

Part III

THE RECORD OF HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES ACCORDING TO SPACE AND TIME

Introduction

A detailed sequential record of the activities which took place in the sample dwelling during one waking day in June 1965 appears below. The detailed observation of behavior in small groups over fixed periods of relatively short duration is an investigative method frequently utilized by social and behavioral scientists, especially in studies in which data which lend themselves to quantification are desired. It is, however, a method which has so far been primarily employed in laboratory studies of interaction and other behavior rather than in research in natural settings, and it is most closely associated, therefore, with conventional topics in psychology. In ethnography, extended participant observation of a less intensive nature is better suited to most descriptive goals, although exceptions occur. When the objective involves an understanding of behavior which is either routinized or frequently repeated, the intensive observation of activity within a particular space-time frame is a productive investigative method. It has previously been used in the study of domestic life by Roberts (1956) in his detailed treatment of the daily round in five households among the Zuni although, as Roberts points out in the introduction to that monograph, even discussions of the daily round are usually not based on intensive observation but on the ethnographers generalized experience in the society over an extended period of time (1).

The intensive observation of activity in the domestic setting is a method which enhances the scope and depth of data derived from an extended, more generalized experience. The former process results in greater detail in the overall record and lends itself to quantification. For example, a summary of a generalized experience in the culture might indicate that 'demand feeding' of infants was the rule. Only a detailed observation, however, has the advantage of indicating how many times during a day an infant is actually fed and under what conditions and hence how 'demand feeding' may differ in detail from society to society. Similarly, a summary of a generalized experience might indicate the uses to which domestic spaces of particular types are conventionally put. Only a detailed observation, however, permits us to see with what frequency such spaces are used by particular householders for a given purpose.

An intensive observation of daily life has another heuristic advantage in that it permits the ethnographer to determine whether existing descriptions and his own general impressions are actually based on fact. Close attention to a narrow range of data of considerable detail frequently reveals that existing descriptions are in need of qualification or partially in error. For example, Yalman cites "looking after the children" as one of the responsibilities of a Sinhalese wife (1967:107). Detailed observation revealed, however, that the most time consuming routinized activity of a Sinhalese wife was food preparation, and that it actually required so much time that child tending was necessarily undertaken by others in the household as well. As a matter of fact, in those few households in which no additional adults or older children were available for child tending, the activity was actually reassigned in part to kinsmen from other households. Similarly, Yalman observes that husband and wives do not sleep together (1967:108). We found that sexually segregated sleeping arrangements were not established until some of the children in the family had reached the age of six or seven. Young couples with small children under the age of six generally sleep together with their children in the same room as Hu, Wi, ElSo, YoSo and InfSo did on the day of the observation.

A related advantage of intensive observation is that it provides a reliable basis for choosing between characterizations of domestic life when they are in conflict. Yalman's brief treatment of life in the household (1967:107-8) suggests a clearcut assignment of most tasks on the basis of sex, and whereas we would argue that some of his generalizations ought to be qualified (for example, some activities culturally assigned to women are undertaken by men in old age), we are in basic agreement with his general treatment. By contrast, in Ryan and Straus (1954:211-2) there is a brief, and from the perspective of this observation and our extended experience as well, a none-too-believable account of the Sinhalese as a people who lack precise sex-role assignments in domestic chores. Although accurate in some of its details, the overall conclusion seems to greatly misrepresent values in work assignment.

The precise description of the routinized use of domestic space has important practical applications. Throughout the developing world, local governments and international agencies have embarked on rural housing schemes of various kinds, but detailed studies of domestic space, how it is used, by whom and under what conditions are frequently lacking. In addition, in the field of agricultural development there has been considerable recent interest in incorporating women in Sri Lanka and elsewhere into what might be described as 'visible' economic activities such as cultivation. Yet precise and detailed studies of how women

ordinarily spend their time in traditional societies are lacking, and consequently, there is often no basis for judgment as to whether incorporating them into cultivation activities is a practical alternative. Among the Sinhalese, the food preparation activities make such heavy demands on the time of young women, that even the care of their own children is undertaken at least in part by other kinsmen. The heavy demands in this area are directly responsible for the fact that the transplanting of rice seedlings, a cultivation activity which is culturally assigned to women, is not undertaken by most households in Rangama.

The waking day as a logical time unit for the study of domestic space

In most conventional studies of economic activities in traditional societies, the logical time unit for study is taken to be the calendar year since the focus is on the activities associated with the agricultural timetable. Although the time of year may influence the nature of some of the activities being undertaken in domestic space, most activities there are routinized on a daily rather than on a calendrical basis, hence the term 'daily round.' The kind of food under preparation naturally varies seasonally, and there are some slack periods in the agricultural timetable during which men may be present in the domestic setting for more of the waking day than they are in times of heavy work. With these qualifications however, there is much about one waking day which is like all others, and therefore a limited and detailed observation such as the one which appears here reveals a great deal about other days, both in this domestic setting and elsewhere in Rangama.

The conduct of the observation

The record of observation which appears here was made by R. MacDougall who was spelled or joined by B. MacDougall during various periods of the day. The record of activities was made by hand. An alternate procedure, one in fact used by Roberts (1956) in his work among the Zuni, would have been to use the field tape recorder for the data collection. Our tape recorder was routinely used otherwise for taping interviews which were conducted with Rangama residents. However the kataa peTTiyə, 'talk box,' as it came to be known, was regarded as a fascinating gadget by practically everyone in Rangama, and it often proved to be a troublesome companion when taken out of our dwelling. Although some of the observations made in this study were made from the yard, most of them were made from the stoop on the north side of Room B where it met

the porch. It was felt that the presence of an anthropologist talking continuously into the machine in the midst of the domestic activity would prove to be a disruptive influence in such a small-scale setting. As it was, beyond some initial discussions about the notebook, the householders generally went about their work and we about ours. However, there was one significant alteration of routine behavior which may have stemmed directly from our presence in the compound and that was the failure of WiFa to leave the yard during the waking day. Under normal circumstances he would have left, at least to bathe. We observed early in the day that WiFa told a washerman who visited the compound that he would come to the washerman's dwelling later in the day. He never went however, and his decision not to do so may well have been influenced by our presence.

The emphasis in the data collection was placed primarily on recording the conduct and progress of work activities and hence the use of domestic space. Recording was done in a location (at the corner of the porch) which permitted the best view of most activities underway but it was naturally difficult to see everything which was taking place within the two poorly lighted interior rooms. Consequently, the observer frequently got up to check on the progress of activities in these rooms.

Explanatory detail is sometimes included parenthetically below, but in most cases it is unnecessary since a domestic activity usually develops in a logical sequence so that its purpose becomes clear without editorial comment. It should be noted, however, that our own understanding of the purpose of a few activities is incomplete because they occurred outside our line of vision. On those occasions when the householders went out of the immediate compound into the surrounding garden area, it was not possible to observe their activities closely and still continue to record the activities of the householders who remained in the dwelling. Indeed, in most instances, we were not intended to be observers, since the householders went to these areas principally to defecate and urinate. In one case, however, WiMo took a mamoty to the garden area, began digging and returned shortly without dirt or produce. The activity was not repeated or logically developed in another way, and the purpose of it remains unclear. In another instance, Wi returned from this area with plant material (named and classified botanically below), perhaps with the intention of making a condiment. Again, however, no sequence of activities involving the plants followed as we expected it would, and thus the purpose of the collection is unknown.

Whenever possible linguistic data were recorded, particularly when they pertained to interaction with the children, but it was not possible to keep track of the activities of numerous householders and record their speech at the same time. For the most part, therefore, the content of conversations between individuals was summarized to the extent that the recording of activities permitted.

Summary of principal work activities of the adults in the
two households during the waking day

WiFa (1)

WiFa was the only adult member of the households who never left the compound area and the one who was the least active physically. He spent much of the waking day on the charpoy on the porch or in the yard. His major activities were child tending, medicine preparation and woodworking. Minor activities included chasing and tending fowl and chopping wood. Of the major activities, the most time was committed to child tending which was combined or alternated primarily with personal care or with leisure (eating, betel chewing, shaving, daydreaming) rather than with other household tasks. It was supportive of other household tasks, however, since WiFa often distracted the two small boys on the porch while Wi and WiMo went about their work inside. Child tending was nevertheless not always an activity of choice. As with the other adults, most of WiFa's interaction with the children was initiated by them. When it was initiated by WiFa, it often consisted of a reprimand for disturbing books, papers or domestic articles. However, when the children cried or were hungry, he held them from time to time, and he also comforted the infant if the women were busy. On one occasion in the morning he participated in the imitative play of one of the children, and in the evening he attempted to teach them the scriptures.

WiFa's schedule was roughly as follows: He was engaged in child tending from the time he arose (about 6:00 a.m.) until he left the compound briefly for the side yard to defecate at 8:08. When he returned, he began his medicine preparation activities (most of the time was spent in reading his books on medicine), and they continued until 9:22. During that time he was secondarily engaged in child tending since the children pestered him continually. From approximately 9:30 until 10:30 he was again primarily engaged in child tending. At 10:35 he began making a wooden spoon, and he continued this activity, again with interference from the children, until after 11:00. Between 11:15 a.m. and 1:52 p.m. he was again primarily involved in child tending, combined in the middle of the period with the consumption of the noon meal. He shaved from 1:53 until 2:09 and was thereafter primarily involved in child tending for the next 2-1/2 hours (except for a brief period around 3:15 when he helped WiMo prepare tea). He chopped wood for the cooking fires between 4:48 and 5:11. For the rest of the waking day, except for a brief period in which he captured chickens and put them up to roost, he was involved primarily in child tending.

WiMo (2)

WiMo was engaged in a much wider range of domestic tasks than WiFa, in greater physical activity, and she actively utilized all three interior spaces (Rooms A, B and the porch) as well as the yard.

WiMo's activities were roughly as follows: From 6:00 until approximately 6:20 she swept the yard and the interior of the entire dwelling. At 6:28 she filled a depression in the yard with dirt, an area which was muddy from a recent rain. Between 6:30 and approximately 6:41 she rested and was involved principally in child tending. At 6:41 she began to wash utensils and to prepare tea. From 6:50 until 7:25 she was intermittently involved in child tending which was combined and alternated with the following activities: collecting and washing tea cups and sweeping and ordering the kitchen. She was again involved in child tending from 7:25 until approximately 8:35. This was a period which included her morning meal. At 8:38 she again cleaned up around the dwelling and from 8:43 until approximately 9:20, she pounded and winnowed rice. Between 9:26 and 9:39 she prepared green gram for cooking. Thereafter she took the sleeping mats out for airing and at 9:47 began to rekindle the fire. This activity continued until 9:58 when she began cooking. Her cooking activities (spelled by washing pots and sweeping) continued until 12:44 when she began serving food. She tended the children intermittently during this period and continued doing so during her noon meal. Child tending continued until 1:44 after which she swept up around the dwelling and pounded millet until 2:05. She was principally involved in child tending until 2:32, and thereafter she pounded millet until 3:12 when she began to boil water for afternoon tea (with help from WiFa) and then collected and cleaned the cups. These activities were combined with child tending and continued until approximately 3:49. Subsequently she worked in the kitchen, packed down millet huskings in a basket and swept for about twenty minutes. Between 4:10 and 4:55 she was primarily involved in child tending except for a brief period when she pounded millet. From 4:55 until 5:05 she swept up around the dwelling and brought in the sleeping mats. She was involved in child tending until she left the compound to bathe at 5:20. She returned to the compound at 6:04 and began taking the firewood (cut by WiFa) into Rooms A and B. She continued this activity for about twenty minutes when she began kindling her own fire. At 6:28 she began cooking, and she continued this activity until approximately 7:50. Between 7:50 and approximately 8:56 she cooked, tended children, and served food, after which she began eating her evening meal. WiMo cleared up the cooking utensils at 9:04. This was followed by a period of relaxation combined with child tending until she went to bed.

Hu (3)

Hu was absent from the compound for most of the day. He worked in the paddy fields and collected sap from the kitul tree. His activities in the domestic setting were a much abbreviated version of WiFa's.

Shortly after he awakened at approximately 6:00 he was involved in child tending and personal care until 6:09 when he left the compound to tap a kitul palm. He returned at 8:14, poured out toddy for sale, read books on medicine, took his morning meal and left the compound at 8:32 with his buffaloes to plow paddy fields. He did not return until 7:42 in the evening when he was engaged in child tending which was combined with eating, leisure and personal care until he went to bed.

Wi (4)

Like WiMo, Wi utilized all the interior spaces in the dwelling as well as the yard. Of the three adult individuals who spent most of their waking day in the dwelling and yard, she was probably the most active. Wi's activities were much the same as WiMo's except that the periods in which the tending of the older children was the sole or major activity were less numerous. In their place were about twelve periods of infant feeding, two periods of infant bathing and a long walk to distant fields to deliver lunch to Hu.

Wi's waking day began at approximately 5:56 with infant feeding which continued until shortly before 6:09. Thereafter she collected kindling and made the fire. At approximately 6:20 she began cutting vegetables, boiling water and conducting other food preparation activities. These activities were alternated or combined with child tending until approximately 6:44. At that time she took out the sleeping mats to be aired and then returned to food preparation and related activities such as collecting additional kindling until 7:28 when she began serving food to the other householders. At 7:32 she again began feeding the infant, combining this activity with serving additional portions of food. She continued until approximately 7:44 when she began boiling water and washing a tub for the infant's bath. She continued to boil water and distribute food. After a brief period in which she collected plants from the garden, she began to bathe the infant at approximately 8:02. This activity continued for approximately fifteen minutes when she successively served food, cleaned up the kitchen, chopped wood and stoked the fire. At 8:38 she fed the infant briefly, and at 8:43 she began oiling and then powdering

him. Between 8:51 and 10:00 she tended the fire, ground millet and tended the children. Shortly thereafter she began cooking, alternating this activity with grinding millet and child tending until 10:35 when she fed the infant until 10:49. She pounded and winnowed cowpeas, and ground millet until 11:19 when she began to feed the infant. She was engaged in this activity until approximately 11:30 when she began grinding millet again for about half an hour. A period of infant feeding followed from approximately 12:00 until 12:14. After gathering some kindling, she left the compound to bathe herself and two of the children and to draw water. She returned at 12:56, and after a period during which she ate her noon meal, she fed the infant from 1:14 to approximately 1:19 when she left the compound. She was absent until 3:41. (Since all three children remained in the compound, the responsibility for their care during this period fell exclusively on WiFa and WiMo.) When she returned at 3:41, she began feeding the infant almost immediately. At 4:05 she left the compound with one of the children to bathe. She returned at 5:07, fed the infant at 5:17, and left the compound at 5:20 to make purchases at one of the village shops. She returned at 5:40 and began serving food and washing dishes. She left to draw additional water from the stream at 5:45 and returned at 5:53. She was engaged in cooking activities until 6:00 when she bathed the infant for about twenty minutes. Thereafter she was engaged in cooking and other food preparation activities until approximately 7:50 when she fed the infant. Child care and food preparation activities occupied her again until 8:58 when she began serving food and then eating her own meal. At 8:59 she began cleaning up in the kitchen, and thereafter she was primarily involved in tending to the needs of the children until it was time for bed.

THE RECORD OF ACTIVITIES ACCORDING TO SPACE AND TIME

A.M.

- 5:30 WiFa was sleeping on a woven mat (paedurə) on the floor of the manDu ge (hereafter, 'porch'). A green, white, and red plaid cloth covered him. WiMo was sleeping in Room A. Hu, Wi, OlSo, YoSo, and InfSo were sleeping in Room B. The doors to both A and B were closed, as were the shutters for the small windows. The chickens belonging to the householders were pecking about the front yard. A galvanized bucket of water with a coconut shell half floating in it was in the yard next to the porch.
- 5:56 WiMo arose and opened the door to A but stayed in the room. She was talking to herself. InfSo began to cry in B.
- 6:00 WiMo came out of A and went into the front yard. She picked up an orange which had fallen from a tree, chased several chickens away from the dwelling, and then went into the porch. WiFa had awakened and was sitting on the charpoy on the porch talking about the presence of the anthropologist. Hu opened the door to B and went into the porch. He was holding YoSo. Hu sat down on the charpoy with WiFa. WiMo went into A and began to sweep the floor with a besom (iləpatə), broom of eakles (hereafter, 'broom'). Hu put YoSo on the mat on the porch and went into the yard to talk to the anthropologist and to look at his notebook.
- 6:03 WiMo came out of A and offered the orange to YoSo who was still on the mat. She returned to A. The child played with the orange. Hu picked up a board from the yard and put it on the south side of A. (The board had been part of a device used in the paddy fields to scare birds away from the ripening crop.) Hu then went back onto the porch, sat down on the charpoy, and inspected the sores he had gotten on his legs from leeches in the paddy fields. (The wounds had been sustained many weeks before, had subsequently enlarged, and had failed to heal.) WiMo came from A with the broom (iləpatə) and started to sweep the piilə, 'stoop', at the south and west side of B. Hu went back into B. WiMo finished sweeping the outside area of the dwelling and went back into A where she got some charcoal. She began rubbing the charcoal on her teeth with her index finger. She came out of A with a small brass water vessel (sembuwə) and went to the west edge of the yard directly in front of the porch. She finished cleaning her teeth there and rinsed her mouth. Wi was breast-feeding InfSo in B. WiFa was lying down on the charpoy on the porch. He sat up and began to tie back his hair. He fastened it in a knot (kondə) at the back of his head.
- 6:09 Wi left InfSo on a mat (paedurə) in B and went into the front yard and looked at the notebook in which the anthropologist was writing. Hu came out of B carrying a pot (muTTiyə) to collect

- A.M. sap from the kitul tree [*caryota urens*] and left the compound. (This type of pot is used for a variety of household purposes, but the one reserved for collecting kitul sap is distinguishable from those in use for food preparation by white markings made with burnt lime. These markings are intended to ward off the 'evil eye' of covetous onlookers.) WiFa went into A, came out again, and picked up YoSo. Wi wandered about outside and then went back into B. WiFa went into the yard with YoSo, and for a moment both watched the anthropologist write. Then they went back into the porch. WiMo returned the brass water vessel to A, got a broom (iləpatə) and went to the front yard where she began sweeping the area. She began with the area at the entrance to the porch. WiFa put down YoSo who went into B. WiFa went to the fence on the northwest side of the dwelling, climbed over it, and urinated there. (Only two of the village compounds have latrines. Most residents use the fringes of their own yards for defecation and urination.) He returned to the porch put his sleeping mat and then his pillow on the charpoy. He put on his belt which had been on the floor in the southwest corner of the porch. The belt had a key attached to it. He went into A.
- 6:15 Wi came out of B, went to the yard on the north side of the dwelling, and began to collect kindling.
- 6:17 WiFa came out of the dwelling into the yard with the brass water vessel. He was washing his mouth and face. Wi returned to the dwelling with leaves, sticks, and coconut shells for a fire and went into B. WiFa finished washing and put the brass water vessel back in A. Wi had started to make a fire in B. YoSo was in B eating rice from a shallow, woven basket (taTTuwə) which Wi had handed him. (The rice was left over from the previous evening's meal.) ElSo was still sleeping in B. WiFa came out of A with a brass betel dish (bulat taTTuwə) containing the makings for a 'betel chew' (pieces of arecanut [*areca catechu*], leaves from the piper betel vine bulat [*piper betle*], and burnt lime) and sat on the charpoy on the porch.
- 6:20 Wi went into A, got a kettle (keetəlee), and dumped the water that was in it into the yard. She went into B, poured water into the kettle from the water jug (kaləgeDiyə), and then put the kettle on the hearth. Wi cut a quarter section from an ash pumpkin (waTTakka, [*cucurbita moschata*]) by pushing the gourd over a knife she had placed on the floor. She held the knife, blade up, with her foot. WiFa had been pounding the ingredients for a betel chew. He used a small brass mortar (bulat wangeDiyə) and a pestle (an old brass bolt).

A.M.

- 6:22 A ten year old village resident of the washerman caste came into the yard and asked on behalf of his grandfather if WiFa were coming to the washerman dwelling. WiFa replied that he would come. The boy left. WiFa began chewing his betel. Then he went to the front of the porch and spit into the yard. Wi brought YoSo into the porch from B and gave him to WiFa who held him on the charpoy.
- 6:28 WiMo finished sweeping the yard. She went into the porch and fetched a mammoty (udaellə) and a large basket (peTTiyə) from the storage area in the roof. WiMo then went to the east side of the dwelling and put dirt from the side of the hill there into the basket. She spread the dirt around the yard in front of B, an area that was low and consequently muddy from a recent rain.
- 6:30 WiFa was holding YoSo on the porch. WiMo smoothed the earth in front of B with her foot. She did not pound it. She put the basket in front of the dwelling at the point where Room A and the porch meet. She leaned the mammoty against the east side of the charpoy and went into B. She began playing with InfSo.
- 6:33 WiFa put YoSo down on the charpoy on the porch and stood up. WiMo picked up InfSo in B, kissed him, fondled him, and talked to him softly. Examples: mayi ukkun koo, 'where is my baby?' mayi kola, 'my boy,' and kiri appacci koo, roughly, 'where is milk father?' (ukkun is an endearing term for infants. kiri appacci, 'milk father,' is an address form for male infants). YoSo was playing with the brass mortar and pestle used for preparing the betel chew. WiMo came out of B and sat on the bench (bankuwə) on the northeast side of the porch against the wall of B. She was holding InfSo. WiFa went over to the bench and talked to InfSo.
- 6:36 Wi came out of B and threw water from a dish into the yard. Then she went back into B and began grinding some chillies (miris [capsicum annum]) on the saddle quern (miris galə, lit., 'chillie stone').
- 6:39 ElSo let out a little cry. Wi was putting some water into a coconut shell which contained small chunks of salt (lunu kaTuwə). (The salt water was used subsequently to season the food being cooked.) ElSo crawled over to Wi who was still at the firepit.
- 6:41 WiFa stopped talking to InfSo. WiMo got up and went to the southwest side of the porch. She put InfSo in the wooden crib

A.M.

which was hanging from a beam. Meanwhile, WiFa was standing in the front of the porch and looking out over the yard. WiMo took a dish from the porch into B. She got some water and washed out this dish and several others which were near the firepit.

- 6:44 WiMo came out of B, gave the crib a swing, and went back into B. Wi came out of B with three sleeping mats (paedurə) and put them over a vine strung between two trees in the southwest portion of the yard. (Sleeping mats are hung in the sun for purposes of general airing. They are also beaten and shaken to rid them of bedbugs (makunu)). WiFa began pushing the crib. ElSo was banging two tin cans together.
- 6:45 WiFa went back into A. Both Wi and WiMo were in B. WiFa came back into the porch and picked up the brass betel dish (bulat taTTuwə). He put it back in A on the table. Wi went from B to A to get a knife. She returned to B. WiMo went to A, got two cups, and put them on the floor of the porch next to the wall of A. She got a shallow basket (taTTuwə), put a small piece of newspaper in it, and took these things and the cups into B. She filled the cups with tea and put a piece of hakuru, a kind of solid brown sugar boiled down from the kitul sap, in the basket. WiMo went into the porch, offered the anthropologist a cup of tea and some hakuru and gave a cup of tea to WiFa. The anthropologist was asked to join them and sit on the charpoy. WiFa was sitting on a very low, backless wooden stool (kolombuwə) near the low wattle and daub wall at the front (west side) of the porch. He was facing the back (east side) of the porch. YoSo went over to WiFa.
- 6:50 WiMo pushed the crib hanging on the porch and then went back into B. She got a cup and filled it with tea. She went to the southwest side of the porch near the doorway to A and drank her tea. Wi left B, climbed over the fence at the northwest side of B, and went into the side yard. She obtained some more kindling. (It is probable that she eliminated there as well.)
- 6:53 Wi returned with material for the fire. She used a tuyere (baTəliiyə), a tube for delivering a blast of air to a fire made from a bamboo culm (hollow aerial stem) internode, to build up the flames. WiFa threw some of the dregs of his tea over his shoulder into the front yard. YoSo started to cry, apparently because he was hungry. He went to Wi. She came out of B, displaying no apparent concern over YoSo's crying. YoSo ran after her but then went over to WiFa. ElSo came out of B. WiMo put a piece of hakuru into YoSo's mouth to stop him from whining. WiMo took some of the tea cups into B, went into A, came out, pushed the crib hanging on the porch, and then went into B. WiFa was still drinking his tea. The anthropologist resumed his position at the south corner of Room B and the porch.

A.M.

- 6:57 WiMo came out of B with a shirt for YoSo who was not dressed. She went back into B and came out with clothes for ElSo. After considerable resistance from the child, she got him dressed in a pair of short pants and a shirt.
- 7:01 ElSo went back over to WiFa. WiMo went back into B. WiFa threw the rest of the dregs from the bottom of his tea cup into the yard. Both YoSo and ElSo were talking to WiFa on the porch. WiMo was cleaning around the firepit in B. ElSo walked over to the crib and gave it a hard shove. WiFa reprimanded him and told him to stop. InfSo urinated in the crib. The urine fell onto the wii koTanTə galə (the broad flat stone used to pound grains, lit., 'stone to pound paddy,'), which was located directly under the crib.
- 7:05 WiMo was now sweeping B with a broom (iləpatə). She started at the saddle quern. She was rearranging the pots and wiping them with her hand. WiFa was still sitting on the low stool but was now also resting against the low, mud wall in the front of the porch. YoSo was sitting on WiFa's lap. ElSo was standing at his shoulder.
- 7:10 WiMo finished sweeping. She went into A, came back with a leaf from an arecanut tree and swept the dirt onto it. ElSo was playing with the orange. WiMo went outside to the front (west side) of B and carefully sifted through some of the sweepings she had carried with her. The sweepings consisted mostly of parts of plants. She saved a few pieces, threw the rest away and went back into B. Then she proceeded to clean around the firepit again. She scooped up some ashes, went outside and threw them to the south of Room A. WiFa got up and went to the front (west) edge of the yard. He came back when YoSo began to cry. WiMo came back, removed InfSo from the crib and sat on the bench on the porch. WiMo asked InfSo if he were hungry and then told Wi that InfSo was hungry.
- 7:18 WiFa took his cup into A. ElSo took another cup and followed him. WiFa came out of A and leaned against the front post of the porch. ElSo stood there also and was eating part of the orange.
- 7:21 ElSo put the orange on the charpoy and started cutting it. WiMo yelled at him to stop. ElSo then cut the orange using the stool (kolombuwə) as a cutting surface. InfSo began to cry. WiFa observed that InfSo was hungry. YoSo came from B and went over to WiFa on the porch. WiFa picked YoSo up and put him in his lap. Wi came out of B into the porch. WiFa put YoSo down on the charpoy. WiFa went into A and came out with a knife.

A.M.

- 7:25 Wi went into A, got a dish, and went back into B. WiFa had gone to the west edge of the yard and come back with a stick for YoSo. He put the knife back in A. He returned to the porch and squeezed the orange so that ElSo could have some of the juice. WiMo picked up InfSo from the crib.
- 7:28 WiMo was standing holding InfSo at the front edge of the porch. WiFa threw the orange peels outside to the back (east side) of the porch. Wi came out of B to WiFa and handed him a dish of rice and cooked ash pumpkin. She returned to B. ElSo also went into B. WiFa sat on the end of the charpoy near Room A and began eating.
- 7:29 ElSo came out of B with a dish of rice. WiMo directed him to get some ash pumpkin. ElSo went to WiFa from whom he got a small portion. ElSo went back into B but immediately came out again. WiMo went into B, left InfSo with Wi, and came out with a dish of rice and ash pumpkin. Wi gave InfSo a little of the cooked food. ElSo went into B again. Wi gave him some more ash pumpkin. Then YoSo went into B crying.
- 7:32 Wi was breast-feeding InfSo in B. Both ElSo and YoSo were in B. WiMo went into A. ElSo went into the porch and hit WiFa with the stick that WiFa had cut for him earlier. WiFa reprimanded the child. ElSo then went into A but only briefly. He went back into B, hitting things with his stick on the way. He next went to the front edge of the yard but returned immediately and went into B. He started to talk to Wi. WiMo was sitting in A at the back (east side) of the room on the floor. She was eating. ElSo went back to the west edge of the yard.
- 7:35 Wi went into the porch with InfSo and put him in the crib. Then she went into A. YoSo began to whine. Wi went back to B with an aluminum pot (muTTiyə) she had gotten from A. WiFa, WiMo, ElSo, and YoSo were still eating. Wi covered the saddle quern by inverting a wide-mouthed pot (korəha) and placing it over the stone cap. ElSo took some more rice to WiFa. YoSo also went over to WiFa. The pot of rice was still on the fire in B. ElSo went to the front edge of the yard. YoSo sat on the floor of the porch next to WiFa.
- 7:40 WiFa got up, washed his dish with some water, and threw the dirty water out the front of the porch to the northwest. Then he took the dish back into A. He went back into the porch, got a cloth which was lying on the floor in the front of the room and wiped his hands. He dropped the cloth in the same place. YoSo went to Wi who was in B. WiFa went into A. YoSo went out

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into the front yard with ElSo who was now near the path leading away from the dwelling. ElSo walked down the path to the place where two water buffaloes were tethered and threw several stones at them. WiFa came out of A and sat down on the bench which was next to the wall of B. He had brought a betel dish (bulat taTTuwə) with all the makings for a chew.

7:44 ElSo and YoSo went back to the porch. Wi was eating in B. WiMo went into B with the dish from which she had been eating. She went into the porch, took the betel dish from WiFa, and sat down on the charpoy. Both WiMo and WiFa were chewing betel. They got up and went out into the yard to watch some men on the path below driving water buffaloes to the paddy fields. ElSo went into B and dragged a mat out of that room into the porch. The mat was rolled and tied. He attempted to untie it. Wi put a kettle of water on the hearth for the baby's bath. She put some cold water into a galvanized tub and washed it out. She took the container to the west edge of the yard and threw the dirty water down the hill. She returned to B. ElSo went into the yard, picked up a rope and took it to WiFa. WiFa played mii goon, 'buffalo,' with him, tying the rope around YoSo's waist and using it as a lead. ElSo was the 'buffalo' and WiFa was the 'cultivator.' Wi was blowing on the fire in B through the tuyere (baTə liiyə). WiMo scolded ElSo for getting too close to the clock which the anthropologist was using to mark time. WiFa 'tethered' ElSo to a tree. He then began to sweep the front yard but turned to untie ElSo saying that it was a bad place for a 'buffalo' to be tied up. Wi went into the yard and stood at the front edge.

7:57 WiFa took the end of the rope and tied it to one of the anchoring stakes in front of the dwelling. (This stake was ordinarily used to hold down the end of a rope which bound a bamboo framework over the thatched roofing. The framework secured the thatch during the summer windy season.) WiMo was standing at the west edge of the yard with YoSo. WiFa went into the porch. With his foot he pushed the orange peels which were lying on the floor in the front (west side) of the porch into the yard. Wi went up the hill east of the dwelling. She returned shortly thereafter with leaves of diyə habərələ [*monochoria hastaeifolia*] and mukunu vaennə [*alternanthera triandra*]. ElSo untied the rope and went into the porch. YoSo also went into the porch.

8:02 Wi went into B and came out with some fruits of the kahaTə tree, 'patana oak [*careya arborea*].' She gave some to ElSo. ElSo and YoSo went into the yard. Wi and WiMo went into B. WiFa went into the yard. ElSo took the rope he had left in

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the yard and began to tie up WiFa's foot. YoSo picked up a piece of cloth which was lying at the west edge of the porch. WiFa took the cloth and wrapped it around YoSo as a 'sarong.' Wi came back into the porch and picked up InfSo from the crib. YoSo began crying because the 'sarong' had rubbed against his skinned knee. WiFa picked him up. ElSo watched his younger brother cry for a moment and then returned to tying WiFa. WiFa told ElSo to stop. Wi put InfSo back in the crib in the porch, went into B, and came out with soap and a tin can for InfSo's bath. WiMo came from B and sat on the charpoy in the porch. She began chewing some betel. ElSo was hitting WiFa with the rope. WiFa took YoSo into the porch. ElSo followed. Wi returned to B and came out with a tub of heated water. Then she went to the crib in the porch to get InfSo. WiFa put down YoSo on the charpoy in the porch and went into the yard. ElSo went into the yard and began playing with a jonge, 'toy bamboo drum,' which had been lying there. WiFa climbed over the fence at the northwest of B and went into the side yard. (He probably eliminated there.) Wi began washing InfSo. She held the baby over the tub and washed his hair first.

8:08 WiFa returned and went into A. YoSo got off the charpoy on the porch and sat on the door sill of B. He was facing the porch and was combing his hair. He was watching the birds which were fluttering around the thatching of the roof and began talking about them. WiFa came from A to the front edge of the porch with a shallow basket (taTTuwə) and a coconut shell half containing medicinal plants. He dumped the contents of the coconut shell into the basket and carried them into A. Wi put InfSo in the tub of water. WiMo went into A. WiFa came back to the front edge of the porch with a small stock of plants.

8:11 Wi took InfSo out of the tub. WiMo came from A into the porch and was combing her hair. Wi began soaping the body of InfSo. A woman from the next village to the south arrived with her two sons. She brought a bottle with her. The woman and the younger of the two boys sat on the bench on the porch. Wi rinsed off InfSo. WiMo sat on the charpoy. The older of the two visiting boys stood against the wall in the front of the porch. WiFa returned to A with the plants and got a metal box which contained papers and chapbooks on medicine. He went into the porch with the box and sat down on the northeast side of the charpoy.

8:14 Hu returned to the compound with the pot (muTTiyə) containing sap from the kitul tree. The visitor offered him some money and gave him the bottle. Hu went into B. Wi gave InfSo to WiMo and

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followed. Hu came out of B. He was rinsing his mouth with water. He went to the west edge of the yard and spit it out. The younger of the two visiting boys went to the bench on the porch and sat down by his mother. The older boy continued standing. WiFa took the metal box to the front of the porch. He squatted and looked into it. ElSo stopped playing with the bamboo drum and came into the porch.

8:17 ElSo went into the yard again. The visiting woman began asking WiMo about intestinal worms. (This conversation was no doubt prompted by the presence of the anthropologist who maintained a first aid kit and a small stock of medicines which were sometimes used by Rangama residents. The medicines included a vermifuge which had been administered to ElSo and YoSo the month before. In Rangama roundworm infestation is a health problem among young children. A few of the more prosperous village residents kept a supply of the same drug which the anthropologists had on hand, but most residents could not afford it and used locally prepared medicines whose effectiveness remains to be assessed.) ElSo picked up a stick from the yard and was playing with it. Hu went into B, was handed a plate of rice and ash pumpkin by Wi, and ate in B near the southwest wall. He also poured some toddy (kitul raa) into the bottle the visiting woman had brought. ElSo and the older visiting boy stood at the post in the front of the porch and watched WiFa. The older boy who was visiting sat down on the bench. WiFa stood up with his papers and went to the charpoy on the porch where he sat down. He resumed going through his papers. ElSo went over to WiFa. YoSo got up from the door sill, went over to WiFa, and then went back to the sill.

8:23 Wi gave the filled bottle to the visiting woman. The woman rinsed off her hands in the tub which had been used for bathing InfSo and stood up to leave. WiFa went into A and came out with another box of papers. He went to the front of the porch near the low wall. YoSo and the younger visiting boy went over to WiFa and stood watching. Wi came from B, washed her hands in the tub in which InfSo had been bathed, and returned to B.

8:25 The visitors left. Hu was finishing his meal. WiMo sat down again on the charpoy. She was still holding InfSo. Hu got a basket (waTə peTTiyə) of books, went to the southwest side of the porch, and started to look through them. ElSo and YoSo went over to him and began handling the books. (Most of the books were about Sinhalese medicine.) Hu yelled at ElSo and YoSo to stop touching the books. Wi came from B and moved the tub in which InfSo had been bathed closer to the wall of B.

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Wi returned to B, got a small log from an area of the floor near the firepit, went to the front edge of the yard, and began cutting it with a hatchet (porəwə). Hu returned the basket of books to B, got his field knife (kaettə), and washed it in the tub in which InfSo had been bathed. ElSo and YoSo went over to WiFa and began banging on his box of papers. WiFa reprimanded them. WiMo put InfSo in the crib in the porch and pulled YoSo into her lap. ElSo was still fussing and trying to get into WiFa's papers.

8:32 Wi took the cut wood to the firepit in B. Hu went into B to the west side of the room. He got some tobacco and a cloth, left the room, and went to the two water buffaloes which were tied up near the path leading away from the dwelling on the west. He began untying them. Wi was making a fire to boil down the kitul sap. WiFa rapped ElSo on the head with his knuckles for playing with the books.

8:35 Hu was shouting calls to the water buffaloes and was attempting to direct them down a path to the paddy fields. ElSo went to the west edge of the yard to watch his father. Wi went from B to watch. Then YoSo went to watch. Wi shouted at one of the water buffaloes which would not move. WiMo went to the west edge of the yard. Wi and WiMo were talking and watching Hu leave for the fields.

8:38 WiMo went into A, got a comb, and went into the porch where she combed her hair. Wi went into B and then to the porch to get InfSo out of the crib. WiMo went into A and came out with a dish. WiFa was putting his papers back in the box. He put a small lock on it. YoSo went to the post in the front of the porch. ElSo went to the front of the porch and dropped the rope with which he had been playing. He watched for a moment and then began playing with WiFa's belt from which the key to the lock on the metal box was hung. ElSo went into B, took off his pants, and got some more rice. WiMo went into B, left the dish, and then went back to A. Wi was breast-feeding InfSo on the charpoy on the porch. ElSo came from B with his dish of rice. WiMo came from A and leaned over Wi and InfSo. ElSo and YoSo went over to WiMo. WiFa took his box of papers into A. WiMo went into A. ElSo followed her. WiMo got a basket of unhusked rice, took it into the front yard, and put it near the rice mortar (wangeDiyə). She returned to A to get the winnowing basket (kullə).

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- 8:43 WiFa came out of A with a shallow basket (taTTuwə), a coconut shell half which contained some medicinal plants, and a vessel (sembuwə) of water. He sat on the low stool in the front of the porch and began preparing medicine. ElSo went into the front yard with his dish of food. WiMo went to the southwest side of the yard where she winnowed some of the rice. ElSo and YoSo went over to WiFa. Wi put some raTə tel, 'imported oil,' (baby oil), all over InfSo's body. WiMo moved the mortar to the center of the yard west of A. She returned to the porch to get a large pestle (moolgaha) and a small basket (aewillə). Wi went into B and got a shirt to put on InfSo.
- 8:48 WiMo began to pound the unhusked rice. Wi went into B again and came back with some baby powder for InfSo. ElSo and YoSo were making threatening gestures and taunting each other. Wi powdered InfSo and then went into B again. She came back with some cloths to cover InfSo's bottom.
- 8:51 Wi put InfSo in the crib and swung it. WiFa put his medicine preparation in A. He returned to the porch and put the coconut shell on the low front wall. He picked up the shallow basket (taTTuwə) and the herbs which were on the floor and went to the charpoy where he sat down. Wi took some cloths which were inside the crib and draped them around the outside of it. She swung the crib. ElSo went into the yard and wandered about. YoSo was sitting at WiFa's feet. Wi went into B to tend the fire.
- 8:55 Wi went to the tub on the porch and washed a cloth in the water. ElSo tied his rope around the bamboo drum and dragged it around the yard. Wi went to the southwest side of the yard and hung the cloth she had just washed over the line. She went back to the porch, picked up a dish and went into B. WiFa went into B, got a basket (waTə peTTiyə) of books from the shelf along the north wall, and returned to the charpoy.
- 9:01 Wi came from B, lifted the cloths which were covering the crib, and talked to InfSo. She put back the cloths and swung the crib. She took out a comb she had brought from B and began combing her hair. YoSo was still sitting near WiFa. ElSo went over to WiMo, then began pulling his bamboo drum around the yard again. Wi went to the west edge of the yard where she continued combing her hair. WiFa returned the basket of papers to the shelf along the north wall of B. Then he went into A. Wi went over to WiMo. She talked to her while combing her hair. YoSo went into the yard, and he and ElSo began running around. WiMo rolled the mortar over against the west wall of A. She put the pestle there also. WiFa came from A with another box of books, sat down on the charpoy on the porch, and looked through them.

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- 9:06 Both ElSo and YoSo were playing near the haystack. Wi went into B and put her comb away. She got some millet (kurakkan [eleusine coracana]) from a small basket (aewillə) and placed it in a coconut shell which was perched over the hole in the center of the rotary quern (kurakkan galə, lit., 'millet stone'), near the north wall. (The coconut shell had a small hole in the bottom which let some of the millet fall into the center hole of the quern.) Wi lifted the top stone slightly to allow some of the millet to fall between the faces of the top and bottom stones. With both hands she grasped a handle on one side of the stone and began turning it. (The millet flour is eventually worked to the side of the stone where it falls on the floor and is collected.) Wi went into the porch to swing the crib and returned to B. YoSo took a book from WiFa's basket on the charpoy. WiFa told YoSo to put it back, but YoSo refused. YoSo went into the yard with the book. Wi came out of B with ElSo's pants. She put them on him.
- 9:13 WiFa put the books back in A. He came back with a basket (taTTuwə), got the herbs he had left on the charpoy, and sat on the stool in the front, northwestern corner of the porch. He began making some more medicine. Wi carried a dish of water into the yard and washed YoSo's face. YoSo went over to WiFa and sat at his feet. WiFa took the book from YoSo. ElSo went into the yard and began pulling the drum again. Wi went into the porch and swung the crib. WiMo got the winnowing basket and the other basket (aewillə) and put them next to the charpoy on the porch. She took another winnowing basket from under the charpoy and put in next to the outside west front wall of A. She returned to the porch and winnowed some rice. She used the basket she had returned to the porch. ElSo went over to WiFa. WiFa went into A.
- 9:19 Wi went into B. She was putting away the money which had been received from the sale of the toddy to the visiting woman. WiFa returned with the makings for a betel chew and sat on the charpoy.
- 9:22 Wi began grinding the millet again in the rotary quern in B. WiMo stopped winnowing. WiFa swung the crib. WiMo went into A. She returned with a tin can and stood at the charpoy. She put the winnowed rice from the winnowing basket into the tin can. She put the tin in the basket (aewillə) and put the winnowing basket up on a pole which formed part of the back wall of the porch. She went into A with the basket and tin of rice. WiFa picked up a cloth from the floor and dusted the charpoy. He scolded ElSo for disturbing some of the items used in making

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the betel chew. Wi stopped grinding the millet. WiMo came from A, got the tub of water from the porch, and went to the west edge of the yard where she dumped the dirty water. Wi began grinding again. WiMo stood at the west edge of the yard for several moments. WiFa took the cloth and went into the yard where he picked up the rope with which ElSo had been playing. WiMo took the tub into B. WiFa hung the rope on the tree at the front edge of the yard. ElSo went over to the haystack. WiFa told him to come back. YoSo was in the yard. WiMo was talking to Wi who was still grinding. WiMo then began straightening the shelf along the north wall of B and the shelf above the firepit. She finished straightening the shelves, went into the porch, swung the crib and went into A. She got some green gram seeds (mun [*phaseolus aureus*]) from A and put them on the southwest side of the charpoy. Then she went into B. WiFa went into the porch, pushed the crib, and went into A. WiMo got an old shallow basket (taTTuwə) and a pestle about fourteen inches long and went into the porch. She took the green gram seeds she had left on the charpoy and, after looking around for a place to work, sat on the sill of the door to B. She put the seeds in the basket and began to pound them.

9:32 WiFa went into the yard and walked to the south side of the dwelling with the boys. Wi went into the porch and swung the crib. ElSo went into the porch with a leaf he had picked up in the yard and sat down next to WiMo. Wi returned to B.

9:39 Wi began grinding again. WiFa began swinging the crib on the porch. (Room B had been dense with smoke for some time now.) A young boy and girl came to the dwelling. (They were relatives from another village who were visiting elsewhere in Rangama.) WiMo took the stool which was on the porch and put it near the front post. The girl sat on it. WiMo got the green gram seeds she had pounded, the basket, and the small pestle. She put the seeds near the firepit in A. Then she got another stool and placed it on the inside of the low wall in the front of the porch. The boy sat on it. Hardly a word was spoken. Then WiMo went to the crib and swung it. ElSo got a knife from B near the door and cut some of the scraps of food which WiMo had left. YoSo went into the porch and played with the leaf which ElSo had brought in with him. WiMo went into A, got her sleeping mat, and took it to the southwest edge of the yard where she hung it on the line. She stood at the edge for a while looking at the path and the village below.

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- 9:47 WiFa had been wandering around the porch and now stood near the anthropologist and watched him write. WiMo returned to A. Wi stopped grinding, got a basket (aewillə) of kurakkan millet, and went into the front yard. She rolled the mortar out into the yard. She went back into the porch, swung the crib for a moment, and then got the mat from the charpoy. She took the mat into the yard and put it next to the mortar. WiMo went into the porch and talked to the visitors. WiMo then went into B. Wi also went into B. Wi got a gunny sack of kurakkan millet earheads from the storage area in the western portion of the room and took it into the yard where she spread it on the mat. WiFa went to the charpoy, grabbed YoSo, and held him next to him. WiMo went into A. Wi went to the west edge of the yard and greeted another resident who was walking along the path below the dwelling. WiMo also went to the west edge of the yard.
- 9:53 Wi got the pestle from the front wall of A, put some of the millet earheads into the mortar, and began to pound them. WiFa stretched out on the charpoy. YoSo went into the yard to the south side of the dwelling. WiMo went to the south side of the house to get some dry leaves for the fire. After she had collected a few, she returned to A.
- 9:56 WiMo got some kindling from the storage shelves above the fire-pit in A. She went into B and got a burning stick from the fire-pit there, returned to A, and began to make a fire with the kindling and the leaves she had collected. WiMo put the green gram seeds and some water in a pot and put it on the hearth. She used the tuyere to build up the flames. YoSo returned to WiFa who was lying on the charpoy. WiFa sat up and YoSo got on the charpoy with him. ElSo was still playing with the scraps of foods near the door to B.
- 10:04 The boy and girl who were visiting left the dwelling. WiMo took the stool she had gotten for the girl and put it in A. WiFa made a turban for YoSo from a cloth which had been on the charpoy. It was supposed to be a saluwə, 'head towel,' like the ones cultivators wear in the fields. WiMo went to the shelves in A, looked through several containers, and dumped things from one into another. She got a cradle for a pot and took it with her into B. Wi went into B, talked to WiMo, and then went into A.
- 10:08 Wi returned to B. WiMo went into A. Wi went into the yard with a large arecanut leaf which had been cut in an oblong shape. WiMo got a shallow basket (taTTuwə) and put it next to the mortar outside. WiMo went into A but immediately went back into B. She again went into A and took an aluminum pot (muTTiyə) with

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her. She went back to B and stirred the kitul syrup which was on the hearth. WiFa, apparently daydreaming on the charpoy, was swinging InfSo in the crib. ElSo grabbed the leaf from YoSo who started to cry. WiFa told ElSo to give the leaf back to YoSo. ElSo did not. WiFa comforted YoSo for a moment, then went to the fence at the northwest corner of B, and got YoSo another leaf.

10:13 WiMo went into the yard. No one was in either Room A or Room B.

10:15 WiMo went back into A. She was cooking. ElSo and YoSo were playing with their leaves on the floor of B. WiFa was watching them from the charpoy. WiMo went into B. ElSo went into the yard.

10:19 Wi went into B to tend the fire, then returned to the front yard, and rolled the mortar back against the exterior of the western wall of A. She returned to B and began to grind the millet in the rotary quern. WiMo went into A. YoSo went over to WiFa and sat in his lap. WiMo got a mamoty from the porch, went over the fence on the north side of the dwelling, and began digging. ElSo got another, smaller mamoty and followed.

10:28 Wi stirred the kitul syrup for a moment and returned to grinding. WiMo swept around the outside of the dwelling. WiFa got up and chased the chickens which had been eating the millet. YoSo followed him. Wi went to the shelves in B where she got a basket (aewillə). Then she went over to the table in the north-western corner of the room. She sifted through some food. WiFa returned from the yard and went into A. He tended the fire. YoSo went into B. WiFa came out of A and sat on the charpoy on the porch. ElSo returned to the porch and played with the leaves. After a short time, he went into B, came out, and got up on WiFa's lap. Wi got a stool (kolombuwə) from the porch and put it in front of the firepit in B. She took the kitul syrup off the fire. ElSo went to the firepit and began playing with a spoon. Wi ordered him to leave. YoSo went to the firepit next to Wi. WiMo was sweeping the porch.

10:35 WiFa went into A. YoSo and ElSo began playing with the tuyere (batə liiyə). Wi grabbed it from them. WiMo gathered up the garbage from the porch and dumped it over the west edge of the front yard. InfSo began to stir in the crib. WiFa went over to the crib and swung it. WiMo got a large basket (peTTiyə) and went into B. WiFa observed that the baby was hungry. Wi got the baby out of the crib, went into B, and began to breast-feed him. WiFa went into the front yard, got a stick, and returned to the porch. He began to cut the stick on the surface of a stool with a field knife. (He was fashioning a handle for a

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coconut shell spoon.) WiMo went into B and stirred the pot of green gram seeds on the fire. YoSo and ElSo were in B, each with an ear of dried maize. WiMo got a tin of dried cowpeas (maeaekaral) from the ceiling shelf in A, returned to B, and put the contents into the pot of green gram seeds on the fire.

10:42 ElSo was next to WiFa, picking the dried maize kernels off the cob. YoSo was still inside B with his cob. Both had a dish for the maize. WiMo took an arecanut leaf from the shelf and put cowpeas into it. ElSo went into B to his mother. She picked some kernels off the cob for him while still breast-feeding the baby. ElSo gave the kernels to WiMo who began to fry them. YoSo was sitting on the floor crying. Wi picked off some kernels for YoSo. ElSo went into the porch and got WiFa to help him with his cob. Wi put InfSo in the crib and went back into B.

10:49 Wi took the shavings which had been made by WiFa while carving the spoon handle and put them near the firepit in B. She then put the cowpeas in the shallow basket (taTTuwə) on the shelf. WiFa continued working on the handle of the spoon. Wi took the shallow basket (taTTuwə) of cowpeas outside, moved the mortar out a little, and began to pound them. WiMo gave ElSo some fried maize in an arecanut leaf. ElSo took it into the porch near WiFa. WiFa swung the baby in the crib and then began to eat. YoSo came out of B with some fried maize in a dish. ElSo sat on the broken rotary quern stone at the west entrance to the porch. YoSo got a stool and placed it next to the post at the front of the porch. He sat on it first, then moved onto the floor next to it. A member of the team surveying the Rangama area arrived and sat on the charpoy. No words were spoken. He had come to buy eggs which was understood since he had bought eggs previously.

10:55 Wi was winnowing the cowpeas in the yard. When she finished, she put them back in the shallow basket (taTTuwə) and returned to B. WiMo was still cooking. Wi got two shallow baskets (taTTuwə) from A which she gave to WiMo. WiMo carefully separated out some of the maize she had cooked and gave it to the anthropologist. Wi began grinding the millet in the rotary quern again.

10:59 ElSo grabbed a shallow basket (taTTuwə) and ran. Wi yelled at him to return it. He came back with the basket and the arecanut leaf containing his maize. But instead of returning

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the basket, he emptied the maize into it and returned the leaf. He went into the porch. WiMo took the pot off the fire. Wi began to eat some cowpeas while grinding the millet. Another member of the survey team arrived and sat on the charpoy. WiMo took the pot, swished some water around in it, and emptied the dirty water over the edge of the front yard. On returning to B, she got two shallow baskets (taTTuwə), put some fried maize into them, and gave them to the two surveyors. Then she went into A to tend her own fire. She got a pot which she swished clean and emptied over the back (east side) of the porch on her way into B. There she sat down on a stool and poured some water from a brass vessel (sembuwə) into the pot. ElSo went into B. Wi got a mat from the line in the southwestern portion of the yard and put it on the floor on the west side in B. She got InfSo from the crib and put him on the mat. YoSo went to Wi in B. One of the surveyors began inquiring about eggs. WiMo said there were no eggs, even though she had several. The first surveyor to arrive left.

- 11:16 The chickens began scratching in the porch. YoSo was standing at the northwest corner of the porch. He moved to the broken rotary quern stone at the entrance.
- 11:19 WiMo took a pot of dirty water and dumped it into the front yard. Wi was breast-feeding InfSo. WiMo talked to the remaining surveyor, then went back into A. She returned to B without the pot and began going through tins on the shelves.
- 11:22 WiFa finished fashioning the spoon handle. He gave it to ElSo and told him to take it to Wi. ElSo did so and then came back to his grandfather who had moved to the bench and had begun talking to the surveyor. WiMo went into A. YoSo scraped the sores on his knee and went into B crying. WiMo went into B to console him. After comforting him, she took InfSo from Wi. Wi went to tend the fire in B. She went into the porch, got more of the shavings from the newly fashioned spoon handle, and put them near the firepit in B. WiFa pushed the remaining shavings from the porch into the front yard with his foot. Both ElSo and YoSo were still eating their maize. ElSo had moved to the bench on the porch. After putting InfSo back on the mat, WiMo went to the stoop along the south wall of B near the point where it joins the porch and began talking to the surveyor. WiFa stood on the southwest side of the porch. ElSo talked to WiFa, then slapped him. WiMo went into the yard to chase the chickens away from the kurakkan millet earheads which were drying. WiFa sat on the bench. He was still talking to the

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surveyor. WiMo brought a mammoty into the porch, put it to the side of the charpoy, and went into the yard again to chase the chickens. Wi was eating cowpeas in B. WiMo went into B, and she and Wi began talking.

- 11:32 WiMo went to chase the chickens away from the millet. WiFa was still sitting on the bench talking to the surveyor. Wi tended the fire in B. WiMo moved the mat of millet nearer the dwelling so as to keep it in sunlight. Wi returned to grinding the millet in the rotary quern. YoSo was at her feet. WiMo put the millet in a large shallow basket (waTTiyə), took it into B, and emptied the contents into a basket (aewillə). She hung the large shallow basket on the east wall. Then she tended the fire. WiFa stood up, grabbed a long bamboo pole which was usually used to knock down fruit from the orange trees in the yard, and chased several chickens away from the dwelling.
- 11:39 The second surveyor to arrive left. YoSo came to WiFa who held him for a few moments before he put him on the charpoy. WiFa was standing near the low wall of the porch. ElSo kicked a chicken which was sitting under the charpoy. Then he grabbed it by the tail and tossed it out of the room into the yard. YoSo laughed. WiMo had been tending the fire in B. She went into the porch. Wi also went into the porch. WiFa got some betel leaves from A. Wi returned to her grinding in B. WiMo went to the ceiling shelves in A. She got a large basket (peTTiyə), grabbed a chicken in the porch, and put the basket over it. WiFa got another basket and put it over another chicken. Both birds were in the rear portion (east side) of the porch. WiFa sat on the bench. WiMo got some chillies from the shelves over the firepit in B and put them on the saddle quern. She sprinkled the chillies with water. She tended the fire and looked after InfSo. Then she went into A where she got a small pestle fourteen inches long and a burning stick from her firepit. She returned to the firepit in B. ElSo and YoSo had been playing together but now turned their attention to WiFa.
- 11:48 WiMo, in B, mixed up kurakkan flour and coconut oil for taləpə, 'a kind of porridge.' WiFa moved to the charpoy and began playing with ElSo and YoSo. YoSo had a safety pin with which he was poking his teeth. YoSo went into B. ElSo went into B. YoSo returned to the porch and went out into the yard with WiFa.
- 11:55 WiMo was still mixing porridge in B. Wi was still grinding the kurakkan millet. WiFa picked up a stick from the yard and

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peered over the front wall of the porch. WiMo put the porridge on the hearth in B. ElSo came out of B and went into the yard where he dragged his toy drum about. YoSo was on the porch now, wrapping himself in some of InfSo's cloths. WiMo, still in B, mixed more water into the porridge with her hand. (The smoke in the room was very dense.)

12:00 WiFa got a box containing letters and personal papers down from the rafters in the porch and began to go through it. ElSo and YoSo watched him. Wi, still in B, got down a red onion and a bottle of coconut oil from the bottom shelf on the north wall. She put a knife between her toes to hold it steady and cut the onion by pushing it against the knife. She transferred the ash pumpkin left over from the morning to a new container. She got InfSo from the crib in the porch, lay down in B on the mat, and began to breast-feed the child.

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12:04 WiMo blew on the fire in B with the tuyere (baTə liiyə). She then put coconut oil in the bottom of a small, shallow cooking pot (appəle).

12:07 ElSo and YoSo were on the porch picking over the articles from WiFa's box. WiFa began putting his things back in the box. A chicken began pecking at the kurakkan millet earheads. Elso picked up the long bamboo pole from the porch and scared off the chicken with it. Wi was still breast-feeding InfSo in B. YoSo went into B.

12:10 WiMo was grinding chillies on the saddle quern in B. YoSo left B and went back to the porch. He began to wrap himself in InfSo's cloths again. Wi took InfSo off her breast, came out of B, and put him in the crib in the porch.

12:14 Wi left the dwelling and went up the hill to the east to gather firewood. WiFa went into the yard with YoSo. ElSo was standing at the front edge of the porch with some maize in a shallow basket (taTTuwə). WiMo was tending the fire in B. She put the kurakkan millet flour in a basket (aewillə). YoSo went back into B, sat on a mat, and laughed and fussed. WiFa returned to the porch and sat on the charpoy. ElSo got an egg from one of the chickens caged under the baskets on the porch, took it to WiMo in A, and was told to take it to WiFa. WiFa and ElSo were on the porch. WiFa took the egg and put it in a basket under the charpoy. YoSo began calling for Wi who had still not returned. WiFa lay down on the charpoy but got up almost immediately to chase chickens away from the dwelling.

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- 12:21 After chasing the chickens, WiFa again lay down on the charpoy. WiMo was still tending the fire in B. ElSo went calling for Wi.
- 12:23 Wi returned with an armful of firewood. She took the pot cleaned by WiMo and threw the dirty water into the yard to the west of A. ElSo and YoSo returned from the yard, went to the porch, and began hitting WiFa. Then they went into B. Wi went into B, got a kaləgeDiyə, 'water jug,' picked up YoSo and left the compound with him to bathe. ElSo ran around the house looking for a cup. He got one from the porch and ran off calling for his mother. The baby began fussing which prompted WiFa to swing the crib. WiFa then went to the front of B, picked up the long bamboo pole, and chased the chickens away from the dwelling with it. He then returned to sit on the charpoy on the porch.
- 12:28 WiMo was still tending the fire in B. WiFa got up, went to the front of the porch, looked out, and then returned to sit on the charpoy.
- 12:30 WiFa lay down on the charpoy. He got up again, went into the yard, grabbed the pole, and scattered the chickens. He returned to the charpoy on the porch. WiMo was in B making porridge. WiFa got a bottle of coconut oil from the porch, put a thin smooth stick of wood into it, and began smoothing the oil from the stick over his hair and arms. Then he took out a straight razor and began sharpening it on a pumice stone.
- 12:40 WiMo was inside B stirring the porridge with a big paddle (taləpə pəttə).
- 12:44 WiFa went into A and returned to the porch. WiMo went into A got an aluminum dish and one made of glazed earthenware, and went back into B. WiFa went to the charpoy on the porch. WiMo got another glazed earthenware dish from A. She went back into B and filled the dishes with porridge. WiFa went into A and returned to the porch with a clear glass. He went into B, gave it to WiMo, and returned with a lime to squeeze on his porridge. WiMo gave a dish of porridge and cooked green gram seeds with cowpeas to WiFa who went to the charpoy on the porch and began to eat. WiMo took the glass, poured some water into it, rinsed her mouth, and spat the water into the yard. She returned to A.
- 12:54 ElSo and YoSo returned from bathing. WiMo came out of A with an aluminum dish. ElSo and YoSo began to pick at WiFa's food on the porch. WiFa stopped them and then gave a little to YoSo.

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- 12:56 Wi returned from bathing, carrying water for household use. YoSo began nibbling at WiFa's food again. ElSo went into B and was sitting on a stool. He began eating, went out to the porch, and then returned to B. YoSo went into A. Wi went into A and came out with YoSo who had a glazed earthenware dish. Wi and YoSo went into B. WiFa chased the chickens away from the dwelling, got his food, and stood at the front of the porch. ElSo and YoSo were on the floor in B eating. WiMo cleaned a dish with water and dumped the contents in the yard. WiFa went outside to chase chickens, carrying his food. WiFa went back into B with his plate to get more green gram.
- 1:00 ElSo went to the western edge of the yard with his food and stood there. WiFa was pushing the crib as the baby was stirring. WiMo was sitting on the rotary quern in B and was eating. WiFa went toward the front of the porch. He pushed the crib again. Wi was sitting on a stool and eating in B. YoSo was eating near her. He had some rice.
- 1:04 WiFa went into B for more porridge, returned to the porch, and squeezed a lime onto the food. ElSo went into B for more food and came out with some rice. WiFa scared a few chickens away by shaking the bamboo pole with his foot and sat down on the charpoy. Everyone was eating.
- 1:07 WiFa went into B saying that he could not eat any more. He got a pot (sembuwə) of water, held his hands over the back of the porch, and rinsed them. He gave his dish to Wi. He gave the crib a push, then got another dish from the charpoy, and went into A. He left A to chase the chickens away from the dwelling. Then he proceeded up the hill to the south side of the dwelling, climbed a tree, and picked some leaves from a betel vine which had been cultivated there. ElSo came out to the front of the porch with a pot (sembuwə), washed his hands, and dumped the water. He returned to B. ElSo and YoSo had completely disrobed.
- 1:14 WiFa returned and went into the porch. ElSo went into the porch. WiFa put a shirt on ElSo who resisted. Wi came out of B and threw water out the back (east side) of the porch. She took InfSo who was fussing out of the crib, went into B, sat down on a mat, and began to breast-feed him. YoSo went into the porch and began playing with the water and dishes there. WiMo was still sitting on the rotary quern in B eating. WiFa was in A preparing the ingredients for a betel chew. ElSo went outside. YoSo threw the water he was playing with into the yard at the front of the porch. He put the dish inside B, then went into the yard.

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- 1:17 WiMo finished eating and went over to the hearth in B. WiFa went into the porch briefly, then into the yard to chase the chickens. Wi was still breast-feeding InfSo. WiMo went to the front of the porch and then to the rear where she threw out some water. She then went to A carrying a glazed earthenware dish. WiFa returned to the porch, finished preparing the ingredients for his betel chew, and put them in his mouth. WiMo went into the porch and looked down over the village path. WiFa lifted the baskets covering the chickens, picked up an egg, and handed it to WiMo. WiFa put the basket on the end of a pole at the back of the porch. WiMo took the egg and put it in A.
- 1:19 WiMo went into B. WiFa shook the pole to scare the chickens. Wi stopped breast-feeding InfSo, got a cloth from the porch, and returned to B. WiFa went to the west edge of the yard and stood there with YoSo. WiMo went into the yard, then to the west edge of it where she called to a passerby below. She returned to A and then went into the porch. Wi left the compound with food she had wrapped up for Hu who was harvesting paddy in the fields. She also took a knife. WiMo took a dish containing food and a basket (taTTuwə) into A. WiFa went into B. ElSo and YoSo went into the porch and lay on the floor. WiMo came from A with a wild mango fruit, aeTəmbə (*mangifera zeylanica*). WiFa was using a knife to peel an orange which had fallen from a tree. WiMo ate one wild mango on the porch and went into to A to get another one which she gave to ElSo. Then she went into B and began washing cooking pots. ElSo was sitting on the bench on the porch.
- 1:31 YoSo was on the charpoy on the porch eating the orange which WiFa had peeled and given him. WiFa went into A and put the knife back. YoSo followed him and threw the orange peels on the floor of A. WiFa went into the porch. He and ElSo were at the front of the porch. InfSo was fussing in the crib. WiMo came out of B, picked up InfSo, went to the bench on the porch, and sat down. WiFa went over and said to the baby, "kiri appacci koo, 'Where is milk father?'" (referring to the baby). WiFa then went to the front of the porch and shook the pole to chase the chickens. He followed them into the yard. ElSo was eating his wild mango on the door sill of B.
- 1:36 YoSo was on the charpoy finishing the orange. WiFa went into the porch and gave a betel leaf to WiMo. YoSo sat down on the floor near WiMo. ElSo went over to WiFa and asked for another mango. ElSo and WiFa went into A. WiFa got another one and gave it to ElSo. WiFa, ElSo, and YoSo went into the yard and

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wandered about. WiFa went back into the porch. YoSo returned to the porch. WiFa began playing with InfSo and talking to him. He said such things as mayi ukkun koi, 'where is my baby?' He took him from WiMo and sat down on the charpoy.

1:44 WiMo went into B and swept the room with a broom (iləpatə). ElSo returned to the porch. ElSo was pounding an orange on the bench. WiFa told ElSo to stop, but he continued. WiFa put InfSo in the crib, got a dish from B, took the orange from ElSo, and squeezed the juice from it into the dish. ElSo got another wild mango from A and returned to the porch. WiFa sat on the charpoy and held YoSo.

1:50 ElSo was drinking his orange juice. WiMo began pounding kurakkan millet in the yard. WiFa sat down on the charpoy on the porch with YoSo. ElSo was sitting on the floor of the porch holding the mango. YoSo sat on the floor also. WiFa went to the front edge of the yard with his shaving equipment and began shaving several days growth of beard. WiMo began winnowing the millet.

2:00 B. G. MacDougall was putting antiseptic and bandages on the sores on YoSo's legs. WiMo took the winnowed millet into B on an arecanut leaf.

2:05 It started to rain. WiMo took up the mat on which the millet had been spread to dry in the yard and put it on the floor of the porch. She then took the rice mortar and inverted it to keep the inside dry. WiFa returned to the porch. WiMo summoned ElSo and looked at a sore on his ear. WiMo took YoSo into B.

2:09 It stopped raining. InfSo began crying. WiFa pushed the crib and then went over to the edge of the yard. ElSo hit WiFa with a stick. WiFa reprimanded ElSo. ElSo grabbed at WiFa's sarong. YoSo was lying on a mat in B. WiMo took InfSo from the crib, sat on the charpoy, and rocked him. WiFa put the soap he had been using for shaving back in B. Then he chased the chickens with the bamboo pole which was resting on the floor at the entrance to the porch and which extended into the yard. He went into the yard at the front edge and continued shaving. WiMo yelled at the chickens and chased them away from the porch.

2:19 WiFa finished shaving, went back to B, and put away the brass water vessel (sembuwə) he had been using. Then he went into A. WiMo got up and straightened the cloths in the crib. She went

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into A with InfSo. WiFa and WiMo came out of A and went into the yard. WiFa tied his hair back in a knot. WiMo went into the porch, put the baby in the crib, gave it a push, and went into B. WiFa went into the porch. Both went into the yard again. WiMo went to the west edge. WiFa went to sit on the sill of the door to B. ElSo was pulling the toy drum around the yard.

2:32 WiFa put a cloth on the front wall of the porch and went into A. WiMo went into B and was tending the fire. There was a pot on the fire with kitul syrup in it. WiFa went into the yard. YoSo had fallen asleep on the mat in B. WiFa was on the porch swinging the crib. WiMo put the millet which was on the arecanut leaf into a basket (aewillə) and put the basket on a shelf in B. WiFa chased chickens away from the dwelling area. He then picked up an arecanut leaf from the porch, put it behind the rotary quern in B, and returned to the porch. WiMo dumped the kurakkan millet from the mat onto the floor of the porch. She rolled up the mat, banged it, and put it in A.

2:40 WiFa was sitting on the charpoy on the porch. ElSo was sitting on the bench eating rice. WiFa got up, went to the front of the porch, and looked out. WiMo went into the porch, swung the crib, went into A, and then returned to the porch. She sat on the charpoy and made herself a betel chew. InfSo began to cry. WiFa pushed the crib, fixed the cloths, and then noticed that the cloths were soiled. ElSo was at the front of the porch. WiFa took InfSo over to the bench on the porch, talking to him softly. Ex.: (mayi ukkun koo, 'where is my baby?'). WiMo went into B to tend the fire, then onto the porch to chase chickens. She got the pestle which she had been using outside and began pounding millet on the porch.

2:46 ElSo was sitting on the bench on the porch. WiMo continued to pound there. WiMo alternated between pounding and resting. ElSo and YoSo were on the floor near the bench playing with a cloth.

2:53 ElSo crawled onto the pile of millet earheads and was scolded by WiMo. Then ElSo went to the front of the porch and played with a bucket of water. After that he went into the yard to the west of B. WiMo scolded him for playing with dirt. ElSo went off further into the yard.

3:00 WiMo was still pounding. WiFa was still on the bench holding InfSo.

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- 3:05 ElSo returned to the porch and began eating rice again. He crawled over to the pile of millet earheads, grabbed one, sat on the bench, and put it into his mouth.
- 3:10 WiMo continued to pound. She stopped for a moment and sifted through the grain with her hand. InfSo began to cry, and WiFa observed that the child was hungry.
- 3:12 WiMo went into B, picking up ElSo's dish on the way. WiFa went to the front of the porch with InfSo. ElSo grabbed at InfSo in an aggressive manner. WiFa scolded him, saying, "That's enough boy!" WiMo put a tea kettle (keetalee) on the hearth in B and went into the porch.
- 3:15 WiFa sat down on the bench. WiMo sat on the charpoy on the porch. WiFa gave InfSo to WiMo. ElSo went over to WiFa. ElSo was trying to get a bottle containing tea leaves from WiMo. WiFa went into B. He came out and WiMo gave him the bottle. He talked briefly to InfSo. Ex.: mayi appacci koo, 'where is my [little] father?' ElSo tried to grab the bottle from WiMo who grew angry and threatened the child. WiFa sat down on the bench. ElSo came over, and WiFa held him.
- 3:22 WiFa went into B with the bottle containing tea leaves and put the leaves in the kettle. He took the pot off the fire. ElSo tried to grab the cap to the bottle, and WiFa threatened him. WiFa returned the bottle to A. ElSo ran through the pile of millet on the porch and was scolded by WiMo. WiFa went into B, got the kettle, took it to the porch near the bench, and then went to A. ElSo went into the yard to play with his toy drum.
- 3:29 WiFa came out of A into the yard with two cups and a glass which he placed on a bench and filled with tea. ElSo came over to watch WiFa who told him to go away. ElSo hit the bench, and WiFa yelled at him. WiFa gave ElSo a cup of tea. WiMo put InfSo in the crib. WiFa put a glass of tea on the low wall at the front of the porch. ElSo jumped up and hit WiFa. WiMo went into A.
- 3:34 WiMo came out of A with a piece of hakuru (solid brown kitul sugar). WiFa was sitting on the bench. WiMo gave a piece of the sugar to WiFa and gave the crib a push. ElSo was sitting on the bench with WiFa. WiMo went into B and put the pot of kitul syrup back on the fire. She blew on the coals. Then she sat down on the charpoy on the porch. ElSo went to get more hakuru sugar from A. WiMo stopped him and threatened him. WiMo chased the chickens away

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from the dwelling. She took InfSo out of the crib and gave him a little tea on a spoon. ElSo took a large, shallow basket (waTTiyə) of rice huskings and spilled them on the ground. WiMo and WiFa yelled at ElSo, and WiFa raised his hand threatening to strike him.

- 3:41 Wi returned from the field with some dishes and a large log. Her milk had let down during her absence and there were now wet spots on her blouse. Wi went into B carrying InfSo. She sat on the floor near the door and began to breast-feed InfSo. WiMo took the kettle and cups into B. WiFa went into A. ElSo wandered around the yard.
- 3:45 WiFa went into the yard with ElSo following him. WiMo took more cups into B.
- 3:49 WiFa went into the porch. ElSo returned with a shallow basket (taTTuwə) containing a leaf. WiFa went into A, then into the porch where he sat on the bench. ElSo went into B, then came out again, still carrying the basket. He had porridge on his fingers. WiMo was in B drinking a glass of water. WiMo and Wi were playing with InfSo and talking to him. WiFa went into A to get utensils and ingredients for a betel chew with ElSo after him. ElSo threw a stick at WiMo who was coming out of B. Then he pushed WiFa's buttocks. WiFa went over to the bench on the porch and sat down to make a betel chew.
- 3:56 WiMo put the millet earheads in a large basket (peTTiyə). Wi put InfSo in the crib on the porch, then went back to B. WiMo was standing on the earheads in the big basket to pack them down. Wi was at the hearth. ElSo began pestering her. Wi responded by playing with him. Then ElSo left for the yard, stayed there briefly, and returned. WiMo went to the west edge of the yard and looked out over the village.
- 4:01 WiMo returned to packing down the earheads in the basket. Wi went into the porch and pulled a cloth down from the crib. WiMo put up another cloth. WiMo went into B to fetch a broom (iləpatə) and began sweeping the porch.
- 4:04 WiFa went to A and put back the utensils he had been using to make a betel chew.
- 4:05 Wi left the compound with ElSo to bathe. WiFa went to the bench on the porch. WiMo went over to the path, talked to Wi, came back with a cup, and put it in B. WiMo went back

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to the porch, then into B where she stood in the doorway holding the broom. A twenty-three year old male Goyigama village resident who worked as an assistant schoolteacher in a neighboring village arrived. (When he was not teaching, he often served as an assistant to the anthropologists.) He sat down on the charpoy on the porch and talked to WiMo. YoSo began whining in B.

- 4:10 WiMo began sweeping again and continued to talk to the schoolteacher. WiMo went into B and got YoSo who had begun crying. Then she went over to the door to the porch. WiFa and the schoolteacher began talking on the porch. InfSo was fussing. The schoolteacher pushed the crib. WiMo went over and pushed the crib and then went to the front of the porch. She took a cloth from the crib, pushed the crib again, and went back to the door of B. She stood against the doorframe.
- 4:18 The assistant schoolteacher pushed the crib in which InfSo was lying. He was sitting with his legs crossed on the charpoy on the porch. WiFa was sitting on the bench and the two men continued talking. WiMo was standing at the door to B holding YoSo.
- 4:19 InfSo was still fussing. The schoolteacher pushed the crib. WiMo sat down on the bench on the porch and put YoSo in her lap. WiMo shooed the chickens which had come to peck at the pile of millet remaining on the floor of the porch. One chicken returned and WiMo scared away the bird again. It came back, and this time the schoolteacher arose and chased it. YoSo fell asleep. The schoolteacher began to push the crib again.
- 4:26 The schoolteacher continued pushing the crib.
- 4:30 WiMo chased the chickens away from the dwelling.
- 4:37 The schoolteacher stopped pushing the crib. WiMo was shooing the chickens.
- 4:42 The schoolteacher went to the west edge of the yard and began talking to passers-by on the path below. WiFa went over to the west edge of the yard also. WiMo went into B with YoSo and put him on the mat.
- 4:44 WiFa went into A. WiMo went into A and got a large, shallow basket (waTTiyə) of millet. WiMo went into the yard, rolled out the mortar, and put the millet from the basket into it. WiFa came out of A, stood at the bench on the porch, and then went into the yard. WiMo went into the porch, put the large

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pestle under the charpoy, and pulled out a smaller one. She began to pound in the yard. The schoolteacher left the compound. WiFa was at the front of the porch. He pushed the crib and then went out to the yard and over the fence to the northwest of B.

- 4:48 WiMo finished pounding. She put the huskings in a basket (peTTiyə). InfSo began to cry. WiFa returned to B. WiFa pushed the crib on the porch. WiMo went to A, then went into the porch with a hatchet for WiFa who went into the yard. He began chopping the large log which had been brought by Wi. WiMo got a winnowing basket, put the millet in it, and put the basket under the charpoy. She began to tend InfSo who was still crying.
- 4:52 WiMo picked up InfSo who was still crying. Then she picked up her broom and put it up in the ropes holding the roof gutter. She sat down on the charpoy with InfSo.
- 4:54 WiMo got up and went to the edge of the front of the porch and watched WiFa chop wood. She spoke soothingly to InfSo.
- 4:55 WiMo put InfSo in the crib in the porch and swung it. She took down the broom from the ropes holding the gutter and began sweeping up the rice huskings which ElSo had previously spilled.
- 4:57 She finished sweeping the room and the stoop. Then she swept the broken rotary quern stone at the entrance to the porch.
- 4:58 WiMo pushed InfSo in the crib. Then she went into the southwestern portion of the yard and got two sleeping mats from the line. She rolled up one. Then she grabbed the other and a cloth which was hanging on the line. She went back to the porch. She put the rolled up mat on the bench on the porch and put the other on the charpoy. She went over to the crib where InfSo was crying. She lifted InfSo from the crib, spread the cloth she had taken from the line over the mat on the charpoy, and put InfSo on it. Then she sat on the charpoy herself. She spoke softly to the baby for a while. Ex.: kiri kolla koo, 'where is the milk boy?' and mayi banDa koo, 'where is my Banda?' (banDa = Goyigama male). Then she got up and went into B with the other mat. She returned to the porch. She shook out some cloths and hung one on the line over the charpoy, and the others, on the front wall. She put one back in the crib and then went over to the charpoy with another. She began talking to the baby again.
- 5:05 WiFa put the cut wood at the southwestern corner of the dwelling.

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- 5:07 Wi and ElSo returned from bathing. ElSo was carrying a bamboo pole. WiFa took it and put it next to the haystack in the southern portion of the yard. Wi took washed clothes from a galvanized bucket she was carrying and hung them on the line.
- 5:09 InfSo defecated on the cloth which was placed under him on the charpoy. WiMo rose, spat out the front of the porch and went into the yard. ElSo began picking up pieces of wood in the yard for WiFa.
- 5:11 WiFa went into the porch and put the axe he had been using to chop wood under the charpoy. Then he went over to InfSo and played with him. WiMo picked up a large shallow basket (waTTiyə) and walked around the yard. WiFa picked up InfSo and went to the front of the porch and talked to him. (Ex.: mayi ukkun koo, 'where is my baby?'). WiMo returned to the porch with the basket. Wi went into B. WiFa returned to the charpoy with InfSo. WiMo stood at the front of the porch. Wi took the baby from the porch and returned to B.
- 5:16 WiMo went over to the west edge of the yard. WiFa went into A. WiMo went back to B. ElSo was playing in the yard. WiFa took a box of books from A and went to the front of the porch with it. ElSo stopped playing and went over to WiFa and began to go through the box of books. WiFa told him to stop.
- 5:17 Wi began breast-feeding the baby. ElSo grabbed a book from WiFa and ripped it. WiFa made a fist and rapped ElSo hard on the top of his head twice. ElSo ran to Wi crying. ElSo went to the front of the porch and then into the yard. WiFa went into the yard. WiMo went into A, cleaned a pot (muTTiyə), went into the porch, threw the dirty water out the front of the dwelling, and returned to A. WiFa returned to the porch.
- 5:20 WiMo put some eggs in a basket (aewillə) for the anthropologists. Wi finished feeding InfSo and put him on the charpoy. WiFa was on the porch chewing betel. Wi got some change from B and counted it. Then she put it in a basket (peTTiyə) which also contained ration coupons for rice. She was headed for a village shop. WiMo reminded her to get coconut oil. Wi left the compound carrying the basket. WiMo picked up a galvanized bucket and left the compound to get water.
- 5:27 ElSo put a piece of broken glass in his mouth. WiFa reprimanded him and chased him around the dwelling. WiFa sat down with InfSo at the front of the porch. ElSo sat on the floor of the porch playing with cloths, one of which he had pulled from the crib.

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- 5:32 WiFa was walking around the porch carrying InfSo. He sat on the bench with him and talked to him. Ex.: kiri kolla koo, 'where is the milk boy?'
- 5:34 WiFa got up, went to the front of the porch, and looked out. YoSo began crying and fussing in B.
- 5:37 WiFa put InfSo in the crib and swung it. Then he went into B. He poured water for YoSo and gave it to him. He returned to pushing InfSo. YoSo began crying again. WiFa went back into B, picked him up, and carried him into the porch. WiFa then continued pushing the crib. YoSo got up on the charpoy. WiFa put him on the floor.
- 5:40 Wi returned with a full basket of milled rice. WiFa was holding InfSo on the porch. YoSo was crying on the floor. Wi lit the small oil lamp in B, got some cooked rice, put it in dishes, and brought it into the porch for ElSo and YoSo. WiFa was sitting on the charpoy with InfSo. Wi went back into B and began to wash dishes. She stoked the fire. ElSo went to the line in the southwestern portion of the yard and got a cloth which he gave to Wi. Then ElSo sat on the charpoy.
- 5:45 Wi left the compound with a water jug (kaləgeDiyə) and a galvanized bucket. YoSo was still sitting on the floor at the bench on the porch. WiFa and ElSo were sitting on the charpoy. WiFa was holding InfSo. Both ElSo and YoSo were eating the cooked rice their mother had given them. WiFa told ElSo to go into B and get a cup of water for YoSo. ElSo left and returned with the water. WiFa took it from ElSo and gave it to YoSo. YoSo drank some of the water and dumped the rest into the yard where he wandered about for a few minutes. YoSo returned to the porch and sat on the charpoy.
- 5:53 Wi returned with the vessels filled with water. (It had begun to rain again.) Wi went to the line in the southwestern portion of the yard and removed some cloths. ElSo went to the edge of the front of the porch, sat down, and continued eating.
- 5:54 Wi returned to B with the cloths from the line. ElSo and YoSo followed her into the room. She stoked the fire. ElSo went back to the charpoy on the porch. Wi put a pot (muTTiyə) of water on the fire for the baby's bath. She took the galvanized tub from B onto the porch and put it on the floor. When the water was warm, she poured it into the tub.

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- 6:00 WiFa put two chickens up to roost for the night in the chicken house in the southeastern portion of the yard. Wi took a bar of soap and a small piece of cloth, put the baby in the tub, and began to bathe him. She washed the child's face and splashed water on it. Then the child began to cry. ElSo was sitting on the charpoy on the porch twiddling a stick. WiFa returned, caught two more chickens, and put them in the chicken house. YoSo came out of B and went into the porch by his mother.
- 6:03 WiFa continued chasing the remaining chickens. Wi was still bathing InfSo.
- 6:04 WiMo returned to the compound carrying water. She went over to the line in the yard and removed the remaining cloths and a mat. ElSo went over to WiMo and drank some water from the bucket. WiMo yelled "what are you doing?" She grabbed the bucket and took it into A. ElSo began eating again on the porch. Then he went over to Wi and struck her. WiFa returned from the chicken coop. WiMo went into the yard, picked up a stick, broke it into pieces, and took it into A. WiFa continued to chase and catch the chickens.
- 6:10 Wi was finishing bathing the baby on the porch. ElSo and YoSo had begun to play with the soap. WiFa was standing in the yard. WiMo took a load of firewood into A. WiFa went to the charpoy and dried off his face on a cloth which was lying there. WiMo brought another load of firewood into A. WiFa hung up the cloth on the line on the porch and dried off his back with another cloth. WiMo brought a load of firewood into B. She returned to the yard and brought another load into B. WiMo took some cooking pots from B into the yard and began washing them. WiFa tied up his head with a cloth. Wi put InfSo in the crib. WiFa grabbed another chicken and took it to the chicken coop. Wi rocked the baby. WiFa returned to the porch. WiMo went into B with the pots and lit a small lamp there. She wrung out her hair which was wet from bathing. WiFa took the lamp into A and put it on the table. ElSo and YoSo were fighting over the soap dish. WiMo took more firewood into B.
- 6:20 YoSo cried and went into B. ElSo went into B.
- 6:22 WiFa was in A. He was standing and eating rice. WiMo took a burning stick from the hearth in B to the one in A.
- 6:24 ElSo and YoSo were in B. WiMo closed the small window in A. (By this time the window in B had also been closed.) Wi went into the porch, pushed the crib in which InfSo was lying, and went back into B. Wi began measuring out the husked rice and put

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it in a large shallow basket (waTTiyə). ElSo was pestering Wi and attempting to play with the rice. WiFa went to the porch and washed his hands in the water in the galvanized tub. WiMo was making a fire in A.

- 6:28 YoSo began crying. ElSo went over to WiFa who picked him up. WiFa was standing near the crib on the porch. YoSo came from B, went over to WiFa, and held onto him. Wi was adjusting the flame on the lamp in B. WiMo was in A measuring out husked rice. WiFa sat on the charpoy on the porch and YoSo sat on his lap. ElSo went into A and began playing with the fire. WiFa began teaching YoSo to chant pirit, 'the scriptures.' Wi put the ration cards in a drawer in B. WiMo chased ElSo out of A and put the kindling up in the smoke rack. ElSo went over to WiFa. WiFa continued teaching pirit to both ElSo and YoSo.
- 6:35 WiFa was still holding YoSo. ElSo was sitting on the charpoy next to him. (Night had fallen, and it was difficult to see.) WiMo went into B and was talking to Wi. She went back to A to tend the fire. She sat on a stool in front of the hearth. Wi was tending her fire in B. ElSo and YoSo were singing. ElSo went into A. YoSo went into B. ElSo went into B near Wi. WiFa was fixing a lamp in A for the anthropologist to use. He went to the porch and hung it on the post at the front. WiFa sat down on the bench on the porch. ElSo came from B and sat with him. YoSo came from B and joined WiFa and ElSo.
- 6:42 ElSo began running around the porch, full of energy. Wi swung InfSo in the crib on the porch and then covered it with a cloth. She returned to B. WiFa began teaching the boys to chant pirit again. WiMo was washing rice in A. Wi was in B preparing kahatə, 'patana oak,' and eggplant seasoned with tumeric, pepper and salt. ElSo went into B to Wi. WiFa was holding YoSo who was pushing the crib in the porch.
- 6:47 WiMo was in A reheating the green gram left over from the noon meal. ElSo returned to the charpoy on the porch. InfSo was crying. Wi got him from the crib on the porch and tied the crib to the east wall. She went into B. Wi breast-fed InfSo on the floor of B.
- 6:53 YoSo was in B with Wi. WiMo was in A putting pepper, salt and coconut oil into a pot. ElSo went back to WiFa who was still on the porch.
- 6:55 WiFa told YoSo to go to WiMo in A and get kos aeTə, 'seeds from the fruit of the jak tree' [*artocarpus integrifolia*]. YoSo returned, and WiFa gave some of the seeds to ElSo and YoSo. WiFa sat on the floor of the porch and cracked some of the seeds with

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a stone. Then he gave them to ElSo and YoSo. WiFa gave YoSo a basket (taTTuwə) in which to put the seeds. Wi had stopped feeding InfSo and had resumed preparing food in B. She put InfSo on a mat on the floor in the northwest end of the room.

- 7:00 ElSo and YoSo began fighting over the shells WiFa had cracked. InfSo was still on the mat in B. ElSo grabbed YoSo's basket. WiFa yelled at ElSo. YoSo began to cry. WiMo went to the back of the porch and threw out some dirty water. Then WiMo went into A and on the way gave a basket (taTTuwə) to WiFa for YoSo so that both boys would have one. ElSo pulled YoSo's hair and then went into B. YoSo went into B and played with InfSo on the mat. ElSo went over and lay on the mat with YoSo and InfSo.
- 7:08 YoSo went to WiFa on the porch. ElSo remained with InfSo on the mat in B.
- 7:10 Wi threw water out the front of the porch and returned to B.
- 7:12 WiFa began cleaning up and threw the waste from the jak seeds out the back of the porch. The boys began chasing each other back and forth from A to B.
- 7:13 WiFa took the shelled jak seeds into A. Then WiFa picked up YoSo and walked around the porch. Wi was breast-feeding InfSo in B. WiFa went into A.
- 7:15 WiFa brought out a mat from A, unrolled it and put it down on the floor at the front of the porch. He put YoSo on it. ElSo also sat down on it. The boys began playing together on the mat. It had begun raining quite steadily.
- 7:18 The boys were playing in the porch and ran in and out of A. WiFa and WiMo yelled at them to stay out of A. WiFa was re-arranging cloths on the charpoy on the porch and hung some of them up on the ropes of the crib. He gave another to YoSo.
- 7:21 WiFa put on a shirt and sat on the mat at the front of the porch with his back against the low wall. ElSo was in his lap. YoSo sat on the mat. Wi was still with the baby on the mat in B. (The fires were giving some light to the rooms now.) WiFa made an attempt to teach the boys pirit again.
- 7:24 Wi went to the hearth in B. WiMo was in A. She got some chunks of salt from a basket (aewillə) stored above the smoke rack and put them into a coconut shell container (lunu karuwə) of salt solution. WiFa went to the charpoy on the porch. The boys went into B and sat down next to the millet stone near the north wall.

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- 7:29 WiFa went into A where WiMo was grinding peppercorns (gam miris). WiFa went back to the porch with some betel and sat on the mat. Wi was teaching the boys to chant pirit while she was preparing food in B.
- 7:34 YoSo went over to WiFa who was sitting on the mat on the porch. Then ElSo went over to WiFa. ElSo and YoSo began playing with WiFa.
- 7:42 Hu arrived home from the fields and went into B after putting his raincloth (iTi reddə) on a pole at the back of the porch. He lay down with InfSo on the mat in B. WiMo was in A. Hu got up and went into the porch. He went over to the anthropologist who was sitting on the edge of the porch to talk to him. ElSo and YoSo, who had been playing in B, went into the porch. Hu went back into B and began playing with InfSo. ElSo and YoSo went into B to be with him. InfSo began crying. Wi took InfSo from Hu and began to breast-feed him. WiMo went into B.
- 7:50 Wi was on the floor of B sitting against the north wall. Hu was in the room on the mat. He moved off the mat and Wi moved onto it. WiFa was sitting alone on the porch. WiMo took InfSo from Wi and went to sit on the mat at the front of the porch. ElSo and YoSo followed. YoSo had some food which he brought with him.
- 7:53 Wi came out of B, got InfSo, and went back in the room. She tended the fire. YoSo went into B and sat on the rotary quern. WiMo went into A. Hu was looking at the sores on his legs. YoSo went to WiFa who was on the mat on the porch. WiMo went from A to the back of the porch and threw out some dirty water. YoSo went back into B.
- 7:57 WiMo went to the door of B. YoSo returned to WiFa. ElSo went to WiFa. WiMo went into B and looked at InfSo who was being held by Wi in front of the firepit.
- 7:59 WiMo went back to A and stopped for a moment on the porch. Wi was feeding InfSo in front of the hearth in B. WiMo was at the door to A. ElSo was with WiFa. YoSo was in B with Hu who was still inspecting the sores on his legs. Hu had a basket (aewillə) in front of him with tobacco in it. He unrolled a mat and sat on it.
- 8:08 YoSo came out of B and went over to WiFa in the front of the porch. WiMo was at the door to A. Then she went over to the door to B. Wi put InfSo down on the mat in B. ElSo had gone into B for a moment and then returned to WiFa on the porch. Wi began grinding chillies in B. YoSo went back into B.

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- 8:12 WiMo went into A. YoSo went back to the mat at the front of the porch. WiFa began playing with YoSo. Wi finished grinding the chillies in B. Then she went over to the hearth. WiMo was apportioning food in A. When she finished, she tended some mustard she was frying on the hearth. Wi got a broom (iləpatə) from the gutter above the porch and swept up the eastern end of B and piled the debris next to the firepit on the west side. Hu was smoking tobacco in B.
- 8:15 WiMo threw dirty water out the back of the porch and returned to A. YoSo was in the porch. ElSo was sitting on WiFa's lap on the porch. Hu came to the doorway of B, called YoSo, then took him into the room, and sat him on his lap. YoSo moved off Hu's lap onto the mat.
- 8:24 Wi took the lantern from the post, went outside the dwelling to the stoop at the west side of B, and urinated. WiMo had finished cooking in A. YoSo and ElSo were with WiFa at the front of the porch. WiMo was apportioning food into two glazed earthenware dishes in A.
- 8:27 Hu was sitting on the mat in B. Wi was on a low stool watching the fire in B. ElSo annoyed WiFa. WiFa hit him, and he began to cry. Hu called ElSo, but ElSo wouldn't go to him. Then Wi called ElSo saying that his food was ready. ElSo remained on the mat on the porch. YoSo was in B and began crying. He went over to Wi at the hearth and whined.
- 8:30 YoSo took a dish to WiMo in A.
- 8:32 WiMo gave rice and green gram to WiFa on the porch. Then she took some green gram into B and put it on an arecanut leaf near the hearth. Hu began dozing off on the mat.
- 8:39 WiMo gave more rice to WiFa on the porch.
- 8:43 WiMo took the dish given to her by YoSo back to B. ElSo was sleeping on the mat on the porch. WiFa was playing with YoSo on the porch.
- 8:46 WiMo came out of A and sat in front of the door. WiFa was still sitting on the porch. YoSo went into B.
- 8:48 Wi set out an enameled plate of food for Hu in B. Then she began to eat her meal from an arecanut leaf. Hu was eating on the mat in B. YoSo went back to WiFa on the porch. Wi gave Hu more rice from her arecanut leaf.

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- 8:56 WiMo went back into A. She gave herself some more food and ate it inside the room. She was sitting on a stool.
- 8:59 Hu finished eating, cleaned his plate with water, and dumped the dirty water into the front yard. Wi had finished eating. Hu was sitting on a mat with his back against the bagged millet in the north end of the room. YoSo was with WiFa on the porch. Wi began rinsing out dishes and pots. She dumped the dirty water into the front yard.
- 9:04 WiMo finished eating in A and rinsed her dish. She threw the dirty water out the back of the porch.
- 9:07 Hu stretched out on the mat in B. Wi swept up the area near the hearth in B. WiMo put the dishes, pots, and cups away in A. She went to the firepit and stoked the fire. Then she went to the front of the porch and spat into the front yard several times.
- 9:10 WiMo took YoSo into the front yard near the haystack to allow him to eliminate. Wi took a mat off the charpoy on the porch and took it into B. WiMo urinated near the haystack. YoSo returned to the front of the dwelling, and Wi washed off his buttocks with a small tin of water.
- 9:13 WiMo, Wi, and YoSo went into the dwelling. Wi took YoSo into B. WiMo took a broom from B and swept the porch. She swept the debris into the front yard. WiFa went out the front of the porch, went to the side of the dwelling near the haystack and eliminated. He returned to the porch and sat on the charpoy. Hu moved closer to the hearth in B. WiMo returned the broom to B but did not go inside the room. The fires in both rooms were still burning. WiMo and WiFa went into A. Hu, Wi, YoSo, and InfSo were in B. ElSo was asleep on the mat on the porch. WiFa went to the mat in the front of the porch with some tobacco and sat down. WiMo came out of A and sat down on the charpoy.
- 9:20 YoSo went into the porch and sat on WiFa's lap. They talked quietly while WiFa smoked. Hu came to the front of the porch, put on a raincoat, and went out into the yard near the haystack to eliminate. He went back into B and lay down near the hearth.
- 9:27 WiMo was on the charpoy. WiFa was on the mat with YoSo in his lap. ElSo was asleep on the mat. Hu was smoking tobacco near the hearth in B. Wi was sitting on the mat in B with InfSo. WiMo went into A.

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- 9:32 WiMo stoked the fire in A and unrolled her sleeping mat. Hu and Wi were lying on mats in B with InfSo between them. WiFa spoke to Hu. (This was the first time they had spoken since Hu returned from the fields.) They could not see each other.
- 9:35 WiMo put a gunny sack under her mat in A and lay down. WiFa and YoSo chanted pirit on the porch.
- 9:50 WiFa called for Wi who was asleep. Hu awakened Wi who went into the porch and took YoSo with her back into B. WiMo went to the door of A, got ElSo from the mat on the porch, and took him into A.
- 9:55 All occupants bedded down for the night. The observation was concluded.

Description of Plates III-VI

Plate III: Domestic Scenes

- a. WiMo in forecourt with infant granddaughter born in 1967 (1968). (The boarding across the entrance to the porch was added in 1968 to keep the child inside the dwelling).
- b. Wi spreading kurakkan millet to dry (1965).

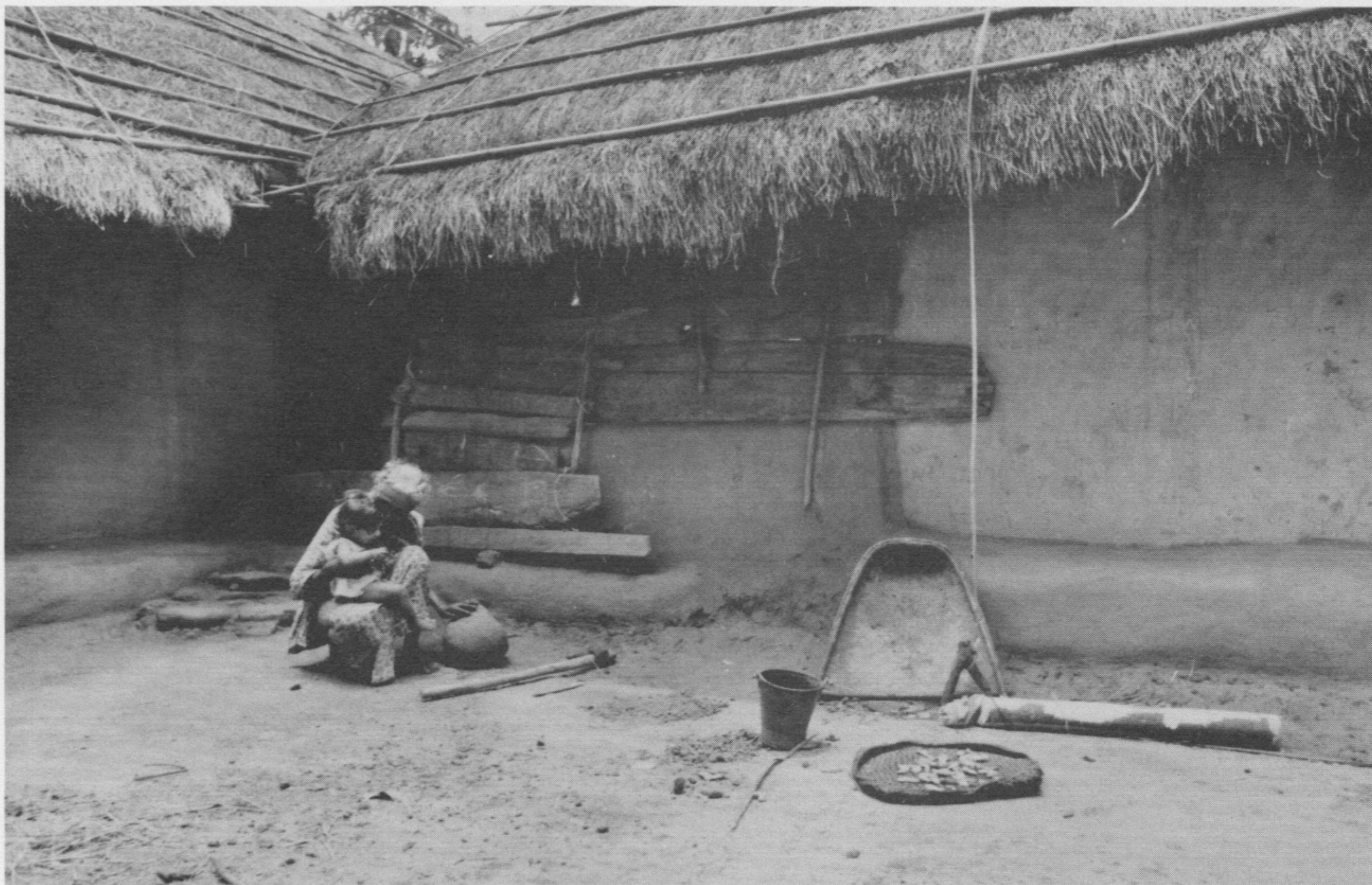
Plate IV: Domestic Scenes

- a. Wi husking kurakkan millet (1965). (ElSo is standing next to his mother. YoSo is sitting on a gunny sack with a sweat cloth tied around his head pretending to be a cultivator).
- b. Wi winnowing kurakkan millet (1965).

Plate V: WiMo with ElSo and YoSo (1965). (The toy drum belonging to ElSo is in the foreground).

Plate VI: Domestic Scenes

- a. WiMo winnowing kurakkan millet (1965) (The porch is on the left; Room A is on the right).
- b. WiFa shaving and ElSo pulling drum (1965). (The fence marks off the garden area to the north of Room B).



a



b



a



b





a



b

Overview of household activities in the wider perspective of Rangama life:

The division of labor by sex: the domestic and extra-domestic activities of men and women

A list of activities performed in Rangama which helps to place the foregoing record in the wider perspective of village life is coded below according to sex and locus. The following symbols appear:

M Activity culturally assigned to males

F Activity culturally assigned to females

MF Activity not clearly assigned to either males or females

There is some elasticity in these general expectations which permits patterned variations according to circumstance (for example, in the case of single-person households). Conversely, some activities which are assigned either to males or to females are not undertaken by an individual of the opposite sex, whatever the circumstances. In the absence of a householder of the appropriate category, the activity is either reassigned outside the household or not performed. Accordingly, the following bracketed notations also appear:

m Activity may be performed by males

M Activity not performed by males

f Activity may be performed by females

F Activity not performed by females

The list of activities which follows has been adapted from the one utilized for purposes of cross-cultural comparison by Murdock and Provost (1973). A few of the entries which appear in that list are not pertinent to life in Rangama (smelting, for example), and they have been excluded here. Some others have been added--for example, those pertaining to indoor/outdoor maintenance of dwellings and those connected with child care. Finally, in those instances in which the categories utilized by Murdock and Provost were too general to permit an assignment on the basis of sex among the Sinhalese (preparation of drinks, for example), more particular subcategories which do permit such assignments have been constructed.

Table 5: The Division of Labor by Sex

	<u>Activity</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MF</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Locus</u>
1	Gathering of wild vegetal foods and medicines	M M			(F) (f)	Forest Fringes of residential area
2	Collection of wild honey	M			(F)	Forest
3	Fowling, i.e., hunting of birds	M			(F)	Forest, domestic and agricultural areas
4	Fishing	M			(F)	Local streams
5	Trapping	M			(F)	Forest
6	Hunting	M			(F)	Forest
7	Land clearance for agriculture	M			(F)	Paddy fields, highland chenas
8	Soil preparation for agriculture	M			(F)	Paddy fields, gardens, and highland chenas
9	Fertilization for agriculture	M			(f)	Paddy fields, gardens, and highland chenas
10	Planting of chenas and and paddy lands	M			(F)	Paddy fields and highland chenas
11	Planting of vegetable gardens			MF		Domestic setting and unutilized paddy lands
12	Transplanting rice seedlings		F		(m)	Paddy fields
13	Crop tending: rice	M			(F)	Paddy fields
14	Crop tending: chenas	M			(F)	Highland chenas
15	Crop tending: vegetable gardens		F		(m)	Domestic setting and unutilized paddy lands
16	Cutting ripened rice	M			(F)	Paddy fields
17	Threshing	M			(F)	Paddy fields

	<u>Activity</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MF</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Locus</u>
18	Winnowing unhusked paddy		F		(M)	Paddy fields
19	Preparing threshing floor	M			(F)	Paddy fields
20	Transporting harvest back to dwelling		F		(m)	Paddy fields
21	Harvesting chenas		F		(m)	Highland chenas
22	Harvesting vegetable gardens		F		(m)	Domestic setting and unutilized paddy fields
23	Harvesting fruit-bearing trees which must be climbed	M			(F)	Domestic setting, agricultural lands and forest
24	Harvesting of other trees	M		MF	(F)	Forest Fringes of domestic setting
25	Preparation of vegetables and fruits for storage		F		(m)	Domestic setting
26	Care of chickens		F		(m)	Domestic setting
27	Feeding of cows and water buffaloes			MF		Domestic setting
28.	Large animal medicine	M			(F)	Domestic setting
29	Milking	M			(f)	Domestic setting
30	Preparation of vegetal foods prior to cooking		F		(m)	Domestic setting
31	Butchering	M			(F)	Domestic setting
32	Preparation of meat		F		(m)	Domestic setting
33	Preparation of non-alcoholic drinks		F		(m)	Domestic setting
34	Preparation of alcoholic drinks	M			(F)	Domestic setting
35	Preparation of medicines for home use	M			(f)	Domestic setting

	<u>Activity</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MF</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Locus</u>
36	Diagnostic medicine	M			(F)	Domestic setting
37	Cooking:					
	(a) general		F		(m)	Domestic setting
	(b) offerings to deities	M			(F)	Domestic setting
38	Fuel gathering		F		(m)	Domestic setting
39	Lumbering	M			(F)	Forest
40	Water fetching		F		(m)	Local streams, springs and wells
41	Preparation of skins	M				Domestic setting
42	Matmaking		F		(M)	Domestic setting
43	Basketmaking:					
	(a) with caning	M			(F)	Domestic setting
	(b) without caning		F		(m)	Domestic setting
44	Making of rope or cordage	M			(F)	Domestic setting
45	Work in wood	M			(F)	Domestic setting
46	Clothing construction:					
	(a) general		F			Domestic setting
	(b) male field clothes	M			(F)	Domestic setting
47	Work in horn	M			(F)	Domestic setting
48	Midwifery		F		(M)	Domestic setting
49	Dwelling construction	M			(F)	Domestic setting
50	Maintenance of dwelling roof, i.e., thatching	M			(F)	Domestic setting
51	Other exterior dwelling maintenance:					
	(a) liming walls		F		(m)	Domestic setting
	(b) plastering sills with cow dung		F		(M)	Domestic setting
52	Cleaning and general main- tenance of dwelling interior		F		(m)	Domestic setting

	<u>Activity</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>MF</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Locus</u>
53	Plastering floors with cow dung		F		(M)	Domestic setting
54	Construction of field shelters	M			(F)	Paddy fields and highland chenas
55	Fencebuilding	M			(f)	Paddy fields, highland chenas and gardens
56	Marketing:					
	(a) in village			MF		Domestic setting, village shops
	(b) in market centers	M			(f)	Market centers
57	Child care: feeding		F		(M)	Domestic setting
58	Child care: bathing		F		(M)	Domestic setting
59	Child care: cuddling, amusing, direct pedagogy			MF		Domestic setting

As the record of activities in Part III suggests, and the list in the table above confirms, most of the activities in which women are dominant are undertaken in the dwelling and yard. There are few exceptions. The major ones are seasonal contributions to agricultural work which take place in the cultivation lands. For example, women transport rice huskings, animal manure, green manure and other fertilizers from the dwelling to the paddy lands and dump them into the terraces after flooding. Transplanting of rice seedlings, an activity which has recently been introduced into the agricultural calendar for some but not all Rangama households, is culturally assigned to women and undertaken by them in groups. Male cultivators do not generally participate, because they are engaged at the same time in preparing the paddy terraces into which the plants will be transferred. Those men who were observed assisting included the salaried residents of the village such as the schoolmasters who were not full-time cultivators and therefore had the leisure for such activities and the government-appointed village headman (gram sewaka). During our first stay in Rangama (1965), the then village headman was attempting to popularize transplanting as well as other measures which would result in increased paddy production, and to this end he directed the women and worked with them.

Women also assist in the transporting of the cut paddy to the threshing floor, but their participation in the rest of the harvest is limited to winnowing the kernels after the stalks have been threshed, transporting food to male workers and carrying grain and straw back to the domestic setting. The women play no part, for example, in the preparation of the threshing floor which is cleared and purified with a sealer of cow dung by men. The threshing floor is viewed as a sacred area where the outcome of the harvest is finally reckoned. As the inventory in Part II shows, Rangama householders retain various articles for use there to which magical properties are attributed. They include: elephant teeth, teeth from the wild boar, stumps or logs from sacred trees such as the kohombə, 'margosa' [*azadirachta indica*] and pieces of iron. These items are said to help ward off the influences of malevolent supernaturals which might cause a reduction in the yield.

Women also participate in the harvesting of highland chena crops (kurakkan millet, maize, chillies, pumpkin and mustard, among others) which are grown at some distance (one to four miles) from the center of the village. However, adult female householders generally only participate in this activity fully if they lack female adolescent children. In those cases in which the responsibility falls on the adult female (as it does, for example, in the case of a simple nuclear family with small children), the domestic setting itself is often temporarily moved to a field hut (paelə) in the chena plot. These temporary structures are erected by men when the crops begin to ripen and are used initially by men to watch the crops and to ward off foraging animals like monkeys. When the first crops become ready for harvest, the entire family may take up residence in the structure for several weeks or even longer while the bulk of the harvest is completed.

Because only one monsoon reaches the Rangama area each year, many paddy fields (76 acres out of a total of 107) have only one planting annually. There is insufficient water to irrigate all of them during the dry season for a fall planting. Consequently, some of the terraces close to the boundaries of the residential areas of the village are tilled and turned into vegetable gardens in mid-summer. Men generally fence the plots, prepare the soil and plant the seeds. Women water, weed and harvest the gardens.

Women do not participate in any activities which require journeys into the forest. These activities--lumbering, the hunting and trapping of land fauna and the collection of kitul sap and other produce which necessitates climbing tall trees--

are undertaken exclusively by men. Women do gather firewood and sometimes wild foods, but their activities are generally confined to the chena areas and to the fringes of well-traveled paths.

The residential area of the village (gaemmaedə) is an aggregate of dwelling gardens in which householders live in close contact. Except for the seasonal activity which has been mentioned above, women do not regularly leave this setting. In fact, most of their activities take place within their own compounds, and their mobility even within the wider domestic setting is restricted. They go to the village shops to purchase matches, fuel and produce, but it is said that one should go and return with reasonable dispatch, for lingering on the verandahs of the village shops is taken as a sign of promiscuity since men congregate there. Women do leave the compound at least once daily to bathe and to wash their own clothes and those of their young children at one of the sources of water on the fringes of the residential area. Inasmuch as the bathing areas are among the few places outside the dwelling compound in which women come into contact with other householders on a regular basis, it is of interest to report that there are magical beliefs which militate against lingering there. Demons are said to frequent all sources of water. (Indeed, they are also said to frequent cross-roads (handi) especially those where three roads intersect (tun manhandi). Consequently, householders are discouraged as well from lingering in the open areas where the paths in the village converge.) Lingering or working in goyitaenə, 'cultivation land,' the setting in which men most frequently come into contact with other householders, apparently presents no similar liability. It is said that demons have been prevented from crossing onto cultivation lands by the specific injunction of Lord Buddha.

The mobility which men have outside of the residential sphere is matched by relative freedom within it. They socialize in the domestic setting (as women do) and otherwise primarily on the verandahs of the shops. At night a woman seldom ventures out of her own compound, and she is expected to sleep inside an enclosed room (ge) in her own dwelling. All women save one elderly, indigent individual who shares a small dwelling (one room, one small porch) with her son's nuclear family (five individuals) actually do so. Men, on the other hand, may or may not sleep inside an enclosed room. They generally do so during the rainy season when the nights are damp and chilly, but as the record of activities above suggests, in warm weather they are often found sleeping on a porch. In the evening, men, especially young men, often gather to drink toddy and smoke. Although they generally return to their own dwellings to sleep,

sometimes they do not, and it is acceptable for them to fall asleep in another dwelling and to remain there for the night.

Daily food preparation and diet in the domestic setting

If convention acts as a constraint on the extra-domestic activities of women, it is also true that the schedule of routinized activities in the dwelling and yard makes it difficult to leave the domestic area for any extended period of time. The two categories of activity in which women are primarily engaged--food preparation and child care--generally add up to a continuous schedule of work, especially for a young woman with small children. Of these two, the activities associated with food preparation, i.e., drawing water for household use, preparing produce for storage, drying meats, husking grains and grinding them into flour, gathering firewood, kindling and maintaining the fire, cooking meals and snacks, serving them and washing cooking and eating utensils, constitute the major claim on the time of the adult female.

Despite the substantial amount of time devoted to food preparation by women, the meals which emerge are simple, as the record of activities in Part III suggests. Usually they consist of a generous helping of a staple dish such as boiled rice, porridge (taləpə) or unleavened bread (roTi) made from maize or kurakkan millet [*eleusine coracana*], supplemented by a smaller portion of a seasoned vegetable dish such as pumpkin, eggplant or beans. The fact that the meal plan is simple should not be taken to mean that there is a lack of variety in the diet. In fact, there is a surprising amount of variety even within the course of one waking day. At this point it may be useful to refer to the record of activities which is presented in Part III. During the course of that observation one or more of the householders consumed the following foods: boiled rice, cowpeas [*vigna catiang*], green gram [*phaseolus aureus*], ash pumpkin [*cucurbita moschata*], patana oak [*careya arborea*], jak seeds [*artocarpus integrifolia*], porridge made from kurakkan millet, fried maize, and fresh, peeled orange and mango. In addition, some of the vegetable dishes were seasoned with black pepper, chillies, mustard seed, tumeric and salt, and cooked with onion and coconut oil. Although no single adult householder consumed all of these foods, the two ubiquitous small boys managed a near-complete sampling. Finally, the adults consumed tea with hakuru sugar made from the sap of the kitul palm, and they chewed leaves from the piper betel vine in combination with arecanuts and burnt lime.

When viewed over a more extended period of time, the Rangama diet is, of course, considerably more varied than the record from a single waking day would suggest. For example, seasoned vegetable dishes are often flavored with small pieces of dried meat, commonly boar, venison or sambhur (mouse deer). These entries along with buffalo milk, which is occasionally boiled or curdled for consumption by small children, constitute the significant local sources of complete protein. The poultry raised and the eggs produced in the village are only rarely consumed by the residents. They are generally sold to traders or, as this observation reveals, to other interested parties such as anthropologists and government surveyors. There is a wide variety of vegetal foods, some of which are available only seasonally, which figure in the diet but are not reflected in this brief observation. They include tanə haal, 'Italian millet' [*setaria italica*], amu millet [*paspalum scrobiculatum*], manioc, sweet potato, coco yams, kidney beans, breadfruit, murunga, 'drumsticks' [*moringa pterygosperma*], patolə, 'snakegourd' [*trichosanthes anguina*], karəwilə, 'bitter gourd' [*momordica charantia*], tampələ [*nothosaerua brachiata*], kollu, 'horse gram' [*dolichos bifloris*], tomatoes, cucumbers, eggplant, figs, papaya and pineapple, among others.

Child care in the domestic setting: children and space

Inasmuch as children often dominate Sinhalese households numerically, it was of interest to find that very few of the primary activities, few of the items in the inventories, and none of the space was actually child centered. The two young boys, ages two and four, in the dwelling in which this observation was made had only one toy, a handmade bamboo drum. (Other Rangama toys include handcrafted wooden water buffaloes, plows, yokes, water shooters, berry shooters, stick shooters, pinwheels and slingshots.) Consequently, when they attempted to utilize or explore items in the near environment, it nearly always involved articles intended for some purpose other than play (tools and books, for example). The adults frustrated the attempts of the children to manipulate the household articles or sometimes even to inspect them. There was veritable routinization of conflict between the adults and the two small boys over the use of the domestic articles. In fact, it was one of the main bases for child-adult interaction. Very young children, then, establish routine behavior patterns which are generally perceived by adults as "getting into trouble." During this observation it appeared that the children were frequently bored and that this boredom gave rise to repeated physical aggression both against each other and against the adults.

At the age of three or four, the children in Rangama begin to engage in imitative play, an activity which is strongly

encouraged by adults, perhaps because it diverts attention from the adult material environment and helps the children to establish one of their own. In the course of this observation, the four year old boy played mii goon, 'water buffalo,' with his grandfather. This is part of more generalized imitative play in which young boys play 'cultivator.' (In this case, the grandfather was the 'cultivator' and the child was the 'buffalo.') They also play with toy plows and dress up by wrapping their heads in 'sweat cloths' like those which are used by the cultivators.

Another type of play is called kaDee, 'store,' or mudəlaali, 'merchant,' in which a play store area will be set up in one part of the yard. One or more of the children will be the shopkeeper and the others will be the customers, the pack bulls which bring supplies overland and the traders who drive the animals. Being a 'pack bull' or a 'buffalo' has its disagreeable side in that one may be liberally struck on the buttocks with the sticks wielded by the 'cattle drivers' or 'cultivators.' During the period in which the household inventories were underway, one play shop run by a six year old boy was soberly inventoried. It was found to contain play scales made by the boy out of coconut shell halves and an inventory which included most of the items found in the largest village shop. Items for sale included: batteries, beedis (small smokes), tobacco, cigarettes, cigars, biscuits, candy, soap, a hairbrush, raincloths, potatoes, kadələ, 'Bengal gram' [*cicer arietinum*], dhal [*cajanus indicus*], tea, dried fish and sugar, all made from objects or substances found in the dwelling and yard and all priced at reasonable approximations of the going rate.

Both boys and girls engage in imitative play pertaining to the preparation of food. Children actually construct their own play kitchens in the yard, digging out 'firepits' in the earth, placing the stones to support the 'cooking pots,' collecting sand, wild berries and leaves as 'food,' and using discarded halves of coconut shells as vessels. In some cases the children even plaster the 'floor' with cow dung as their mothers do.

We observed that virtually all of the imitative play in Rangama was inspired by economic activities, i.e., transporting, buying and selling goods and cultivating and preparing food. Almost no attention was devoted by young girls (or by young boys either) to imitative play connected with child care, an activity occupying considerable amounts of adult time. To our knowledge, there was not a single doll in the village. However, by the time children begin imitative play, that is at the age of three or four, they frequently have a younger sibling. As soon as a young girl is physically able, she is charged partially and finally primarily with the care of a younger child. A girl as young as six years of age may tote and amuse an infant for most of the day, returning

the child to the mother (whose time, as this observation demonstrates, is heavily committed to food preparation) principally to be fed and bathed. It might be argued, therefore, that girls in Rangama do not have the accoutrements of imitative child care play since they take on real responsibilities for child care very early in life.

Infant care: feeding

The care of infants is not normally the total responsibility of any single person in the household. Inasmuch as Sinhalese children are not offered meals of solid food until they are approximately one year of age (at which time a special first rice-eating ceremony is organized), the mother is, of course, the nurturer. In those rare instances in which the mother's milk supply is clearly inadequate or absent, infants are fed reconstituted cow's milk from a bottle, but otherwise children are fed from the breast. It was a fairly widespread practice in Rangama to wait until several days after parturition until the breasts filled with milk to begin breastfeeding the child. In the interim the child was generally given sugar in some form. A child continued to be fed from the breast into the third year of life or until supplanted by another infant.

The record of activities presented here gives a relatively good picture of what so-called "demand" feeding means in Rangama. The nine-month old infant in the dwelling under study was fed at least twelve times during the day by the mother. The reasons for such frequent feeding are in part cultural since the ultimate response to crying is feeding, but in this instance they would appear to be physiological as well. An infant requires approximate 2-1/2 ounces of milk per pound of body weight in order to satisfy its caloric requirements, which means that a newborn weighing six pounds requires approximately fifteen ounces of milk per day. In the first month of life the stomach capacity is limited to a few ounces, and therefore the child can be satisfied for approximately three hours (after which time the stomach is empty again) on relatively small amounts of milk. But by the time the child is of the age (nine months) and of the size (between fifteen and twenty pounds) of the one in the dwelling in which the observation was made, the stomach capacity is vastly increased and so are the caloric requirements necessary to maintain weight. It would appear that in this case the mother does not produce enough milk at any one time to fill the stomach and therefore to satisfy the child for any extended period. At this point it may be useful to refer to some of the findings which emerged on the day of observation.

The child was first fed between 5:56 a.m. (when he began to cry) and 6:09 a.m. when the mother emerged from the room. Our assumption is that the lowest demands on the milk supply and the longest intervals between feedings would have occurred during

the night, although we cannot assume that no demands were made at night, since the infant slept on the mat next to his mother and perhaps suckled intermittently. Even if the milk supply was greatest for the early morning feeding, this initial feeding sustained the child only 1-1/2 hours. He was fed again at 7:32 a.m., and thereafter at 8:38, 10:35, 11:19, 12:00 noon, 1:14 p.m., 3:41, 5:17, 6:47 7:42 and perhaps once more before the mother retired at 9:00 p.m.. The longest interval between feedings was not determined by the hunger of the child at all, but by the absence of the mother who had taken prepared food to her husband who was working in the paddy lands. The child became hungry well before the mother's return, and required considerable attention from the grandparents who finally offered tea from a spoon at 3:34 p.m.. This child had apparently reached a point in his growth in which his nutritional needs could be met only through nearly continuous feeding. It appeared, however, that he would be receiving supplements shortly. The mother had already begun to give the child small, introductory samples of solid food, and in fact did so on the day of the observation at 7:29 a.m..

Infant care: bathing

The other major task which is generally taken on by the mother is the bathing of the infant. As this record of activities suggests, children who must be carried are generally bathed in a basin in the yard, whereas older ones generally accompany an adult to one of the bathing areas at the village streams. All young children are washed thoroughly by the mother or by another caretaker at least once a day, and in the case of infants, as this record of activities shows, sometimes twice. The entire body of the child including the face and head is scrubbed vigorously. Infants are subsequently oiled and powdered. This pattern of regular bathing continues into adulthood. A daily bath is universal in Rangama both among children and adults to the extent that an individual who does not take one is automatically presumed to be sick.

For infants and young children (indeed, for everyone) regular bathing plays an important role in good health which is recognized. The presence of bodily discharges is acknowledged to attract insects. Breaks in the skin, whether from insect bites or from some other cause, often become infected and enlarge before healing. Open sores, in turn, attract an 'eye fly' called the koonduruwa which settles on the exposed area. The koonduru (pl.) are thus one vector of topical infections, and at some times of the year they are so universal that any uncovered sore will be blackened with them in the daytime if the body is still. In addition to breaks in the skin, koonduru are attracted by discharges from the nose and eyes. It is partially because of the high incidence of these flying insects that the hanging cribs in which infants lie are draped with cloths.

Men in the domestic setting

As this record of activities suggests, young male householders ordinarily spend most of the waking day away from the domestic setting. Except for a few slack periods of activity which occur in mid spring after the first rice has been planted and in mid summer after the major rice harvest has been completed, men have work scheduled in the cultivation areas virtually the year round. In addition some other activities which are culturally assigned to them--marketing, lumbering and hunting, for example, often draw them away from the domestic setting even when there is no major work in the cultivation lands. The absence of the young male householder during the day on which the observation took place can therefore be considered typical. On this day he was plowing some of his paddy terraces for a second planting. Inasmuch as cultivation areas are often far from the main residential area (the most distant fields are four miles away), men usually do not return at midday for a meal if there is heavy work in the fields. Food is generally cooked in the domestic setting by the women and taken to the men at the site of their work in the fields. If they are traveling away from the village area entirely--to market, for example--a noon meal is generally sent with them in the morning.

During the slack periods in cultivation work, men spend more time in the domestic setting. They repair tools and cultivation implements, manufacture rope and sometimes do some carpentry and caning. If there are repairs to be made in the dwelling or if there is housebuilding work underway, these activities are undertaken at that time. After the summer rice harvest, for example, the roofs of the dwellings are generally rethatched by men.

When young male householders are present in the domestic setting, there is limited participation in child tending. Although young children are bathed, and if infants, fed by the mother, child care is otherwise undertaken by any kinsmen who finds himself in the domestic setting. Fathers hold and chat with infant children and sometimes amuse and distract those of pre-school age. As the child grows older, however, these indulgences are withdrawn as Straus (1954) has noted, not only by the father but by everyone, and parents become more remote and authoritarian figures. When men, and particularly old men, are regularly present in the domestic setting, there is an increased amount of interaction with infants and young children. As this record of activities suggests, they participate in amusing them and also in disciplining them. For example, WiFa repeatedly chastized the two pre-school children during this observation, and sometimes meted out physical punishment. Otherwise, he assisted them in preparing snacks and in the evening meal attempted to teach them the scriptures. He also held the infant and chatted with him from time to time and participated

in swinging the hanging crib. It appeared that this responsibility was largely taken on personal initiative and was not dependent on specific requests from the women in the household.

As far as cooking in the domestic setting is concerned, men participate in this activity under two sets of circumstances: (1) in the preparation of ritually pure foods such as kiri roTi, 'milk bread,' which are presented to deities at sacred areas (aDukku polə) in the forest; and (2) in the absence of a female of the appropriate category. The latter circumstance deserves special comment.

The connection between cooking and a sexual bond is well established in the literature on the Sinhalese. If a woman is known to be cooking for a man, they are assumed to have a sexual relationship as well. Lineal kinsmen are excepted, so that a woman may cook for her own father. Sometimes a man, usually an old man, finds himself without a mother, wife or available daughters, and in that instance he has to prepare his own food and perform all other related domestic tasks such as the gathering of firewood. Although a daughter-in-law may sometimes cook for her husband's father without causing undue comment, this arrangement is most likely to be acceptable if the parent is aging and considered something of a responsibility. One of the Washermen families had such an arrangement while we were living in the village. It now strikes us as a matter of interest that when we would visit their dwelling, the daughter-in-law would point with pride to her father-in-law's advanced age. In 1965 he was said to be 90. Three years later she told us that at 102 [sic.] he was the oldest man in the village. Perhaps she was also telling us that he was too old to be sexually active. In any event, the household structure was anomalous and the only one like it until 1968. In that year another man (a Goyigama, aged approximately 60 years, who was still active in cultivation work) left his second wife and moved in with his eldest son's nuclear family. In contrast to the situation in the Washer-man household which never gave rise to comment, this one was the object of widespread gossip and disapproval. Village residents assumed or imagined that both men had sexual access to the woman. Since polyandry (usually of the fraternal type) exists as an alternate form of marriage among the Kandyan Sinhalese (there is one such household in contemporary Rangama), the idea that a woman may cook for and have sexual access to two men in the same household is culturally established. It is not an acceptable arrangement, however, if the two men are father and son.

In the period during which we were associated with Rangama village, there were occasionally single person households of old men. In 1968 we observed the domestic activities of one of them on a regular basis, since at the time we were working with the man, an ayurvedic physician and former village headman, on some aspects

of Rangama history. Like women, he prepared his own food and also the food for work groups which assisted him in plowing and harvesting his paddy fields. He was, therefore, regularly involved in gathering firewood, drawing water, husking and winnowing grains and in other activities which are culturally assigned to women. He did not, however, participate in female activities which were not directly related to food preparation. For example, he did not plaster the floor of his dwelling with a sealer of cow dung as women do. His floor was consequently pitted and damaged and in the worst condition of any in the village. In addition, when he performed some tasks which were culturally assigned to women, he did so in a manner which distinguished his behavior as non-female. For example, whereas women husk rice by alternating the pestle between left and right hands, catching it with one and then the other on the rebound, the former headman pounded with both hands gripped on the pestle. Women grunt while pounding to emphasize the rigors of their labors. The former headman did not. Whereas women generally carry the traditional kaløgeDiyə water vessel against their hips, the former headman carried it in front of his body using both hands to steady the vessel. Finally, he transported firewood by cradling it in front of him with both arms. Women frequently carry it on their heads.

The domestic setting as a sphere for the elderly

Those males who do figure prominently in the domestic setting are the elderly. They are no longer active in cultivation activities and have left them to the younger males. In fact, it might be argued that retirement from cultivation work actually defines the class of "old men." The elderly remain in the yard much of the day. As the record of activities which appears here suggests, they look after children and may tend the fowl. They also engage in craft work of various kinds, including woodworking, bone work (traditional combs are still made from buffalo horns), and what might be described as 'male basketry,' that is, the manufacture of articles which involve a caned or wooden component.

Ninety-three percent of the adult males in Rangama are literate, and a high proportion of the elderly males devote themselves to scholarly activities, usually to astrology or to ayurvedic (indigenous) medicine. They generally have caches of pamphlets, books and equipment for these purposes. The elderly male in the dwelling which was selected for observation is known as an expert on constitutional and magical cures, particularly cures for snake-bite.

Old age is a time of increased leisure, especially for men, but it is not necessarily a time of increased independence. Those

who retire from cultivation activities find themselves confined to the domestic setting much as women do. The major extra-domestic outlet for elders is the religious activity associated with the Buddhist temple in the village. Most of the elderly worship there on full moon (poya) days, whereas younger adults seldom attend.

Although individuals whose children are grown and who, in the case of male householders, are retired from cultivation work should theoretically have the leisure time to visit and gossip with others in the community, they are actually discouraged from casual interaction with other householders. It is considered bad manners and an imposition on other householders to visit without a clearly defined purpose, and these values are associated with magical beliefs. Visiting another household solely to pass time is an interaction context which is associated with 'evil eye' projection. Indeed, it was of considerable interest to find that when all named 'evil eye' suspects in the village were taken into account, this magical projection emerged quite clearly as an affliction of the elderly. It was generally identified with those elders who lacked a base for structured interaction with others in the community, rather than with those who continued to provide services valued by other residents, for example, in astrology and ayurvedic medicine.