".

Yayabbamero

The most important part of the marriage ceremonies comes by midnight. In front of the door, two pestles ("Onake") are kept at a distance of 5 inches between them. Beneath the pestles are placed arecanuts, betel leaves and a twenty-five paise coin. At the top a "Gerukai" (marking nut) is tied with a black thread turmeric and cowries.

In the Pandal, four pits, each of 2 inches depth, are made at the four corners of the Pandal. Here in each pit are placed seven earthen pots one upon the other. These pots are decorated with lime and various colours. These are the auspicious cupolas ("Kalasa") with their necks decorated with mango leaves indicating the symbol of happiness and prosperity for the couple. These earthen pots are covered with plants ("Aanker ja") Here arecanuts, betel leaves and twenty-five paise coin are placed at
the bottom. All these are done with pious prayers to God to bless the couple with joy and prosperity.

The next ceremony is the bath ceremony. A reversed wooden plank ("Katote") is placed near the pestles. First, the bride is made to sit on it, and she takes the bath with romantic songs being sung at that time. After her bath, she is taken to a little distant place and made to sit there. Next comes the bridegroom. Oil is applied to his body by the bride's mother. She combs his hair, pulls the tuft of his hair and pours water on his head. The water dripping from the tuft is collected in the joined palms of the bride's mother. She drinks it seven times. It is the rite called "choteer pane peyero". Along with mother-in-law, a few other women also participate in this procedure. After this, the other 4-6 women give bath to the bridegroom and try to lift up the plank so that the bridegroom falls horizontally. At this time "Leria" and other friends are present there to support the bridegroom. If the bridegroom falls horizontally the bride's retinue sings a song teasing him. After this, the bride's younger sister ties the feet of the bridegroom with pieces of red cloth. This is known as "Khasa'a bhanbero".
After taking bath, the pieces are removed by the bride's mother and are tied to the roof.

**Poranabhanero (Surige Ceremony)**

After the ceremony of auspicious bath, the "Surige" ceremony is performed. This is known as "Poranabhanero". Here, in this procedure both the bride and bridegroom are made to sit on the wooden seat one after the other. Surrounding the seven small earthen pots are placed. Here the bride's mother and the groom's mother sit behind the bride and the groom respectively. Out of the seven pots, three are filled with water and four with flour. One of these is closed by the hands of the bride and the groom. A few married women as well as men sit round these pots and tie a thread over the pots seven times. Then the thread is put round the neck of the bride with seven knots. The remaining thread is left loose. Second time, the same thing is repeated and this time the thread is tied to the right hand of the bridegroom. One rupee coin, betel nut and cowries are placed in their hands and they are made to go round the pestles seven times. At this time, if these things slip and fall from their hands, it signifies that their life partnership will not be for long time. Here the thread is known as "Surige".
Koleya Khayero

Here the bride and bridegroom have to take the common meal ("Koley") twice. Then the couple, along with an elderly woman, sit before a plate in which is placed a mixture of rice, flour, jaggery and ghee. They are completely hidden in the folds of a piece of cloth thrown over them.

Now the bride places her hand over the bridegroom's hand and receives the sweet from him and eats it. The bridegroom does the same. This is done seven times. This is described in the following song:

KAIE JALMANO KIYI NAYAKANA YADI HIYA
KAIE THEVALEMA GHALYE NAYAKANA YADI HIYE
KAIE JANJALEMA GHALYE NAYAKANA YADI HIYE
KAVADA GAPATHIRO GOLA MARI NAYAKANA YADI HIYA

Meaning

"The bride decries her birth as a woman. She reproaches her mother for bringing her into the humdrum of family life. She cries that her mother has done injustice to her."^{14}

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^{14} Krishnamurthy, M., Crime and Customs Among Lambanis, 1992, p. 173.
After the "Saptapadi" is over, the coins below the pots of the four corners of the Pandal are taken away by young men present around.

After all this, an auspicious bath is given for both the bride and groom. During the bath, the members of the Landa get ready to bless the couple. It brings a festival feast for them. The groom stands on the wooden plank. The bride's younger sister comes and removes the shoes from groom's feet and she is offered two or five rupees. A few married women also perform this. Again the bride's younger sister gives the groom the shoes to wear ("Kachada") and again she gets two or five rupees. Afterwards, she holds an earthen pan ("Paryani") and puts it near the bridegroom's feet. The groom, without touching his feet to the ground, has to break it at the first attempt. The Lambanis call this "Noskya Phodero" (breaking the earthen pan). After this ceremony, the bride's younger sister holds two stone pieces in her hands and presses them against the groom's ears and asks him "Do you scold me and my mother?" The groom answers that he will never. She will leave him only after taking a promise from him. During this procedure, the ears of the poor groom will turn reddish. The groom will make a gift or offering of two or five rupees to the bride's sister. This event is known as "Vathadoor Navalerer Angoli". 
After this, the mother-in-law puts a towel round the neck of her son-in-law. She pretends to beat the couple with the pouncing rod and gets the promise from the groom. The promise is as follows:

"I promise to take care of my wife under any circumstances." The mother-in-law is offered two or five rupees by the groom. The ceremony of removing the "Surige" from the bride and bridegroom is known as "Norono Chodero". The "Surige" thread tied to the bride is removed by the groom and the "Surige" thread tied to the groom is removed by the bride. After this, the games of porridge, water, coins and cowries are played. This is called "Mandarammero". After an exchange of sweets by the couple this ceremony comes to an end.

The Bride Wears Tali of Sacred Bead (Mangalya)

Here we can see that the apparel worn by the bride is quite different from that worn by the Hindu bride. Also, we can see that the bridegroom wears a different traditional dress.

Bride Apparel: The wearing of Mangalya is indicated by "Chudo". "Chotala"—"Ghugai"—"Topli" are the ornaments adorning the hair near the ears.
Bhuriya:  Adorning the nose are some items. The bride's dress is styled by "Phetiya" (lunga), "Kanchali" (Jacket), "Chantiya" (head covering) and different necklaces like "Chowlerba", "Hasali", bangles, a ring of copper, ivory anklets, "Angula" for toes, "Yeekava", and "Gonkaru" — such a variety of ornaments will decorate the bride for the occasion.

Bridegroom’s Apparel: He wears a white turban, white shirt, white choti, ear rings ("bendole") and "Kadaga" (bracelets) on the wrist.

Now-a-days these traditions are changing. The educated Lambanis are being influenced by the changing times, and now they are arranging simple marriages. Today, instead of all the above mentioned traditional rituals, they just tie the "Māngalya" though they also perform the "Saptapadi" along with the Brahmanical ritual of tying the "Tali" or "Māngalya".

Tamir Got (Propitiation of Ancestors)

This is a ceremony where a goat is sacrificed and food is prepared to appease the ancestral spirits. The Tan'a people are served the food along with arrack. There is a tale in support of this tradition, which is as follows:
In the olden times, the nomadic Lamtanis arranged a marriage in a suitable place and performed all the rituals elaborately. But at that time, when the bridegroom went for urinals he swooned. The astrologer, when consulted, said that there was something wrong with that place and advised the performance of some rituals. The rituals were as follows:

Two earthen pans, needle, salt, food prepared from five ingredients, leaves of "Anker ja" were to be given to swooned bridegroom. Then it was placed at a junction where three roads met. This was called "Avad-Chava". As part of this tradition they sacrificed a goat in that place as an appeasement to the spirits of the place. They called this "Tamirgot".

Today the "Tamirgot" is worshipped by the Lamtanis in a different manner. The marriage ceremony is brought to an end by worshipping this where the ancestors are appeased.

Valayero (Bidding Farewell to the Couple)

This is the last ceremony held in the bride's house. "Valayero", the farewell ceremony, is known as "Vetaunavalera Valayero". The bride is escorted out of her residence. All the Tama people assemble before the bride's house. A bag containing
ten seers of dry coconuts is kept there. The bridegroom places two rupees on the bag and retires. The mother-in-law or the eldest female member of the family invokes the guru of the caste and distributes the dry coconuts to all those assembled. A man comes up and puts the "Chu'u" (horn bangles) on the bride's arms. Then a married woman fastens the "ghugara" (ear ring pendants) to her locks, bunches of tassels to her head and girdles her with a tasseled waist ban "Thalro". Then the bride is ceremonially sent away with her husband. She is presented with suitabled bullock on which she rides. The bridegroom leads the bullocks, and as the girl proceeds, she chants in a low monotonous tone some songs conveying farewell to her father's house as follows:

GENIVEREMARE
AJETI   THARA BHEN VARAN VEGI
GUNATE GUNA
VAN KADI BANTHERI GUNA
AJETHI VARANA VEGI

Meaning

"O my wise brother, from to-day your sister goes to a different family. All the things that were mine in my house now go to the other family."
At the time of departure, the bride conveys her good wishes to her family, relatives and the people of the Tamara. This wishing is known as "Haveli". This is an important aspect in the Lambani marriage. The bride does this only once in her life time. Everyone believes it to be sacred.

The bride gets gifts from her family in the form of an ox or a cow. She cries holding the neck of the ox or cow. The cow is made to stand by the side of the door and the bride stands. Then she lifts both her hands and conveys the "Haveli" in the following words:

HAVELIYA YA ASISIYAA
MARAJA BAPURI HAVELI YE YA AHIYA
HARIRESA HARIYALI RAYSA
MARAY NAYEKA BAPURI HAVELI AHIYA
MA KANNA AUJANNA HARO RAYSA
HAROBHARO RAYSA NAGARI AHIYA
MAREJA VEERARI HAVELI AHIYA
VATHEYIA VADJU VATHEYES GULARA
PHELAJU PHELES
MARAY NAVEK BAPURI NAGARI
Meaning

The bride prays and blesses her parental home. "May my Nayaka's Than'a prosper like the plentiful green grass on the bank of the river", she says. She continues, "Let all live in harmony like milk and honey. Let their families grow like the peepal trees. I am departing from my Than'a, may my Than'a prosper like the greenery in nature." 15

In the evening, the Tanda members come together to say farewell to the bride. Listening to her "Haveli", everyone overcomes with emotion. At this time, the bride embraces her relatives and friends and weeps on their shoulders. Later the elders advise her and bids her farewell.

The Bride and Bridegroom Enter the Groom's Tanda

This event is called "Thangadi Garem Laero". Both the bride and bridegroom enter the place, setting the right foot first. They are seated on a blanket and their hands are dipped in a ghee bowl seven times. Then a small baby is placed on their lap seven times. These events signify that the newly married

couple should not face any difficulties and they should be blessed with a male child in a year. This brings to an end the ceremony on the first day.

The next day, early morning, the groom goes to the forest and brings a brushing wood. Several pieces of it are made and placed in the wife's hands. She takes these pieces to everyone's house.

In the evening, there will be a ceremony for showing the articles brought by the bride. These are mostly 4-5 "Cholis" ("Kanchali"), a pair of clothes for the groom's mother, valuable dresses for the bride, utensils for the new couple to start their life. Here the status of the bride's family is measured by the articles she brings from her parental house. She asks the groom's father to wear the dress brought by her and pays respect to everyone who has gathered in the place.