

## FILM INTERVIEWS WITH DILMAYA GURUNG

Transcript by Anita Gurung, Tek Gurung, Alan Macfarlane and Sarah Harrison.

### ORIGINS AND CHILDHOOD

**1: 26: 58 – 1 : 32 : 41**

My name is Dilmaya Gurung.

I belong to the *Kepche* clan.

I was born in Kwi (Bee hive) village, that is my parental village.

I do not know my exact age. I think I am around 35 years.

My father's name is Kumba Singh, my mother's name is Chaibiri. I am not sure whether my mother's name is an astrological name or a given name by the villagers.

I stayed with Bhuwan Singh since my early childhood because my mother had died and my father brought in a step mother. Our Step mother did not like me or my elder brother. She used to scold us.

My brother got married and went to India to work, along with his wife. The first daughter of my brother died. They did not return home for 17-18 years. They come occasionally now. I miss them very much. Now they do come and go.

Bhuwan Singh, with whom I stayed, is my father's younger brother. I stayed with Bhuwan Singh because he as well as his family liked me. I started to work there.

I never went to school as they never encouraged me. I was only told to work. I had already started to work when I was 12-13 years of age because I had no parents.

I used to work when I was very young. The work was to fetch firewood, collect grass, to accompany my mother while bringing snacks for fellow workers. Because I was small I could not work in the field, however I used to fetch water, clean kitchen utensils and bring them back home.

Yes, you and I used to talk together when you came for the first time to this village. You spoke some Gurung but your wife spoke very little.

When I was 15-16 years Bhuwan Singh Father chose *Kanchha* for me and married me to him. Everybody was happy with this marriage. I was too.

### EARLY LIFE AND HISTORY

(00 : 00 – 04 : 05)

At my wedding they gave me one set of utensils including a dinner plate, bowl, water vessel, pan, scoop and spatula as a dowry. They also gave me a few clothes. From my husband's side, a few used and worn utensils were provided which are now unusable. Now we have no problem of kitchenware because Father Bhuwansing gave us things and as we also purchased some from our earnings, the money made by Krishna's father from sheep work. Similar is the case for clothes. Bhuwan Singh also gave me 10-grams of gold and these the ear-rings also. Krishna's father (my husband) did not have anything, neither did he obtain his share of the ancestral property. So he could not give me anything. Father Bhuwansing gave me everything.

I did not have a house. Krishna's father had a small house above the house of the *shaman*. However, we did not stay there. Kale's mother and father used to live in that house. They sold that house later.

Most of the time we stayed with Father Bhuwansing. Then we moved to Bal Kumari's house, at Holo. We lived there and worked there. After some time we built a small house about the same size as this one with only one room at *Phayar*. That house was made by a village work group. However, the place was prone to landslides and lack of water and

friends. So finally we came back to the original village. Again we started to live at Bhuwan Singh's place.

Later Bhuwan Singh's family migrated to Pokhara. So we stayed at their home and looked after their buffaloes and household goods. After some time Bhuwansing's sister bought that house and we bought this house for seven hundred rupees. This house is yet to be registered although we bought it at a very cheap price.

(00 : 04 : 14 – 00 : 05 : 46)

When Krishna was very young his father and I worked very hard. Krishna's father used to plough carrying Krishna on his back because we did not have anybody to look after him, neither grandfather or grandmother. I used to transplant rice. We used to bring our chicken and buffaloes to the field while working. Little Krishna sometimes used to walk along with me covered in a plastic sheet when his father did not carry him on his back.

We do not have wet rice land. We only have upland (a field named Phayar) where maize production is low, only about 2.5 muri(200 kg). We hold land by share cropping.

We get about 3 muri (? kg) of millet from my brother's land and about 1 muri (250 kg) from the land in front. We get altogether about 4 muri (300kg).

### **CHILDREN AND CHILDBIRTH**

(00 : 05 : 50 – 0 : 09 :10)

We have - Krishna, Om, Tsrna and Premukari. I do not know how old they are by their years. But by their *lho* ( *birth year in Gurung*), Krishana is *Chyu lho*, meaning Rat year, Om is *Sapri lho*, meaning Snake year, Tsrna is *Yokara lho*, meaning monkey year and Prem Kumari is *Mya lho*, meaning cow year.

I like my sons and daughter equally. I gave birth to three sons first. We always desired a daughter and at last we got one and we are happy now. Four or five months after the birth of Prem Kumar I went to Pokhara for family planning (Laproscopy). In Pokhara, Father Bhuwansing took me to hospital for treatment. After treatment, I stayed for 10 days in Pokhara and had an energy diet. The diet was provided by Father Bhuwansing. The diet was eggs, meat and ghee. Then I returned home. There was a pain in the wound.

Initially I was afraid of family planning. But Father Bhuwansing, my mother and sisters encouraged me to do family planning. It was painful. I could not come back for 10 days and stayed there. Altogether I took rest for about 25 days at Pokhara and at home. Then I started to work gradually. Later it stopped hurting.

The labour pain was great while giving birth of Krishna and Om. My body was swollen at THE time Tsrna's delivery. I used to work with great difficulty. It was not so painful at the time of Prem Kumari's delivery. Krishna was born in Pokhara, Om at Phayar, Tsrna at the house above and Prem Kumari at this house. During delivery Kale and Parsingh's mother helped me greatly.

## THE YEARS WORK

(0 : 09 : 14 – 0 : 15 : 00)

From mid-December to mid-February the villagers' main work is collecting fodder and firewood from the forest, preparing straw mats and some harvesting and storing of millet. From February onwards also some go to the forest to collect fodder and firewood. Those women who do not prepare flour of maize and millet and those men who do not do bamboo work mainly go to forest for fetching firewood and fodder.

Those who have low lands begin to prepare land for maize planting and for plantains and clearing weeds. During the first to second week of March people carry compost and manure from cattle shed to THE fields. From the last week of April people start to plant maize. From mid April people begin to spread manure for paddy seed bed preparation. Then towards THE end of April they do various types of preparatory work in the maize fields. Some also collect large firewood for the monsoon. Then they prepare seed beds and nurseries for paddy and millet. This month is very busy.

During mid-May to mid-June people start to plough, weeding, (clear terraces), second weeding of maize, fencing maize fields and planting soybean. Some also start planting millet.

From mid-June to mid-July mainly transplanting of paddy is done. Some also transplant millet.

From mid-July to mid-August there is weeding of millet that was planted in mid-May to mid-June. Some also plant late season millet.

From mid-August to mid-September there is weeding of paddy and late planted millet.

The Celebration of Dashain festival starts in late September to early October. For this people begin to plaster their houses with soil brought from forest. There are lots of leeches in the forest. We harvest a little bit of millet. This is a lean period for work.

From mid-October to mid-November the harvesting early rice and soybean is done. Mid-October to mid-December is a peak period for work due to the harvesting of rice, millet, threshing of rice, and so on.

At the full moon of November we worship the goddess Buje Deurali (Grand mother goddess). A large radish is sacrificed in this worship, not goats. An offering (Prasad) is prepared from the radish. Goat sacrifice is not allowed during this period.

## THE DAY'S WORK

(IV. 0 : 15 : 10 – 0 : 17 : 40)

I sometime got up at 4 O'clock and sometimes at 5 o'clock. Then I make tea, sweep the house and floor and sometimes I plaster the house floor with the mixture of mud and cow dung.

Nowadays we don't have to use foot pounding machine (traditional huller) as milling is done by machine. In the past we use to get up at 4 o'clock followed by lighting the fire, making tea and pounding. Then we used to grind millet. We grind millet sometimes in traditional water mill and in the quern (traditional grinder).

Nowadays, in the morning I prepare tea, give the children breakfast, I sweep, I plaster and then I cook food. I milk the buffalo and I give food to family members. After that I go to

the field to work there. Work is sowing seed of millet and paddy, sometimes collecting firewood and sometimes weeding maize. I do so much different work in different days and seasons. Sometimes I also cut grass and collect fodder for livestock. Sometime I stay back home and wash clothes. Bathing of children and herding oxen.

In the evening when I come back home, I start to work for food preparation for the family as there is no body to help me in my work. Sometime I brew home-made alcohol after dinner. I go to bed only after 9-10 PM. I have difficult tasks. Sometime I make you afternoon snacks.

## AGRICULTURAL TASKS

### V. 1 : 02 : 45 – 1 : 12 : 00

For the preparation of the rice nursery bed, ploughing is done followed by weeding (as you and Sarah and I did together), breaking of clods, levelling and preparation of the raised seed bed, sowing as you saw me planting seeds and covering the seed with a thin layer of soil. Then we make a water channel with a small hoe which you have seen.

After completion of the preparation of the seed nursery, the first ploughing of rice land is done. Women never plough. After ploughing the work of the men is finished. Then there is an exchange of labour for other work, such as weeding, which is done equally by men and women. After weeding, some plant millet while others plant rice. After completion of millet planting, all engage in rice transplanting.

For the whole month of *Ashadh* (mid June – mid July) people are busy transplanting rice. They put on water on the land, men do the digging, ploughing, preparing the wall of the rice terraces (*aali*) and levelling of land while women uproot seedlings for transplantation and they transplant those seedlings on the prepared land.

After finishing rice planting, in the month of *Srawan* (mid July to mid August) some again plant millet while some weed millet which was planted in *Jestha* (Mid May – Mid June). Then maize harvesting is done. There is a lot of work in *Srawan* (Mid July – Mid August) such as, pulling out maize stalks, millet weeding and so on.

In the month of *Bhadau* (mid August to mid September) people do the weeding of millet that was planted in *Srawan* (Mid July – Mid August) and the first weeding of paddy fields that were transplanted in *Ashadh* (mid June – mid July). Weeds from the paddy field are collected and the roots are trimmed. Weeding is mainly done by women.

In the month of *Ashauj* (mid September to mid October), weeding for millet that was planted in *Srawan* (mid July – mid August) is done. This month is relatively a slack period. In this month people bring earth from the forest, similarly fodder and firewood during sunny days. From this month onwards people go to the forest as the leech intensity decreases. This month passes with plastering house walls with mud and celebrating the *Dashain* festival.

In the month of *Kartik* (mid October to mid November) early rice starts to mature (middle of month) from our field at Naide. From this time onwards is the peak period for rice harvesting and storing begins from the lower paddy lands. I cannot carry rice from the field. Carrying of rice is mainly done by men. *Kanchha* as well as other wage earners carry rice from the field. Women generally do not carry rice from the fields.

In *Mangsir* (mid November to mid December) women mainly do household chores and cut paddy while men bring rice from the field. Such harvesting operations are done

through the labour exchange system. Men also thresh the rice from rice plants, then make the stacks with paddy and later tread the straw.

After cutting the rice, the plants are left for drying for three days followed by collecting at one place, called a *Kunyo* (stack of paddy with straw). Have you seen these stacks? To prepare the straw stack (*Kunyo*) men are required. Women collect and prepare the bundles and men carry them to the threshing floor. All these works are done at the field itself. Then men thresh the rice and the straw is trodden by oxen. The rice grains are then collected in sacks and bags and brought to the house. In this way, rice harvesting and storing work is completed.

We store rice in a large basket. Then rice is taken out from the store followed by drying in the sun and de-husking is done by a foot pounding machine or in the rice mills. Then the unhusked rice grains are cleaned. Then we cook it.

I have rice land only in *Naide* field and not at the low land. But *Kanchha* is share cropping a little rice land..

(12 : 00 – 1 : 18 : 27)

I have got two buffaloes, one mother and one calf. I also have one buffalo that I have rented out to the *Kanchhi* of Deurali on a fifty-fifty share basis. That buffalo has got a calf now. Milk and the first calf are their share. Then the next calf and the buffalo will be brought to me.

I have also rented out a small buffalo to a Tailor. This arrangement is called *mol garne* (valuation). When the buffalo gives a calf it will be sold and money is divided equally.

A buffalo is taken for grazing if possible. If not, it is given fodder or grass collected from the forest. In the morning, cooked flour (*Kundo*) is given to it followed by fodder or grass and then it is milked. Then the shed is cleaned and again fodder/grass is given. This will be enough until mid- day. At two o'clock drinking water is given followed by grass. In the morning cooked flour (*Kundo*) is given to a milking buffalo but not to the calf. In the evening at about 5-6 o'clock fodder or grass is given again. This is enough for the whole night. That's all about the work for the buffalo.

Nowadays we have one litre of milk a day, not enough. In a week I make 500 ml. of ghee from the milk. If the milk has a high fat content, 500 ml. of ghee can be made and if the fat percentage is low only 250 ml. can be made. We have two oxen. We don't have to do hard work to look after the oxen. It is easier to look after the oxen than the buffaloes. We give them fodder. On the ploughing day in the morning fodder is given, then they plough the whole day. Nothing is given during the day. After ploughing we bring them in the evening and fodder is given. We don't give them skimmed milk. Salt is given once a week or once in four days and water is given when needed. That's all about the work of the oxen. The work is slightly easier than the work for buffaloes.

We had 10 chickens. Some of them we offered to the god, some we ate, some died of diseases, some we gave to the white visitors. (Of course, you are Gurung). Now we have only six chickens. Sometimes they lay 3-4 eggs a day. These are not hybrid chickens. They are local. Poultry feed is given to them. But in the case of hybrid chickens the balanced poultry ration should be given. They don't eat local poultry feed. It is easy for local chickens. They eat everything such as maize, rice, millet, bran with water, etc. Then water is given. If it is possible water is given thrice a day if not twice a day to the chickens.

## **GARDEN WORK AND VEGETABLES**

(1 : 18 : 30 – 1 : 20 : 22)

If the kitchen garden is big we plant maize in the half portion, then plant some cucumber in different places, some sponge gourds, some egg plants, some chilli plants, some garlic, some beans, some bitter gourds, some black mustard, some tomatoes, some spinach, radish etc. If the area is large and if we can manage we can plant various types of vegetables and fruits. But I have a small kitchen garden. I talked to my Aunt (thuli ama) to buy some of their land, she responded positively but she said the decision depends upon their sons. I don't have many fruits in my garden, only we have three banana plants which have started to have fruits, a peach tree and one plum tree which you brought.

## **HOUSEHOLD WORK**

(1 : 20 : 29 - 1 : 25 : 05)

Don't you make ghee yourself from milk at home (in England)? Here, in the morning we milk the buffalo then keep some for tea, some for the children and all the remaining milk is put in a small wooden pot (theki). Again in the evening we do the same. In this way we put the milk in a small wooden pot (theki) for four days. After four days we churn it, the ghee is made and then we take out the ghee from that pot and we boil the ghee. After boiling for some time the pure ghee is made and we put it in the containers.

Sometime I make local wine. The process of wine making is difficult and tedious. For this process, first of all water is boiled in a big pot ( container ) and two or three Pathi of millet is put in the pot. When the millet is steamed or cooked a bamboo mat is put on the floor and the cooked millet is spread out on the bamboo mat. When the millet is cool, the yeast powder is added and mixed with the millet. After this the millet is kept tightly in a bamboo basket (dalo). Some people put fire in the millet and cover it with a jute sack. Some people put in a sickle and some people put in a spatula (dabilo).

In the bamboo basket the millet is kept for three days. After three days the millet is shifted to a big earthenware pot from the bamboo basket. In this pot the millet is kept for 15 days to one month. Then the undistilled liquor (jaad) is taken out from the pot and put in a container. Above this container another pot is kept, inside this pot a small pot is kept to collect the alcohol, and above the big pot another pot is placed to pour the water. Then we put it on the fire. When the water of the top pot is heated it is replaced with cold water. The process of taking warm water and pouring cold water is continued for several times. Making wine is difficult and boring task. If the collecting pot is bigger there will be 4 – 5 bottles of wine if the container is small there will be 2 – 3 bottles of wine. If the undistilled liquor (jaad) is in good condition 5 – 6 bottles of wine can be made from one paathi (a brass vessel measuring eight manas) of millet. If it is not good it is very hard to make even one bottle of wine.

(1 : 25 : 15 – 1 : 27 : 56)

When cooking food at home, the rice is first cooked, then we cook pulses.

For cooking vegetables, first vegetables are chopped into small pieces then fried in oil. After that salt is added according to the taste and some tomatoes, chilli, some meat spices are added. To make Dal, onions and garlic are fried in a little ghee then the pulses are

added. The vegetables we cook are cabbages, cauliflower etc. That's all about cooking food.

My next task is to sweep the floor. I wake up early in the morning and I light the fire, I wash my face, I make tea, I sweep, I plaster the cooking area, I light the incense, I worship, I wash the vase (from in front of the shrine)s and fill it with pure water. I have lots of work in the morning. After worshipping, I cook food and eat the food then I wash the dishes and other utensils. Then I work for the buffalo. After this the children go to school and I go to the fields to work. Then I return from the field at 12 – 2 O' Clock. Then I make tea. If there are people working in our field I make snacks for them and I eat as well.

## RELIGIOUS RITES

(VI. 0 : 29 : 15 – 0 : 33 : 14)

We do deurali puja twice a year, In the full moon of Phalgun ( Feb. – March) and full moon of Baishakh ( April – May). We didn't do in the full moon of Baishakh ( April – May ) so we are going to do this puja in panchami( the fifth day of lunar night). You will see it. All the villagers do this puja together.

To perform this puja all villagers take some rice, and money as an offering(bheti). For the priest of this ritual the necessary things are-red powder (sindur), cow milk, ghee, rice. After reaching the shrine (puja place) we have to collect firewood. Cleaning the rice then making flour of the rice and then making selroti ( a kind of circular Nepali rice ring). After making selroti, we sweep the shrine, then plaster the place with cow dung. Then we light the fire and make the offerings (prasad). The offerings (prasad) is this size of bread. For plastering the shrine both cow or ox dung can be used. After arranging everything for puja and finishing making the offering (prasad), the small pieces of clothes which were brought by mothers are hung and put on some red powder, and we wind thread around the shrine (krekhin). Then we light some incense. After this the shaman purifies the goat by putting some rice and pati (a kind of plant) on the goat's head. Then the goat is sacrificed. After sacrificing the goat we circle the shrine three times. When we sacrifice the goat first we offer the blood in the shrine. This is called giving the spirit.

In this way, the communal ceremony of Deurali puja is completed and then individual offerings are done in the same manner. Sometime only a communal puja is done and sometime there are several believers who offer puja. After the goat is sacrificed, the heart and liver are examined for good luck. If it is good, these are cut into pieces and cooked and served as the offering (*prasad*). This good luck is announced loudly by beating drums by the town crier. In this way, the puja is accomplished.

(0 : 33 : 20 – 0 : 39 : 17)

There are two Dashain festivals. One Dashain is in *Chaitra* (mid March-mid April). In the Chaite Dashain people eat goat, if there are no goats they eat chicken, buffalo and a large doughnut ring (*selroti*) are eaten. Buffalo is also sacrificed in the shrine *Kot*. People do not work for two days in Chaite Dashain of which one day is spent for worshipping (puja). At least people do not work for one day. This is all about Chaite Dashain.

Another Dashain is in the month of Asoj (mid September to October). This Dashain is known as Thulo (big) Dashain. This is difficult to manage. In this Dashain people clean and plaster their houses with soil brought from the forest.

On the day of the new moon, all people in the village start to plaster their house with clay. Some sow mixed seeds of barley maize on this day and this is called Jamara. To prepare Jamara, a medium is prepared by mixing soil and manure. Then Jamara is sown in the soil. On the seventh day of the new moon people do not do any thing. On the ninth day people offer a number of buffaloes and goats to the goddess. But I sacrifice sheep. The price of sheep is about rupees 1,000-1,200. On the tenth day, people go to get a *Tika* from elderly people such as their father, mother, grand father and relatives. Then they eat meat and rice and enjoy themselves. Several people drink alcohol and get drunk. Fathers (and mothers) and brothers and their family invite their married away sisters and daughters from other villages and provide good food including rice, meat and other things. This is all about Big Dashain.

After Dashain another festival called Tihar comes usually in Kartik (some time in October). In this festival, the sisters worship brothers and put *tika* on their forehead. This is called *Bhai tika*. On the new moon day, protection marks for their brothers are prepared out of oil on the threshold. On the same day, people make many large doughnut rings and alcohol. The sisters prepare the large doughnut rings and alcohol and go to different villages and others come to visit their brothers. Some brothers give clothes while some give money to their sisters. On the day of *tika*, sisters visit their brothers' home, put tika and stay there with enjoyment and eat roti and raksi. Some people use the meat which they have left over from dashain, if they don't have enough meat they kill chicken, buffalo and goat. The sisters put tika on their brothers' forehead on the day of Tika. Rich brothers give more money, those who are not rich give one shawl or one lungi (long skirt). In Dashain and Tihar people have fun. In Tihar the brothers who do not have sisters cry and the sisters who do not have brothers cry as well. In this situation they feel sad, unhappy. This festival is very important for brothers and sisters. My brother is in another country and I feel sad. My other brother is not here. Will you please come next year? Then we will celebrate Dashain and Tihar with joy. I will be very happy if you come here next year. Prem Kumari will put a Tika on her brother's forehead (Krishna, Turna and Om) and I will put one on for you two. We will celebrate this festival with all the members of our family.

(0 : 39 : 26 – 0 : 43 : 50)

Sometime we do the ritual for the protecting of our house from bad spirits. To perform this ritual first of all we have to consult the shaman for the right day and date. Usually it is good on any Tuesday of Chait (mid March – mid April). If possible this ritual can be performed on a Chait's Tuesday or a Shrawan's (mid July – mid August) Tuesday. It is good to perform this ritual at least once. Things required to perform this ritual are water, millet, half kg of rice, money NRs 20, 25, 30, 50, or 100 as per people's capabilities, a kind of wood (Chyargu), sand taken from a stream, and a small chicken.

The shaman chants till mid-night very slowly. After this they paste astrological charts (parga) on the door and windows. Then iron staples are hammered in the threshold as well as at all four directions. This is also done at the *Tagaro* (traditional gate). Then sand is splashed or dusted all over. I do not do this ritual very often and I do not see others doing it. For this ritual we do not light the fire.

Fire is only lit in *pero te* ritual. I don't light the fire in the *di bar lava*. Buddibahadur does the *di bar lave*, kills a chicken, scatters ashes, sand from the stream. I do not know whether *parga* is fixed or not in the *pero te*, but fire is lit. A very long ritual, isn't it. Shaman read the whole day and in the evening a goat or buffalo are killed. They make a small house for the spirit (mo). Towards the end of this ritual shaman beats his drum and cymbal and



dances. I do not understand the *beda* (spells) which they recite because I do not do ritual and I do not participate in other's homes. Only I go there when the shaman starts beating his drums and dancing. The goat and buffaloes are killed at the same time. This will help to protect the house. Then the shaman blesses and wishes for the long life of people. This is also considered as a house protection ritual.

(0:43:58 to 0:47:30)

Ancestors worship *phai lu* is done once in a year. It is expensive to do this ritual. If it is not possible to do the *phai lu* every year the *chyoba* is done. Some do *phailu* and *chhyoba* in alternate years. *Chyoba* is less expensive than the *phai lu*. To perform *Phai lu* ritual the situation of the new moon or full moon is observed. The shaman tells people which day is suitable for performing this ritual. The time of shaman needs to be called. To perform this ritual a type grass called *rudu* is required. Then the *rudu* is put in the fire. Then they make the stage to perform the ritual (*gho timu*) *kaidu* (idol made out of rice) are cooked. Only after firing the *rudu*, is the *kaidu* cooked. They (Shamans) know the things that are required for the *phailu* such as pure rice, pure curry, pure *kaidu* etc. and they put out small amountz of all the things. They need new wool/iron? Five pathi (approx 12.5 kg) of millet is required for this ritual. The money is needed to put inside the *Kaidu*.

They themselves begin the process of *phai lu*. While doing the *phai lu* a person is asked to perform the job. This person is called *phyo se*. About six kg of millet and 25-30 rupees are given to this person. For the shaman 100 rupees and one mana of millet flour is given. Bird's meat and yeast are also required for this ritual. The shaman, in fact, starts reciting his myths after these things are ready for him. Towards the finishing of the myth reading by the shaman, he asks everybody to join their own hands. Then the shaman starts giving blessings for good health and prosperity. I do not understand all of what the shaman says in blessing, only a few things.

(0:47:40 to 0:49:10)

My husband goes into trance. When *pachhu* goes into trance it is called *kwol*, three times goes into trance. The first two they do not go into trance, only the third time. It is called *kle kol* when my husband goes into trace. The God takes possession, or comes. I am not afraid when my husband goes into trance because he becomes all right after sometime. He was possessed by his family deity so we do not have to be afraid of him. My husband started to go into trance when he was 15- 16 years old. He does not eat buffalo meat. If we only eat mutton, and are possessed by the family deity, eating only pure food then we also go into trance.

## DANCING

(0:49:29 to 0:53:08)

When there is a dance performance in the village, sometimes only men or the boys group and sometimes only women or the girls group perform dancing while sometimes there is a mixed group. When they dance they act and move their hands according to the wording of the song. Hands movements are very indicative, for example, when do you go, how do you sit, friend's village, could I have drinking water, my life is difficult, etc.

I cannot dance very well. I had danced for some time before marriage. You also danced with Lumya's mother. Nowadays, we do not have *Ghatu* dance in the village. Did you take a film

of the *ghatu* dance before? Oh, you took only photographs. In the past there used to be a *ghatu* dance in the village, you did not have a video camera. Nowadays, you have got a video camera but only ordinary village dancing is available. In the ordinary dancing, mothers do not dance because they do not dance very well. In the dance performance, only nice dances are performed. There is no stage in the mothers' dances. They just move around and neither have good songs nor do they have good dancez as compared to the dance performance. The mothers' dance performance does not match with song. This dance is just to collect money.

(0:53:12 to 0:56:52)

I do not understand the song of the *ghatu* dance. *Ghatu* means Kheonwati – wife of Paseram. Although I used to be the helper for the *ghatu* dancers, because I was young I could not understand/ learn the *ghatu* song. The work of the helper includes dressing up the *ghatu* dancers, dressing their hair, and when *kusun* go into trance letting them go to sleep on our lap. The dancers are not allowed move here and there, so two helpers have to escort them when they have to go to the toilet.

The *ghatu* dance is like this. I never danced the *Ghatu*. Now I am dancing you have to give me money then we will eat buffalo meat. *Kusun* dance is like this. I feel headache when I try to dance the *Kusun* dance. The *Kusun* dancers move their head in this way. When other persons try to dance they have neck ache. At that time the god is in their body so they don't feel any difficulty but the god is not in our body so we feel difficult.

(0:56:58 to 0:57:54)

We don't have *Rodhi* in this village. We did not know whether there was *Rodhi* or not before. But we used to sit together with our friends in turn in each other's home. We didn't call it *Rodhi*. There was this type of gathering in our youth. Nowadays the young people don't have this type of gathering. They don't sing as well. Women don't sit with men and there are not many women. There is no good friendship with one village to another village, and the young men do not have good friends with each other.

## ***LIFE CYCLE***

(1:05:05 to 1:13:45)

I have four children, three sons and one daughter. The daughter is the youngest one. I had 3-4 hours labour pain while giving birth to a child.

I always had labour pain at night. It is very painful in labour pain. Sometimes I fear death while giving birth to a child. I have my husband's elder brother's wife, my sister in law, Harimaya to help. At the time of labour pain with Premkumari, Dhan Bahadur's mother, and Tularam's mother helped me. Harimaya helped me very much at the delivery of my three sons. After giving birth to a child I sleep. At the time of labour pain my husband becomes very anxious. He walks in and out. He calls the neighbours for help but all the neighbours don't come. Children also become anxious, they began to cry, some of them sit outside and some sit inside the house. There is no problem if the man of the house cares for his wife but we don't allow other people to come in.

I always gave birth at night. The labour pain starts at 8 or 9 o' Clock then at 11 or 12 o' Clock the baby was born. It is very painful. I fear very much and all the family as well. Hari

Maya and my husband take care of me at this time. My husband cooks food for me, he kills chicken, and moves in and out. Children do nothing, they stay with me. They also cry. We bury the placenta in the soil of our land. My husband does this throwing away.

We allow a baby for to suckle for up to four years. If the mother gets pregnant within 4 years, she stops breast feeding after three years. If the gap is for several years then she continues breast feeding for 3 – 5 years. But if the gap is only one year then the time of breast feeding is only one year.

Some people start to give some solid food when the baby is 5 – 6 months old. Some people give them rice directly while some give lito (food). Lito is a baby food made from flour of roasted rice and soybean cooked in water and some ghee added. If there is a gap of many years and mother's milk is sufficient, they continue only breast feeding for 1 – 2 years. Sometime it is painful when the baby sucks the milk.

I do all kinds of work from the starting month of pregnancy. I never take a rest. I work all the ten months. If I take rest then who will do my work? I have to do all my work. Krishna was born in Pokhara and the other three were born in this village. Some couples (husband and wife) sleep together and others do not sleep together after 5 or 6 months of pregnancy. When the size of the belly increases, they do not sleep together. And the pair do not sleep together after giving birth to the child for 3 – 5 months. After giving birth, the mother eats rice, ghee and chicken curry. Some mothers do not go outside from the room for 9 days and some do not go for 3 days after giving birth to a child. Then they start to go out. If there is serious labour pains then people go to the hospital. In the time of pregnancy they receive treatment as well. They do family planning also.

(1:13:58 to 1:16:48)

During menstruation, people used to refrain from touching men, cooking food, offering pure water to the god, smearing the house etc. in the past. Nowadays very few people do so. In this period the women do not smear the house, cooking area, they do not kindle incense, they do not put pure water (religious), and they do not worship. I also do not the above things in this period. My husband does not do worship because this time is impure time. We do not have another woman for cooking so I cook. In the period of menstruation, some people have backache, body ache but not much pain. In this period women put a piece of cloth. When the bleeding is stopped, they wash the cloth. Some women do not put even the piece of cloth. Nowadays the girls wear panties and they put a piece of cloth. Some women who do not put the piece of cloth, as a result they make their dress dirty, they make the path dirty, and all the people can see. Do women use pad in your country? Does not it make the cloth dirty? We do not have that type of thing here. In my case bleeding happens for six days. Some have three days and some have four days. During menstruation time, the couple do not sleep together because it is dirty.

1:17:00 to 1:17:31

I did family planning because we have four children. We waited for girl so during we have three boys and at last we have a girl. Some suggest us to have a daughter and some suggested for family planning. After having a daughter I did family planning immediately.

1:17:45 to 1:25:10

Nowadays people do not agree to get married till their age of 12 – 14 years. In the past Blacksmith, Tailor, Brahman used to get married at the age of 5 – 12 years. But the Gurungs never do so. They get married after completing 15- 20 years. In my opinion the proper age is

15 – 16 years. I got married in 15 – 16 years. We say *Kolme* (child girls) who are not menstruated. Some girls start menstruation in the age of 12 – 13 and some start in 15 – 16 age. In my case it was when I was 14-15.

In the case of marriage few people do love marriage and most of the people do arrange marriage, the boy's and girl's parents make decision for the marriage. When a couple do love marriage we call it *hotelar yaba* (going to the hotel). I did not do love marriage. My elder uncle arranged my marriage. My husband did not give anything to me. If the Bridegroom have enough property he gives gold jewellery to his bride but my husband did not have the property. If possible it is given if not it is not a compulsion. My elder father gave me one set of bedding, one set of utensil such as dinner plate, bowl, pitcher, ankhora, cooking pot, pan, spatula, scoop, etc. In the marriage ceremony, the priest and the shaman are not needed. In this ceremony all the relatives of bride and bridegroom come. It depends upon the their desire whether they want musical instrument in the marriage or not. If they want then the tailors are needed for the music. If not only the parents of the pair and the relatives are enough. After some days the bride and the bridegroom returned to the bride's home. This is called *Dulhan Parkaune*. If there is the music in the marriage ceremony, 9 – 10 people come to the bride's home as a marriage procession and the next day they take the bride to the bridegroom's home. After three days they (pair) come to bride's home. I did the same. This must be done by every couple but some do later. Our son Krishna did not do this work because he did love marriage. After marriage we stayed there, then another place (*Holor*) , then we stayed in *Kwi* village for one month , then in *Phayar* , we stayed in my elder uncle's home and at last in this house. Sometimes we quarrel with each other but we make friendship in a short time. Some couples who completely dislike each other they get divorced. If they agreed to divorce, there are arbitrators to make decision for which the man/woman has to pay money as fee. Such divorce less frequently happens.

1:25:30 to 1:27:03

When the mother dies daughter has to do *krsa lawa*, means keeping the hair undone or open while sons raze the hair and perform funeral rites. In Gurung community both son and daughter equally required. Daughters only do *krsa lawa* while sons do not take salt for 13 days. The sons eat pure things that should be untouched by chicken, dogs, black smith and tailor for 13 days. They only eat small amount of boiled rice with ghee. In this way sons take a lot of hardship. On the 13<sup>th</sup> day purification ritual is done by shamans. They beat small trumpets as well as shell. The maternal uncles offer salt to the to sons. Then they start to eat salty food.

## DEATH AND ILLNESS AND DANGERS

1:27:09-1:28:58

I am frightened to die. I used to fear in my childhood but less nowadays. All children fear from death. I don't know what happens after death. I don't know how is heaven or hell. I think good works like you have done leads to heaven otherwise to hell. If we can not do good work it is not possible to go to heaven. If a small child dies we feel very bad. We do not feel happy and like to cry for more than one year or even more years.

1 : 29 : 06 – 1 : 29 : 41

People are bringing stone from below the house of Lok Prasad. My husband will come there and please go to observe how people take out stones.

## IX.

0: 18 : 28 – 0: 23 : 12

When I was young I did not have any disease. Nowadays I have a problem of headache, dizziness, vomiting, difficult to sit. All this started to happen when I was 9-10 years old. Half of head pains, feel dizzy.

When I was young this problem was not much difficult. I did not noticed much pain at that time. Nowadays when I have common cold I have whole pain on the body. I have to take rest for many days. I feel pain after have children. I have this type of disease . Snake has not bitten me yet. Bees sting. Prem Kumari is frightened of bees. When sting the part of they sting is swollen. They live in the hive up there.

Nowadays Krishna does not get ill. When he was very young (child ) he used to have diarrhoea and his belly was very big , having shiver pain in abdomen. He was very thin. At that time we used to stay in Bhuwan Singh's home. He started to get ill when he was one year old and for three years. All the neighbours thought that he will die but he was cured. At that time I had to work in the field, Krishna used to stay with my Mother's elder sister. She fed him too much rice, sometimes base tea, buffalo milk. He did not get a chance to drink my milk because I had to work in the field. So he had diarrhoea and stomach pain. After curing that disease, he does not have any diseases now. Sometimes he has common cold .

Our next (middle son ) was very sick till 5 – 6 years old. He had a kind of worm, not the round worm, with shiver pain. When he was sick, his father took him to the hospital, I did not go with him. His father and my elder father and mother saw the worms. At that time his complexion was black and so thin that he was missing in the bed. He was very serious all our neighbours thought that he will die but he get rid off that disease. He started to get sick from small age to eight years. When he was very serious in 5 – 6 year we took him hospital in Pokhara. In the hospital he stayed for 6 – 7 days. He did not recover immediately having the medicine. He took the medicine for long time and all the worms passed out and he cured. Nowadays he does not have any sickness.

Our youngest son did not get ill. Sometimes he has common cold otherwise he does get ill .

Our daughter Prem Kumari, sometime she has abdomen pain and common cold. That's all about her.

0 : 23 : 16- 0 : 27 : 16

Once a nabli (tape worm) entered into her nose. At that time we were working (Adhia) in our elder mother's land. In (mid Nov. – mid Dec.) mangsir we went to make the stack of straw with paddy (kuniyo) there. There was a small well near that land and there many small leeches and tape worms (cestodes)nabli . Prem Kumari drank water from that well taking the water in her hands full this way and the small tape worm (nabli) entered into her nose. She was very frightened and was painful. We did not get any medicines in the village for that worm. Then we took her to the hospital. There was a foreign lady doctor but she could not take that worm out. She told us to sit like this way having water in the hands and then the worm comes out then she will catch the worm. But it did not work. We stayed many days in the hospital. In the hospital she slept and the drops of glucose water is put into her nose. Prem Kumari did not like this and she was very frightened. At last I brought her home. Then I put some tobacco in a bowl and add some water. Then I put the water into her nose and let her to sleep. After putting this water she felt like drinking wine, and she was afraid that she is going to die. At that time she did not have any food, only sleeping, she did not speak, fearing, and her body was very weak (lalyak luluk). She slept here and I stayed near her. The next day the

worm dropped out from her nose. Then she became all right. The worm was this much bigger and longer. If we did not do this treatment, it will be bigger than it can not stay in that space. We were all frightened seeing this condition. That is why nowadays I do not allow them to drink water from that type of source. Sometimes if we have free time we boil water and drink, otherwise we drink the normal water or if it is possible we boil in the evening.

My husband has Gano (gastritis) and Sul (colic) diseases. The Gano (gastritis) means there is a small ball in the abdomen. When this ball goes down it causes diarrhoea and when it goes upwards it causes vomiting. I don't know about Sul (colic). People say Sul (colic) is also like Gano (gastritis). This makes the patient very serious. The patient moves up and down, sweat comes very much, the patient cannot sleep and sit properly. My husband was very serious a few months ago. He was so serious that people thought that he would die. People said if we did not do the treatment in the time he will die. The treatments were, one shaman (exorcised) chanted and jharnu, and another treatment is we put the plough blade in the fire then take it out and dropped some water on it and this water is given to drink to my husband. People say that this type of water is medicine for it. We did only these two treatments then he cured. At that time I was very nervous. All neighbours came to visit him. I don't remember the exact month but it happened in this year. My elder father exorcised (chanted and jharnu) also.

0:27: 32 – 0: 30 : 52

We did not do any medicinal treatment for head ache before. Because we did not have health post, and medicine was not available, there was no hospital. There is a hospital in Pokhara, but many people can not go to the hospital, and there were not enough medicines in Pokhara, some aspirin tablets were available. There is not any medicinal herbs (homeopathic medicine) for headache. But I told the medicine before, it is possible in the case of children. If we grind that medicine and put this paste on the forehead and drink water of this medicine, it gives relief. There are very few persons (Lama) who make the medicine for toothache. There is one old lady (Purnima's grandmother) she makes medicines for toothache. I don't how she makes. The patients take 500 gm. Rice, money from 1 – 5 rupees for her. Then she makes medicine tied in a piece of cloth and she moves that piece around the incenes and makes a small ball then the patient wear it in the ear. I do not have that medicine yet. Many old people do that type of treatment. Nowadays if people get ill they go to the health post or hospital. If there is infection or ache in the throat, the medicine is (Fitkiri) alum. Some people believe that if our hair enters into the neck then there is throat infection. In this case people comb on the neck two times and some get cured and some do not. A kind of flower found in the forest ( Pora Ta ) rhododendron is also a kind of medicine for throat infection. When I have this infection I eat that flower. It gives cure and relief. It is slightly sweet. If there is diarrhoea caused by round worms then there is medicine for treatment for both children and adult. For this treatment first of all hot ash (Kharani) is taken then put in the water for three times in a pot or glass. Then the ash goes down. After this we filter this water in a clean piece of cloth. This water is very hard to drink because the taste of water is not good (Nilna nasakne, Tarro). In this way the medicine can be made from the ash. The old people did this treatment but nowadays people eat medicine.

0: 31: 07 – 0: 34: 24

Once I have seen a snake while cutting the grass. I was cutting the grass this side. After that I was going to cut the next side, I saw a snake before reaching that side. The snake was somewhat black, and light green. I saw only the half of its body. It was moving ahead. I was very frightened and I did not go there to cut the grass. It was this much thick and long. Then I returned home. The snake lives making round its body and only its head is upward. Usually the snakes do not bite in the forest. They stay in the thick grass area. They stay in the bottom

area of the grass and only their head is upward. When we cut grass this way and there is the chance to bite on our hand. If the people do not get the treatment after biting the snake they will die. The bitten portion will be infected . In the rainy season there may be snakes in the grass area. There is chance to bite many people. It is very difficult to get medicine for snake bite in this village. I do some treatment but I get frightened so I do not do treatment very often. I did treatment for three persons but another man also did treatment for them. I do not know whose treatment was more effective. Last year my neighbour's son was bitten by snake. On the first day he came to my house for treatment. His hand was swollen very much. I was very frightened . I told them to cut the bitten area or spot and I grind the medicine and put it in the wound and the other half I gave him to eat. Later they told me that the wound would have cured if the bite did not see my wound. It took time to cure. Now his hand is like this much thin.

0: 34: 45 – 0: 37: 20

There is not a medical hall in this village except you have opened one. One man ( Ullir be Kanchha), he works in the health post. If there is medicine sometimes he gives us medicines. Generally people do not go to the health post. In my opinion the Workers of the health post do not give service well. There is a rumour that they sell the medicine but I do not know very well. They give very few tablets but it is not very effective. Nowadays the medical halls are available from Bajhapatan to above in Pokhara. If the patient is very serious they take to the hospital otherwise for general illness people go to the medical halls. In my opinion the hospital in Pokhara is neither bad nor good. I do not have any idea about the workers in that hospital, because I do not go to hospital frequently. Many people returned home after recovery from that hospital. Some died and some recovered, not bad. The baby children do not die very much in this village. Some children die from premature birth. Some die after the safe birth, not many 1- 2. The mortality rate is same before and now.

0: 37: 30 – 0: 39: 30

I fear Tuberculosis disease. I fear the snake as well. That is why I cut the grass very carefully. If it bites man can die because there is no medicine.

Tiger (chhe) also kills people. A tiger killed a Blacksmith 4 years ago. The tiger picked him up from his bed and ate him. Bears also kills people. It scratches the man. The mad dog bites. But it has not bitten a man yet. Last year our neighbour ( Sher Bahadur ) thought that his dog is mad and they took medicine but it was not. When they took the medicine they got sick. It was very painful for them. The medicine was given by one Newar caste. They took the medicine in the evening and they did not sleep the whole night because of the pain. Then they recovered . The Newar's medicine is effective for mad dog biting.

## THE CASTE SYSTEM AND OTHER GROUPS

X. 0: 48: 44 – 0: 56: 57

There are 12 households of Blacksmiths. There are only three households of Blacksmiths who sharpen and make spades and sickles. The remaining Blacksmiths make the buildings of school, people's houses, they dig the well, make road, plough, and they work on others people's land. That is all about their works. They all are poorer than the Gurungs. They do not have land. They have very little land for planting millet not planting rice. They are low caste. We do not touch them. We (Gurung) do not allow them to enter into our houses. If we go into their houses to call them for work, we have to spread water drops on our body before entering our own home. The water is spread by another member of our family. But nowadays we do not do too much. We do not do marriage with Blacksmiths, Tailors and Cobblers.

There are only six households of Tailors. The women who can sew and make clothes. Half of them can sew and half cannot. Those who cannot sew do the same work as the blacksmiths do. The men go to work in others work, digging well (keu koba), ploughing, some earn others land, 1 or 2 have their own land for planting millet, they do not have rice land. Women sew clothes, cook food, do cattle work, etc. They are also low caste. The Blacksmiths and Tailors are equal. We do not touch them. We do not eat food if they touch. We spray water. We don't allow them to enter our houses. We let them stay outside. We give them food to eat outside. Everything we give them outside. The vegetables, beaten rice and other things which they brought from Pokhara by carrying on their back, these things are not touchable. If they carry us on their back when we are sick, this is also untouchable. Only they should not enter our houses.

There are only three households of Cobbler. They do the same work as the Blacksmiths and the Tailors do. They have very little land. They do not repair shoes.

There are no Tamangs in this village. They live in Khatedanda. We touch them. We did not allow them to enter in the very inner area before. We do not allow them to go in our kitchen. They eat food cooked by us. In the past the Gurungs did not eat food cooked by them but nowadays they eat. The Gurungs drink water given by the Tamangs as well. We do not have marriage relation yet, but do not what happens in the future.

The Magars and the Gurungs are equal. I do not understand their language. The people who live near Tamang area they speak Tamang language but we do not understand because there are no Tamang households in this village. Bhadra Singh understands the Tamang language. He live in Khade Danda before and he had Tamang friends who worked together. So he knows the language.

I do not understand the Bhote language. Sometimes they walk through this village. Nowadays a few come to do business not many. We touch them also. People say the Gurungs and the Bhote are equal in the past. They are a little bit dirty so we do not like to sit with them. They are not near us and they are also dirty so that we do not eat food cooked by Bhote. Many foreigners do not come to this village. They come rarely and few. If they come with one or two friends they live in the houses and if they come in a group, they stay in the school. Sometimes they come very frequently, sometimes they come after a long gap. I do not keep many foreigners. They stay in the hotel (Dokan)

I think all the foreigners are not the same in behaviour. Some are good and some are bad. I keep only The British people whom I know. I do not keep strangers. Nowadays there live some foreigners. I do not what they are doing. I do not understand their work. One year is completing in Asar that they are living here.

0: 58: 53 — 1: 00: 40



I do not know very well about Songi . There are Konme, Lamme, Lemme Ghale clans in this Songi. All the rest clans are called Kugi. I belonged Kebje clan before marriage now I am Nebje. There are Kebje, Nebje, Layome, Lame, Pachhu, clan in Kugi. I do not know many clans because I do not ask about the clans. I think you know more than I. So that I asked you and film and you answer.

## THE KINSHIP SYSTEM

1: 00: 53: - 1: 04: 57

In Gurung language we call *Thagu* for the first son, *Mahila* for second son, *Sahila* for third son, *Kahila* for fourth son, and *Kaja* for the youngest son. Similarly, we call *Nani* for first daughter, *Maili* for second daughter, *Saili* for third daughter, *Kaili* for fourth daughter and *Kaji* for the youngest daughter. I have *Thagu*, *Maila* and *Kaja* and only a *Nani*.

In case of fathers' generation, we say *Aabtheba* for the father's eldest brother, *Aabmaila* for the second brother of father, *Aabsaila* for the third brother of father and *Aabchyon*.

Father's eldest sister is called *Phane*, father's second sister is called *Phademaili*, father third sister is *Phadesaili* and the youngest sister is *Phachyon*.

For all elder and younger brothers of mother are called *Mama*. Elder sister of mother is called *Amthewa*. Then all younger sisters of mothers are called sequentially as, for second *Ajyonmaili*, for third *Ajyonsaili*, and so on and the youngest is called *Ajyonkaji*.

We call *Ngolo* for all sons mother's brothers and then vice-versa. Similarly, we call *Ngolsyo* for all daughters of mother's brothers and vice-versa. Similarly, we call *Ngolo* to all sons of father's sister's sons and *Ngolsyo* to father's sister's daughters. The *Ngolo* and *Ngolsyo* can get married. We consider the children of mothers bother and children of father's sister are equal in such relations. But when they live in neighbourhood they feel like brother and sister and do not get married often.

## HISTORY OF THE FAMILY

XI. 1: 05: 12 – 1: 10: 50

My first son used to be bright and was able to work at anything and also was good at study.

My second son, Om, is very helpful to me. He supports me in all my works. He stays at home, he goes to school and de does a number of works. He is a very good person. From his early age he started to cook food such as rice, and vegetable. He speaks less, I don't understand what he says. He does not go with girls and he is still young age. I think for 2-3 years to come he probably will not go with girls. Om has now started to speak a little bit (*bhyo khaba*). His brain is ok.

Kaja, Tturna, is talented. He studies well. He does not want stay back home. He always want to go to school and does not want to be absent. He goes to school regularly and does not do household works much. Only he take bullocks for grazing and he does not want to work. It may be due to his young age. School going and bullock grazing are the only works he does. He does not like to do other work.

My daughter, Prem Kumari, is still very young. She likes to play very much. If she does not feel lazy, while she is at home she does some household works. From this year only she has started to go to school. From now onward she goes to school and helps in some of my works. Her brain is ok.

My husband, *Kanchha*, is getting old. But he does all kinds of work. His brain is ok. He did not get a chance to study in his childhood. He can write letters in Nepali language. But he is a little bit slow. He does not quarrel with others, does not play cards, he drinks alcohol less, he does not get angry, does not talk much with other people, work slowly and smoothly and overall he is a nice man. I love him very much.

## WORK GROUPS AND VILLAGE SUPPORT

1: 11: 12 – 1: 11: 53

People like to make *mit or mitini*, (fictitious kin). To make *mit or mitini*, friends go together, like each other, love each other and they propose to be fictitious kin and finally, become *mit or mitini* by performing a ritual (*Chyanba*). *Mit or mitini* are equal to sons or daughters. I have a *mitini* who lives far away from this village.

1: 12: 06 – 1: 15: 43

During *Asar* we do have *Paraili thumai*. This is a labour exchange among friends in the village after we sow seed of rice in the seed bed. Those who can provide labour for labour it is done that way while those who could not provide labour in return pay cash (*nophom*). For one month the *Parali thumai* seems like family members. All works are done together for each other. From this month onwards people start to do *nogorlam*, work for receiving labour in return. This labour exchange is also done in *Chaitra and Jestha* months to do some works like ploughing land for the first time. We call *chaite nogor* for the labour exchange during the cultural operation for maize. Similarly, to collect firewood, to weed maize field and clean weeds from fields also labour exchange is practised. After *bhadra* this labour exchange practice is less common. Labour exchange is a common practice for all in the village, at least one member from every household.

We used to have *gola* system, group work. In this we used to get together to form a team of 15-25 people representing from each family. The group could work for a family and the family who gets the labour has to pay in cash. The money collected in this way used to be spent for a large picnic (*syogochaba*). In *Dashain* or *Tihar* people would buy buffalo and share the meat. This system is disappearing nowadays.

Nowadays my friends are not here. They were married out to a number of villages such as *Yojur*, *Vichok*, etc. Friends are normally of same age. I had 5-6 friends, not many. The friends are different for youth and for our age. I had only friends of our clan (sixteen clan) who used to be like sisters to each other.

1: 15: 55 – 1: 17: 18

People living close by are called *Nhemme(?)*, neighbour (?). My neighbours are *Aamtheba*, *Kopchi*, *Bahadur*. Although they may not necessarily help, they come to see us when we fall sick or we have a problem. Only our relatives support us in our works such as mother of *Bhadra Sing* of *Kui* village, *Kale's* mother, *Bishnu* although they live a little far away from us. When we fall sick they come to help us such as fetching water, giving grass to buffaloes, cooking food, etc. If we are too sick they also go to work on our behalf, but not the work in the farm field.

## DIET AND FOOD

1: 24: 58 – 1: 26: 24

In the month of *Mangsir* (mid November to mid December) we store some rice (*Kynoba*) and continue eating till the month of *Falgun* (mid February to mid March). Then we start to buy food. We eat a half portion of *Paigo* and half rice during other time and in *Dashain* again we

eat rice We do not eat too much rice. I like rice. The children do not like Dhido they love rice. The people who have enough rice their children do not eat Dhido for four or five years. The people who do not have enough rice their children start to eat Dhido from the age of one year

1: 26: 28 – 1: 29: 45

I used to eat meat of buffalo. My husband eats mutton, and chicken since his childhood. But he does not eat buffalo meat. I used to eat buff meat when Krishna was very young. Nowadays I do not eat. Nowadays I eat chicken and mutton only. I do not like meat very much. We seldom eat meat. Sometimes we eat once a month, sometimes we eat once in four or five months. Sometime we do not get meat any more. Sometimes it is very expensive, we can not afford. We get a small quantity of meat for one hundred rupees. It is just for one meal. Sometimes they kill the animals when we do not have money so we do not buy. We eat seldom if we have money. We eat enough in Dashedan. We eat three or four hundreds rupees of meat in a year. We all the family members drink buffalo milk. They eat milk with rice and tea. We drink milk once in four or five days. If the vegetable curry is not delicious we add milk in rice and eat.

We make vegetable curry of radish. We plant the seeds of radish in Bhadau. From this season, we start to plant cucumber, sponge guard, bitter guard, egg plant in rainy season. After this we get Masyang from our land and we eat it. We also eat lentil. These are the vegetables that we can get in our village not many varieties. I like to eat cow pea, bean, sponge guard, cucumber, and egg plant. We eat hen eggs but not frequently. We eat three to four eggs in a month. Our hens lay eggs but we do not sell them. The hens lay two to three eggs then we collect them and eat when it is sufficient for each.

1: 29: 57 – 1: 31: 23

We cook rice in a dekchi or kasaudi or tasala according to the family size. We cook 750 gms of rice for three persons. And we cook fifty percent of dhido. The cooking process of rice is first we put rice in an utensil then wash in the water, then change the water and we keep on stove and cook in fire. The process of cooking curry is first we chopped the vegetables into small pieces, then keep the pan on the stove, put some oil, let it be heated and put some pieces of chopped onions and garlic. Then we put vegetables and fried for sometime. Then we add salt, turmeric and keep for a while. Then it is ready to eat.

1: 31: 28 – 1: 31: 45

I do not drink alcohol. I do not feel like drinking alcohol. If I drink I get a head ache and body pain. The children also do not drink alcohol. My husband drinks not a lot. He drinks two or three glasses only.

## **CLOTHES AND FURNITURE**

XII. 0: 00: 11 – 0: 05: 15

My daughter ( Prem Kumari ) has one set of school dress ( one shirt and one skirt) which we had made in Pokhara. She has another style of two skirts, one of these is torn and out of use and another one also is getting old, this can be used only one time. She has only two clothes which you sent with Dr. Paul. She does not have enough clothes. She does not have raincoat. She has one sweater that her father bought from Pokhara. She does not have shoes, she has slippers.

My husband has one sweater that Sarah gave him last year. He bought one pair of trousers which he wears when he goes to the office, not at home. Actually he bought for Krishna but he did not like it and he his father started to wear. He has two shirts. He wears wrapping cloth (Kash), he has one wrapping cloth (Kash), two pairs of shoes and raincoat.

Om our second son has one set of school dress (one shirt and shorts). We have not bought new set for him yet because of the shortage of the money. He is wearing last year's shirt. We bought shorts for him. We have not bought his school shoes yet. He had two pairs of pants but they were torn. He needs to buy. He does not have enough shirts. He has two sweaters.

Krishna has old 0. He has demanded to buy shoes and trousers. He has two old trousers, two shirts, a raincoat (given my sister in-law, Sarah) and a pair of school shoes.

I have three lungi including that given by sister in-law, two blouses (choloos), one Tikis(?), a cloth tied round the girdle (Patuka), two shawls, and petticoat(Petikot). I have enough now. I do not have shoes and raincoat. I have one nose-ring (Phuli) ear- rings and a necklace (Tilhari).

## **TOOLS**

0: 05: 26 – 0: 06: 15

Tools for household works that we have are three sickles, three spades, six dokoos, two axe, hoe etc. For ploughing field we need plough (Kohr), plank, Khargu, a string (Nara).

0: 06: 30 – 0: 08: 03

We not have enough bed -clothes because we can not buy. We have old sets that were given by Bhuwan Singh. We have two beds, three quilts, three pillows. Children sleep with somewhat cold feeling. We do not have enough quilts and beds so that Om and Tsrna sleep together, Prem Kumari and her father sleep together, Krishna sleeps separate because he is married, nobody sleeps with him.

Cooking wares (kitchen wares) that we have are alcohol making big pot (Taulo), rice cooking pots such as tasala, Kasaudi, six dinner plates, (one for each member) Pan (Tapke) for cooking curry, one kettle for making tea, water jug, small vases for keeping pure water, bucket and gagri (vessel) for carrying water etc.

## **FLORA AND FAUNA**

0: 08: 18 – 0: 15: 45

There are many kind of trees in this village or forest which we use for fodder such as Tofu tree, Podlu tree, Lapsi tree, Tarkalai tree, Pleta tree, a kind of berry (Kimbu tree), Krauri etc.

The trees that we use for furniture and firewood are Chanka tree, we use this tree for making doors these types of wood (ghar ko dalin, khamba). This tree is very good for furniture. Other

kinds of trees are chestnut tree (katus tree), Seyombu tree, Rudu tree, Mrohe tree, Tose tree, Pagesi tree, Sisi tree etc.

There are also fruit trees such as Malkat, Chutro, raspberry (Aiselu), Hyaljyo etc.

I do not know the names of many birds that are found in the forest. I know the names of very few of them such as forest hen, Patadi, Malu, Puwa, and Kalau which lives near the river. There are many kinds of fishes. Fish live in water. I do not know the names of different kinds of fishes.

The mice live in the forest and home as well. Cat, Rumi, yehgu, martin (Malchhapro), yehgu looks like jackal and some what tiger, jackal, forest leopard looks like a tiger. The leopards are smaller but bigger than the cats. Rami and mice look like same but there is little bit difference between them. That's all I know about the wild animals.

The insects are maisa insect, mithoya, which live in the wood that cannot be seen clearly, dragon fly, oisa insect, etc. I do not know their names very much.

The flowers that are found in the forest are such as rhododendron (Pora flower), Syona flower which is white in colour, it has a big tree, Sadi flower this is also white in colour, it has a small tree, Pora flower has tree also, Malga flower which is slightly smaller this flower is Nir (blue) in colour etc. found in the forest. This season is not flowering season in the garden. We have flowers in Dashain. Nahud, Kewar flower which is urgya (yellow), and red, Nahud is yellow, Lalupate which is red. There are different types of colours of flowers (nine to ten) not many. But in Pokhara there are a lot.

## VILLAGE LIFE

XIII. 0: 32: 02 – 0: 32: 58

All the women (mothers) used to weave in this village. But nowadays there are only a few. Keusari Parsingh's mother, Aamchyo, Aam Saili, Nera Bahadur's mother weave.

0: 33: 03 – 0: 34: 28

We do not have electricity in this village. We use kerosene for light. We have water. We made tap for drinking water, but the water has not come properly yet, because they have not finished the work. There is a shop in our village. Buddhi Bahadur has that shop. We can buy many things such as biscuit, kerosene oil, rice, sugar, tea etc. We have one school.

0: 34: 40 – 0: 35: 50

I do not know exactly how much water we bring because sometimes we bring a lot and sometimes less. We bring three or four vessels full in the morning. The buffalo drinks two vessels in the afternoon. We need three or four vessels in the evening. If we make alcohol then we need five to six vessels full of water.

We need about hundred Bhari [bundles] (both collected and cut trees) fire-wood in a year. Saarkari we collect a lot in the morning. People cut sixty, seventy, eighty bundles in the monsoon. So including both fire wood collected and cut people make hundred bundles in a year.

0: 35: 53 – 0: 36: 10

No body has a toilet in this village. Only you have. People do not have a toilet that is why they do toilet in Kholsa, The children who are young they do toilet on the path, and they make it very dirty.

0: 36: 19 – 0: 36: 32

The landslide occurs in this village. Sometimes it occurs small and sometimes big. In my land also landslide occurs. It occurs in different places.

0: 36: 47 – 0: 37: 17

We have election on 15 coming week. I will go either in the morning or in the evening because there is a crowd in the afternoon. There are many political parties such as Congress, Communist, Democratic etc. I do not know very much. Some people believe and some not in political parties.

0: 37: 31 – 0: 38: 38

Nowadays people go to the foreign countries such as Singapore, Malaysia, Japan etc. to earn a lot of money. Because the people do not have enough food to eat by working in the fields, they have a lot of difficulties, the things are expensive, we need a lot of money, after working very hard in the field the hailstone destroys all the crops, the crops come very little, the crop is not enough for five or six months. People go to the another countries such as Korea, Arab, Malaysia, Singapore, Japan, Germany, etc. because they get more money they have somewhat greediness as well. They bought land (small), they invest a lot of money for buying small land.

0: 38: 50 – 0: 39: 50

There are no thieves in this village and I do not know about human killers. I do not know that type of persons who used to do bad work. My husband knows them. One man was killed before, .....?.

People drink and get drunk (out of control) very often.

0: 39: 55 – 0: 40: 07

This year there were a lot of hailstones fell which destroyed all the maize. As a result we do not have maize.

## **GHOSTS, WITCHES, SPIRITS**

### **XIV.**

We say *Masan* are the spirit of dead people.

It is believed that dead spirit roam in the night time. Only we have heard about it but nobody has seen it. *Pachyu* and *Klabri* (shamans) only tell that they can recognise. Similarly, it is believed that *Chongor* (forest spirit) are found in the forest.

It is also said that *banketa* (forest boy-spirit) are found in the forest who carries one stick and a bag. It is believed that while walking across forest or elsewhere if his shadow falls over us we become sick and if our shadow falls over him he becomes sick. It is said so but we have not experienced it. My kids are not affected until now. It is also believed that only small kids see such forest boys rarely.

It is also said that *mo* is also found in rivers and streams. This also we can not see. We don't know whether *mo* can see us or not. It is believed that if one meets *mo* he or she gets sick. But we do not the type of sickness caused by such thing. It is said that *mo* could cause bad effect when people go to river or stream or cross the river etc. I have never experienced.

We call *bayu devata* to the ancestral spirit of the husband's clan. We offer rice, roasted paddy, *dhwaja* (cloth piece), and chicken to the spirit on the full moon day of Baisakh (mid April-mid May). This is done requesting the spirit to protect our family and home. That's all about this.

*Bhut pret* and *mo* is same thing.

A witch is a person but we cannot recognise who is witch. Only the shaman say that they know who is witch. We cannot differentiate between a witch and a normal person. They look alike for us. I have no idea who is a witch in this village. I also do not know what the witches do. It is said that they cause illness to other people, they play with fire in the night time. But I do not know anything, neither I have seen. Nobody in our family is affected by witch. Sometime my children fall sick but I do not know whether it is caused by witch or

something else. Children get well when the traditional healers do some healing practice. When a witch causes a person to be ill, sometime the person may also die.

If a man does wrong or bad work s/he earn *paap*. But I do not know where one goes after death. Wrong doings could be.....?

On the other hand good doings are not to kill other animals, not to lie, not to beg, and good behaviour with other people and the opposite is *paap* deed. Those who do good work go to heaven while the wrong doers go to hell after death.

## ODDS AND ENDS

In this village some say that men are superior while others consider women as superior. The reason for considering women as superior is that women are mothers. Some say that men and women are equal. In our case we husband and wife are equal. Sometime husband is superior and sometimes myself.

The men's works are ploughing, digging, making rice bunds during *Asar* (mid-June to mid-July), basket weaving, .....

In *Asar* women do rice transplanting, millet transplanting, cooking, milling of millet, and hand-foot-pounding of rice. Women do not plough while men do not weave clothes. The works of men are not done by women and in the same way works of women are not done by men. In some cases, where there is no woman in a family, the men do the works of women also.

When the parents become old their sons do their works and look after them. If the daughter is nearby she also help and looks after her father-mother. If she is married far away it is not possible normally. Son's wife also look after the parents. We do almost all works for our parents because we very much love our parents for they gave us birth and brought us up with a lot of difficulties. We feel that we must help our parents in return.

Similarly, when we get old our children will have to look after us. If the daughter is married far away she may not be able to come frequently. Sons and daughter-in-laws will take care most.

## INTERVIEW 11 – TRANSLATED BY ALAN

I dream dreams. They are of unknown people and places. I walk around with people, through forests and rivers and see bad things sometime. I only dream occasionally. Dreams mean nothing.

Do you like Pokhara?

If you have money you can buy anything – nice clothes, plates and bowls, foodstuffs. During the hot weather I do not like it there. It can be very smelly and I feel sick. What do you like about like about the village?

Everything I like – everything is fine. But you have to buy many expensive things from Pokhara. The rivers become swollen in the wet season – so it is difficult to bring things.

What makes you unhappy?

When people die, when things are hard – when there is too little money, hard work, when my children are sick.

What makes you happy?

Not many things – everything is hard. Children are helping now so things are getting a little easier. When strangers come I am happy – when you come, but when you go I am unhappy.

How many children are there at the school?

Perhaps 30 or 40 – there are five classes. What do they study? I don't know at all. If children go to school, they cannot help me. Just at the week-ends they can help.

What school things are there?

I don't know really. Not many books – a few benches. They wear out.

Thanks very much indeed for the interviews. I will ask you more when I come next time. You have filmed you a lot – only you have been filmed in this way. You have spoken very well.

[Dilmaya briefly films Alan in interviewing position, and giving examples of his questions. Easy to do.]