

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.

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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 mamoty (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 mamoty 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 hastaefolia*] 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 northwestern 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 mamoty 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

