
Ethnography Report

BAMBOO CANE CRAFT

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Coding categories of autobiography

CENTER – seeking for the centre of stage , position, attention and seek for importance.

MOVING ON EARTH – attracted towards moving , travelling , dynamic .

PAIN – attracted towards people suffering ,painful situation , incident ,relationships . comes from past experiences in my childhood.

ELITE- look for elite company to have in and inspired by ambitious people.

POSITION- position in life, society , space, career matters to me .

My frame in the Field

Keeping the categories from my autobiography , I tried to maintain the features which could influence me to select the social group . Moving on earth was one of my specific category which I kept in mind while searching for the social group. I was looking for some group which is very permanent and stable. Keeping categories like pain , elite , and kept myself aware of these kind of situations while engaging with the social group. I let myself be in the corner of the the space,sitting on sides , not exactly being in the centre and being a part of their conversation and engagement . Being an observer , not seeking for centre position or attention . I let them treat me they way they wanted .

The social group

Location :

The social group resides in Guwahati city , they have opened a small workshop alongside the main city road. Their workshop is sandwiched by car garages on either side. Their workspace is around 3m x 2m by size , but half of the workshop is filled with their cane stock and finished products. They work in the half space available to the, the workshop has a porch where they have kept some cane furniture as showpiece. The workshop is nothing fancy, neither the people sitting and working inside the workspace. Very simple front of the workshop. The workshop does not have any ceiling fan , they had a small table fan which needs

to get repaired now. The location is a very silent and peaceful , even flanked by car repairing shops, there is no noise or disturbances. Sometimes the pan and tea shop adjacent to the workshop plays radio, where assamese music keeps playing . The workshop have very less tools , only they had were made by themselves .Mostly everything in the workshop were made of cane (handles of all tools) and by themselves, very few commercially bought products are found in their workshop.

The Group :

Keramat Ali and Narendra Dutta are the two people who runs the work space. Both person in their mid 50's . Both of them make bamboo cane furniture and other products , and sell them. Keramat Ali is the owner of the workshop and he is the person who started the workshop 15 years ago . Both Narendra and Keramat are practicing bamboo craft from past 30 years . Narendra dutta was involved in bamboo cane business too , but keramat ali solely practiced the craft throughout .The were 15 when they left their hometowns to learn the craft . Keramat ali belongs to Dhuburi , lower assam area. Keramat Ali , muslim by religion and Bengali by language. Narendra dutta is hindu by religion and speaks assamese. He originally belongs to nalbari, lower assam area. Both of them converse in assamese language when working together . Narendra Dutta is a Kayastha by caste . Both of them are early risers , they get up early and start work in the workshop at 7 in the morning , they work till 2 in the afternoon and resumes work by 4 in the evening till 8-9 at night .They are very occupied by work , not a single day passes when they don't have work , or don't have order to complete. There days are always booked by work . Saturday Sunday I no off for them , usual time table for Sundays . On festivals both visit their native towns and family there. There is sequence of work for them everyday , one furniture takes 2 das or more , so the pattern repeats after 2 day sor more , depends on the size of the product. Their intial requirements before starting any project is to take the measurements of the main members required and cut the cane according to the sizes , straighten and bending the cane pieces with the help of the heater . Slicing the thin canes and get the slices to weave. After getting ready it these they start assembling the product. In the end after weaving the skeleton , they varnish it which is the last stage. Their daily pattern of work stays the same , unless one of them have to go out for the market to buy materials .

Keramat Ali: The Worker,owner of the workspace and the business . 56year old . He has a wife and 2 daughters . One daughter got married , another one completing BA degree. His brothers and sister stays in Dhuburi. He started the practice when he was 15 year old , first learning under someone then starting his own . He is a very quite person , doesn't talk much , very soft spoken person . Thin and bony , height is average ,in 56 he still has all his hair intact .He comes to the workspace at the same time when Narendra arrives , both of them work together for same hours and sit in the same place together .He would wear his white vest and lungi , sometimes full pant and sit in the pirha and work . He stays behind the work space with his family , wife and daughter . He was taken two rooms in rent, in which he and his family stays on one side and another room has been given to Narendra Dutta to stay. Both the person stays together in one house behind the workshop.

Narendra Dutta : He is a worker in the workspace , works with Keramat Ali . Narendra Dutta is working on a monthly salary basis. He stays with Keramat Ali in the same house , a room allocated to him . Keramat Ali makes food for everyone including Narendra Dutta . He is 53 year old , His looks, energy, enthusiasm , personality does not matches his age, He looks and sound more like a 40 year old person, which Keramat

Ali agrees to. Physically Narendra Dutta is opposite to Keramat Ali, he is average built , stomach bulging out , skin complexion darker than Keramat Ali. He is a talkative person ,more than Keramat Ali . He has a wife and one daughter who stay in Nalbari . Once in a month he goes to Nalbari to meet them . His daughter is in 7th Grade. He is a Kayastha by caste and follower of brahmakumari.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS 1

- 1 ME: Baanh bilaka kor pora ane ?
- 2
- 3 NR: Etu bannh nohoi , etuk Bet koi .
- 4 Me: Aaun , bet tu, bet tu ?
- 5 NR: vyapari di jai
- 6 me: kihote kor pora ane ?
- 7 nr: kihote e paharor phalo pora pa aane.arunachal, meghalay
- 8 me: apunaluke ketia pora kori ase etu kaam ?
- 9 nr: etu kori asu aru, mota muti 30 bosor uporot gel.
- 10 me: pothomo pora yaate kori ase ne , belegot kori asile ?
- 11 nr: nai nai , belegot kori asilu .
- 12 me ; aru taun ?
- 13 nr: tekhete yaate kori asi.
- 14 nr: fan khon beya hoi gol , khuli kina thoi disu , bhaal koribo time puwa nai.
- 15 me: apunaluke thake kot ? pispine thake ne ki ?
- 16 nr: aaun pispine thaka jegah ase .dui jon thate thaku .
- 17 nr: taar mane , apni kiba etu bibhagore line porji aseneki ?
- 18 me: aaun moi eture line porhi asu .
- 19 nr: tar mane handicrafts .
- 20 me: aami porhibo lage handicrafts bilakor uporot.
- 21 nr: aaun , lage lage , agote nalagisile .
- 22 me: moi axomor holu je , moi thaku ahemdabadot , mur college khon tate.tate designingor college ase ,
- 23 tate apunar eai product , furniture designing , eibilak sobore designingor ase .Amar furniture
- 24 departmentot ami eneka kaam kori thaku.
- 25 nr: apuni porha xhuna hole , handicraft lineot sakori takori puwa chance ase .
- 26 me: aaun chance ase. nijoru start koribo paru , apunar lukor nisina .

- 27 nr: tar mane kiyo koisu , amar GM ejon asil handicraftors, chandamarit office.Utam das , tekhete
 28 ghorote factory khulisil , amaaak anisile .Tekhete amaaak titiya niyomor kotha koisile , Ami tu eman
 29 noporha ke holu. Etiya next june ahibo ,khi porhibo lagibo.
- 30 me; porha tu thakile mane ki hoi, certificate khon thake.
- 31 nr: certificate khon thake, plus apuni kiba dangor officer hol , etiya june lobo handicraftor xubidha, tak
 32 apuni kisuman prosno khudibo lagibo nohoi.Theek teneke kisuman kotha ahi jai tu .
- 33 thekhete, uttam Sir e amaar pora khikisil he ,amak he khude, ami bettor kaam kora manhu , ami naam
 34 najanim neki? etu ki bet? etu sundi bet . etu ki bet ? etu sutli bet. etu ki bet ? etu omuk bet ?
- 35 aaun naam bilak amiye najanu dekhun (uttam sir thinks).
- 36 me : hetuye , june kaam kore hi hai buji pai.
- 37 nr: agote ami kaam kora manhu buli bhabisilu , etiya kaam kora manuhe hei bujabo lagibo.
- 38 me: asolote ki jane, porhile nohoi , bostu tu janibo lage , bostu tut kaam korile hain janibo pari.mahuhe
 39 kitabe di tu sob buji napai , jetya loke hatore kaam tu nokore , tetiya loke buji napai .
- 40 Keramat Ali : apuni muk eta bostu dibo lagibo.
- 41 me: kok sun ki dibo lagibo?
- 42 KR: design book dibo lagibo. bettor furniture .
- 43 me: moi apunak internetor pora uliaye ani dim .
- 44 kr: design book tu maar asile ,herai gol , herai juwar karne ami etiya bhaal bhaal order rakhibo nuwara
 45 hoisu.
- 46 me: apunluke je e kaam kori ase , bohot valuable kaam hoi.
- 47 nr: ahemdabodot bettor factory ase tu, axomor pora bet jai. dakshin bharator phale bohot bettor karobar
 48 ase. tarmene moi keralat kaam korisilu tu , bohot dukaan ase keralat, tamil nadut ase.
- 49 me: kerala , tamil nadu baanh tu pai tu.
- 50 nr: aaun , halodiya baanh .
- 51 nr: apuni jitiya sakori koribo , aami aru bura hom .
- 52 me:sakori koru ne nai theek nai , mur tu eibilak kamote interest,apunalukor nisina dukan ekhon loi bohi
 53 jabo paru.
- 54 nr: apunaluke success hobo paribo .
- 55 kr: aikalik sarkare bohot toka loan di ase

- 56 me :kihor karne diye etu loan .
- 57 nr: etu Dsc pora diye loan tu .
- 58 me: loan loi factory khulisile .
- 59 nr: aaun factory khulisile, beth kati supply diye.
- 60 me: amar axomot sobotse besi kot pai ei bettor karigor?
- 61 nr: bettor karigor , nagaon aru nalbari pai .
- 62 me: apuni tu nalbari , aru apuni dhubri .
- 63 Nr: enai tu sob jegah te ase , kintu nagaon aru nalbaryt besi ase , nagaon hole Bengali lora pabo ,
- 64 nalbari hole axomiya lora pabo, silcharatu ase.
- 65 me: amar yaar pora jai ne bettor barhirole ?
- 66 nr: amar axomiya manuhe buji napai , barhiror manuhe buji pai. nijor jagar je bostu tu . apuni kini aana
- 67 murgi tur jiman muhuta buji pabo , ghoror tur buji napabo.
- 68 me: bahiror manhu bure mulya buji pai no ?
- 69 nr: baa, xihote pura buji pai, bettor bostu buli kole , xihote puja kore.
- 70 me: amar college tu , bettor buli kole ekdom baanh aru bet, axomor lora buli kolai , xihote khude bettor
- 71 kaam jana ne nai? bannhor kaam jana ne nai , karon aamar yaat etu eman famous.
- 72 nr: apuni ketiaba videxhot apun manhu sai sil ne ?
- 73 me: aaun saisilu
- 74 nr: tate apunar , Austria'r baanhor kaam dekhaisil , ami tu kun phale pore khe bilak dekh najanu .moi
- 75 he karne serial khon saisilu eta khomoi.tate bobita sharmai dekhai thake no , tai xhakhyat kar loi
- 76 .apunar kiman dhuniya ke baanh daal kati kini logai , machine ase , aru tu dekhale korbat khuli kini loi
- 77 jabo pade.daangor dangor ghor , sob khuli kini loi jabo pade. ami dekha pai , sala amiu bhabhu , he
- 78 bilak machine system.
- 79 me: amar axomot machine system nai no ?
- 80 nr: nai ase, axomot nai , bharatohise , tamil nadu ase .axomot eta ahisil machine, nalbaryt , hetu etia
- 81 Mamore lagi gol .bebohore nohoi . amar axomot manhu bilake value to buji napai , Bengali manhu eta
- 82 jiman buji pabo , axomiya manhuye muhuta tu buji napai. etiya ekhon bettor sokir daam 3 hazaar
- 83 kaun nohoi . kihote, hei emaan daam hobo neki ? tenekua . barhiror manhu kisumane jane.
- 84 nohoi apuni sabo , kotha tu proman kori sabo .

- 85 me : nohoi , nohoi moi jaanu , mur ghorote tu eneka , mur ma deta bettor bostu emaan eta heri
86 nokore.moi nijay gom paisu .
- 87 nr:barhirot manuhe , bettor bostuk jiman xonman kore nohoi , amak barhirot karigor buli namate nohoi ,
88 amak master buli he maate. “master ji acha hoga ki kharab hoga ? “ hator kaam kora
- 89 me : bettor kaam Jodi sob machine di hoi jai , tetiya kaam ekai hobo ne beleg hobo ?
- 90 nr: nai roshi tana tu he hobo , sob nohoi . sob kaam nohoi .
- 91 ahi goise etiya machine di kata rosi tu , 500 taka kg .
- 92 me : apunaluke tu hatare kaate ?
- 93 nr. aaun hatare katile besi bhaal hoi . hatore bonale besi bhaal hoi . khomoi lage na bohut .
- 94 kr: machinor kori aamar hator tu besi bhaal hoi .
- 95 nr: apuni sauk na , hate buwa kapur tu kenekua and machinot buwa kapur tu kenekua.
- 96 me: hetuye tu , amar bharotot hator kamor eman eta mulyo nidiye. machine buli kuwa loge loge , bohut
97 daam borhai diye.
- 98 kr: ami jitiya kaam khikisilu , 100 toka mahot , only ek bosor. ek bosor kaam korar pasot kihote
99 certificate khon nidibo. Dui bosor kaam kori dibo lagibo. poisa dibo, certificate tu nidiye. kio nidiye ?
100 tumi kaam khaki erile nohobo nohoi. dui bosor ami tumak kaam khikai kiman khorcha korisu ,tumi dui
101 bosor kaam koriboi lagibo. aji kali lorai , khikibo ahile kobo , muk 8 hazar dibo lagibo dormoha.
- 102 apuni kintu amaa catalogue khon jugar kori dibo lagibo.
- 103 kr: apunar ghor kot ?
- 104 me: mur ghar guwahatite , jayanagarte. Moi asol tezpuror.
- 105 kr: tezpur kun jagah ?
- 106 me: tezpur mission chariali .
- 107
- 108 kr: Mehnot tu borhut hei , kapur kori dabul , kapur ekhon Jodi ratipuwa pora godholi loke dhorile ulai jai
109 ,olop design hisobot , kintu betot nulai.
- 110 ME: ratipua bhaat saat khale ne nai ?
- 111 NR: aaun amar khua hoi gol , amar tin time nosole , 2 time bhaat , ek time ruti.ratipua ruti kai diu , rati
112 bhaat.
- 113 MF : bhaatkhua time hua nai no etiva ?

- 114 NR: nai , 2 tat hein khaam .
- 115 ME: apunalukor lora suali ?
- 116 NR: Mur suali eta
- 117 KR: mur suali tini joni
- 118 ME: duetar re lora nai. milai tin joni suali hol.ki kori ase kihote ? (NR laughs)
- 119 KR: porhi ase , xoru joni porhi ase . dangor joni biya hol .
- 120 NR: mur joni 7th porhi ase. akoman deri hol biya patat.
- 121 ME: apunar joni kun classesot porhe?
- 122 KR: degree dise eibaar .
- 123 ME: ki koribo yaar pasot tai ?
- 124 KR: SILENT
- 125 ME: porhabo , rokhi nidibo , MA tuk karauk.
- 126 NR: mur eai bhagin suali eta , borhut kosto kori porhise kintu dei.nalbari master koise , ami taik porham
- 127 , apunaluke eku tension lobo nalage. tair dimaag tu dekha paisa na, dimaag tu dekha pai , lastot duta
- 128 master mastorniye tahotok loi gusigol , 6 khon paperot , 6 khono te letter.Higher secondary tu porhile ,
- 129 bhale hol . tar pisot tai koise ki moi medical line porhim .Medical line porhiboloi toka poisa lage. tai
- 130 bhangaragh medical porhile.4.4 years pasot taik railway khumale. 25 hazaar toka dormah tu paise , soli
- 131 takibo para dormah tu paise aru tai . tar pisot delhi aru jorabtor cancer hospital interview dilak , shillong
- 132 tu dilak.tai delhi pora mati pothale , kali ahile delhir pora. tai etiya koise , moi hekhonot join nokoru,
- 133 shillong khonote korim . suali etiya 60 hazaar toka dormaah , ek toka ghoosh dibo laga nai , buijise. ek
- 134 toka eta tar mane ghoosh dibo laga nai .suali joni ei bilak khetrot chalu , log sog eku nai , planeot goise
- 135 .nijor bhagin mur .tair bahaduri tu sauk sun .
- 136 moi nijay bhabhu , xikhar heri tu khula thakile , apunak sakori najy mati loi jabo. eai , ekhetor yaat ahisil
- 137 , porhi thakute ahe mur tat .ami take koisu, ami emaan murkho, ami tu bujabo najanu eku ,amar nisina
- 138 ghorot je keneke keneke je aag barhi gol suali tu.
- 139 ME : jaar mon thake no , khihote jaboi , kunau rokhabo naure . jar porhat mon thake, jenekai hoi jauk .
- 140 bhalei hoise apunar suali tail dekhi , taiu zur dibo .
- 141 NR: henuka tu nohobo , dimaag tu henaka nohobo. kiba tu koribo.
- 142 moi takey bhabu , khikhar heru tu pura ase dei , ami manhu bilake hei kiba kibi bhul buju .
- 143 ME: apunaluke je etu kori ase , etu khikha hoi.

- 145 ME: etu asol xikha , etu di apuni poisa kamai ase , yaat ke besi khikha aru ki lage.
- 146 ME: guwahaatit aru kot kot ase eneke bettor kaam .
- 147 NR: ase bohut ase , ready maal khini mane bikri kore. amar tar pora 10 hazaarot kini loi 16 hazaarot
148 bikri kore.
- 149 ME: keneke soli ase market bettor .
- 150 kr: amar tu thike soli ase. amar hei karne murha eta dibo nuaru. jitu murha khihote 800 takat bikri kore
151 ami 150 takat bikri koru , nijay bonua bostu daam komai dibo paru.
- 152 ME: e gozal je mare , gozalar barhiye belegekiba maribo nuare neki?
- 153 NR: asolute bettor bostu gozal nomaro kori bonabo para tu nijor bahaduri. amar handicraftot kintu eman
154 gozal maribo diya nasil , aji kali kaam tu olop beleg dhoronor. etiya, gathi, gathi tu eneka ke dibo lagibo
155 je gathi tu gom napai. etiya kam tu xunkal hobo lage karne , olop . asolute bettor kamot gozal namara
156 ke bonabo parile hetu dangor eta bahaduri. gozal tu mari dilu , gozal tu maribo lagibo, matha bilak kati
157 dilu tar pisot, kati dile gom napai. matha bilak kati dile mane dhoribo nuare , gozal marisu buli .
- 158 Me: ei gozal bilak ulai jai pisot ke , gaat lage .
- 159 Me: apunalukorbostu bilak boani aru loge loge sale joi jai no , etu order asi se ne ?
- 160 KR: aaun kali dibo lagibo.
- 161 ME: bhoi nalage eneke katute ? hath sath katein buli ?(asked to KR)
- 162 KR: smiled , murmured something.
- 163 NR: practice tu hoi goise.
- 164 Nr: agote kitabot paisilu , nalbari kihor karne bikhat ? baan bettor karne , baanh bettur ki ki kaam bikhat
165 hoi , jane japi , nalbariya thoga japi tu moi bonabo nuaru. Japi sob jegate bonai , kintu japi juntu
166 thog, nalbarir nisina thog kunu jegat bonabo nuare. thog mane dekhible dhuniya aru.
- 167 NR: khetiok ilake apunar agote japi bebohar korisil, prothomot.
- 168 ME: Taar pora hai japi tu ulaise ,tar pisot phul sool logai dhuniya showpiece bonai dise .
- 169 Me: Etiyao kheti korile tu pindhe ?
- 170 NR: nai , nai (laughs) uthiye gol .jene kah pitol , kah pitol karne xarthebari bikhat. mugar karne hoise
171 xualkuchi. eibilak eta khomaiyt kitabot paisilu. etiya ase ne nai najanu.
- 172 ME: ase ase etitao ase .
- 173 NR: amar etiya main kaam hoise axomor eikhiniye, mane tel pai kiba pai , hetu kotha xompurna beleg.

- 174 Me: ekhon dukaan khula kiman bosor hol ?
- 175 KR: 30 bosor maan hol .
- 176 ME: pothome apuni khulise , tar pisot apuni (NR) ahise? Apuni kot asile yaar agote ?
- 177 KR: moi agote Gandhi bostit kaam korisilu. tate kaam khikilu. Direct tar pora ahi , yaate khulilu, 25
178 bosor hol.
- 179 ME: NR ketia ahile ?
- 180 KR: NR aha hol , agote korisil, mur ekhon khula bohut bosor hol.majote korisile , kori akou dui bosor
181 naikiya hoisil.Akou ahile.
- 182 NR: etiya kiman bosor pora ase?
- 183 KR: besi din huwa nai , agote korisil. Tetiya business bhal asil ,ajir pora 10 bosor agote , tetiya 4ta 5ta
184 mistry kaam korisil. (with a smile on his face)
- 185 bettor business tu lahe lahe komi ahi ase .Manuhe nikine, daam hoi gol tu. Axomor manhu daam di
186 nikine , amar eta bettor sofa lole 10-15 hazar toka lage, plasticor dining set 1500-1600 tokat pai.
- 187 NR: muru ghorot plasticor set di asu.
- 188 Me: Agote daam kom asil ?
- 189 ME: apunat ke NR khoru no ? kiman khoru ?
- 190 KR : dutta tuman kiman soli ase ?
- 191 NR :53
- 192 ME: apuni mur deutar khoman .
- 193 NR: boyokh tu lukuwa nai akou , agor manhu bilake lukai diye na.
- 194 ME: apuni kintu 53 maan nalage dei. 40 maan soli thaka jen lage.
- 195 KR : aaun nalage
- 196 ME: apuni Bengali neki ?
- 197 KR: aaun Bengali hoi .
- 198 ME: dekhate gom pai jai .
- 199 ME: apunalukor barhiror pora customer ahe ne nai ?
- 200 NR : Ahe , Gujarat phalo pora ahe. trainot book kori loi jai .

- 201 ME: aru kor kor pora ahe.
- 202 KR: ami eta duta pai asu , army sakori kora manhu.
- 203 ME : Yaar pora eta set trainot loi gole kiman man pori jai.
- 204 KR: yaar pora Gujarat loke ,
- 205 ME: delhi dhorok.
- 206 KR: 5 hazaar man.
- 207 ME: mur logor eta se , khi ebeka furniture business khulise, bettor nohoi , kathor . Tak khudim buli
208 bhabisu . Bettor lage neki. Dilli pora olop duru hoi jai tu,hetu karne moi apunak khudilu kiman pore buli.
- 209 KR: yaar pora jai ase , borhut durot durot jai ase . apunar teneka nile , trainot nile nupusabo.
- 210 Hetu apunar dilli pora je showroomor gadi loi ahe je , hei bilak garit pothale apuni komot pabo, 5-6ta
211 set.
- 212 ME: khihote akou nibo lagibo nohoi ?
- 213 KR: niye. trainot ke kom poisa loi. teneka pasta set pothalu ami . 3 hazaar toka porile ammar eta setot.
214 Eta set dilli pothale 14 hazaar toka pore bhara loi , hetu set akou khihote 20 hazaar tokat bese.
- 215 henekai business tu hoi.
- 216 NR: apuni abhigotta khini loi , dangor loan lobo paribo.
- 217 Me: Paarim.
- 218 NR: Moi guwahatit jitiya pothom ahu, narikol bostit , Viraj chowdhury , professor . narikol bostit
219 thekhetor ghar mati sob narikol bostyt. mur etiao monot ase , tar pora hema malini eta set mongai nisil.
220 titiar dinot 35 hazaar tokat mongai nisil .Tar mane ami ahisilu basketor kaam karne , aru taur mistry
221 bilak hoi silcharor.Bohut din solaise . Sir amak aru , etu bombai le jabo set tu , hema maliniye nibo , ami
222 aru sire insult kora buli bhabilu. Ami aru bhabisu , sire label dise amak, ami aru, tenekai kotha na.
223 Nijay bonaisu jetia , taar value tu najnu mane.sire kuwar loge loge alop hahi uthil.
- 224 Tumi ratneswar kiyo hahila , muk insult korila . Ami khoru na , ami bhabai nai Bombay jabo buli.
- 225 tetiya axom andolon soli asile , gaonot Bengali manhu Bangladeshi buli , Bengali mane Bangladeshi,
226 enekuwa system eta solisile , kor kor pora manhu bilak ahe , ghor jolai diye , enekuwa system soli asile
227 tetiya. Kiman purona kotha koi asu apunak , sinta korok .Khoru manhu ami , besi dangor nohoi, 14
228 bosor ne 15 bosor soli asil.
- 229 KR: Ganesh gurit ekhon showroom ase , birat dangor showroom, Marwari manhu . Tate nai bulu , 5 kuti
230 toka maal ase.birat dangor showroom.

- 232 ME: Marwari bilake ahi amak,
- 233 NR: daam bilaku bohut daam .
- 234 KR: Beria , ganesh guri bridgor tole de gole dekhi paba , dangor showroom. Daam tu amat ke tini gun,
 235 show roomot beya bostu rakhilo bhal lage , showroom mot rakhise , dekhath sik sika ase , burnish
 236 marise ,sik sikai ase, light gita jolai dise .
- 237 nr: moi take bhabu, manhu kismanok moi hetuye bhabu , amar yate ahile daam besi buli koi , ami
 238 tetiya hekhon dukanot sai ahibo kau, tate rong song kori showroomot thole , maal tu dekhath dhuniya hoi
 239 , etiya amar jabore mabore maal tu ase .etu set apuni tate 18 hazaror tolot napai , kintu aamar yatei 11
 240 -12 hazarot pai jabo.kothai napate khihote.
- 241 KR: Besi hifi manhu bilak amar yate nahe.
- 242 KR: Amar bostu mane pori nathake , ami daam dhoru nathaku. moi Jodi nijay bonau , 2 hzar toka komot
 243 dibo paru.
- 244 nr: amar bikri khihototke besi ase.
- 245 ME: apunluk dujon partner ne ki ?
- 246 KR: nohoi .
- 247 Me: dekhath partner jan lage,m Jodi tu olop man mile.(both laughed)
- 248
- 249 .
- 250
- 251 **PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS 2**
- 252
- 253 ME: apunar family kot thake , nalbari ? suali aru , sualir maak. ? apuni original nalbarir ne ?
- 254 NR: aaun ekdom original nalbari.
- 255 Me: ketia ketia jai apuni nalbari.
- 256 NR: 12 din , 13 din murot , ek din 2 din thaki aahu aru.
- 257 ME: phone son kori thake ne nai , manhu jonir logot daily koth apate ne nai ?
- 258 NR: aaun daily kotha patu diyok aru .
- 259 ME: dhorot ma deta . bhai kokai ?

260 NR : maa det anai ur , dhukale, bhai ase duta , eta tu rangaparat thake , eta mur usorote thake , usora
 261 usori ke thaku, eku nokore, rangaparat thaka tu banganot sakori korisile , retire joi etia bagan khulise
 262 tate, saa bagan . teneke soli ase aru . bhonti asil duta , biya hoi gol.

263 ME: Sobe ekeloge thake ne belege belege?

264 NR: belege belege, aji kali kot akele loge thaka hobo , aji kali sob belege (laughs)

265 NR: eai gozal tur kotha koisile ne apuni! (talking about the head of the nail sticking out and then
 266 chopping the nail head off so that it doesn't hurt anyone, hammering the nail heads sticking out)

267 lastot ami etu kori palau (hammering the nail head , with a striking sound .)

268 me: khumai jai no.

269 nr: hmm

270

271 ME: pension kiman dibo ?

272 NR: 2 hazar man dibo , karigor buli . Hobo bura kalot hetu palo hobo.

273 Me: Ghor badi tu ase .

274 ME: Kiman bosor koribo aru etu kaam ?

275 NR: mur tu etuya , echini boiyokhot ji hisabot asu etiya , he hisabot tu aru 15 bosor man parim .15
 276 Bosor kora pisot moriye jam , kot 80-90 bosor kot thakibo parim . Aji kali manhu eman bosor nathake
 277 na .

278 ME: apunar kiba bema ajar ase neki ?

279 NR: nai nai.

280 ME: kaam kori thakile , emaan bema azar nohoi manhur.

281 NR: moi takey kau, mane borhi borhi khuwa jai , bhaal bhaal khaiddo kha , tahotor bema kiyo hoi ?
 282 mur bhai etaye teneka, ghorot borhi borhi kha , tohotor bema karan ki , muk artha tu bujai dibo para
 283 nai.

284 ME: dukaan tu thanda jegah te ase, besi halla salla nai.

285 NR: nai nai .

286 NR: Tekhet malik tu baru muslim manhu diyok sun , moi dutta manhu, manhu jon bhaal. Moi oxhanti
 287 bilak beya pau. muslim dharma xrestha dharma. moi beya napau.

288 ME: malik kot thake ?

289 NR: Pispine thake. bharat thake.

290 NR: enai generally , eai suali thaka manhu bilak thanda hoi , moi bohut paisu dei , suali thaku manhu
291 bilak thanda hoi. moi bohut pasiu dei.suali thaka manhu bilak thanda olop.

292 ME: bapekok , suali thanda kori rakhi diye no?

293 NR: moiyu komti gorom manhu asilu eta khomoit! moiyu biyaa korar agote gorom asilu , xakhon kora tu
294 maiki bilake nuare, xhontan , hetu suali, suali bilake pare.

295 (hammering the nails inside, making a striking sound)

296 me: apunak malike kiman diye mahe?

297 nr: 10 hazaar toka. khua tu nijor , thaka tu diye.

298 nr: e manuhe, jati dharma mani thakile solibole kiman oxubidha hoi kiyo ? sabo sun , amaar gaonr
299 manhu jati dharmo kiman mani thake , hoi ne? moi akou namanu , xoru pora barhirot thaka manhu na,
300 16 bosor arunacholot thakilu . naga bilakor logote. jati bisari thakile kot paribo solibo ? nauraibo tu.amar
301 hei nalbarir dikhe manhu bilake jati , khub bisari thake.eai omukor logot thakibo nuari , omukor logot
302 khabo nuare , kiyo nuare? nuarar karon tu ki ? eai goru khai . khihotor khaiddo khi khaise , tur ki matlab
303 hol .moi nakhau , moi bhaal napau. bostu tu hene nohoi .

304 me: hoi khosa kotha.

305 nr: nagai kukur khai .

306 me : tar zindagi , khi ji kore.

307 nr: tar xorir tu khi dhonkho korokk , mur ki matlab ase . Jodi moi yaar tatu nakhau , bhukot moribo
308 lagibo. bostu tu eneka. amar eiphalar manhu bilake besi mane, komise agotke , komiboi lagibo , nohole
309 moribo bhukot.

310 me: amar hindu manhu bur ekai, bamun bilake bamun manhu logot hei biya patibo pade, beleg hole
311 nohobo.

312 nr: moiye bamun suali biya patisu diyok sun . korale ki hobo , di thoi gol na muk mosola thike se .

313 me: digdar huwa nai biya korute .

314 nr: nai.

315 me : apunar mrs. or ghoror manuhor logot kotha sotha ase ne nai.

316 nr: ase ase , agot nasil , notun ke nasil , pisot hoise gol. eai buri jonir moribo laga bemaar hoise , eani
317 buri muk bhaal agor porai pai, tarmame moi tez dilu , mur tez tu burir logot mili gol , etiya buriye koi ,
318 tumi hei bule mur beta. nijor lorar , ba karu tez mila nai , tumar tez keneke mili . khihote group tu je ki,
319 hei bur kotha huii napai na . teneke aru merom seneh tu barhi gol . tumi hei bule mur beta .

- 320 me: bamun bamun kori thakile ki hol , asolote kune bosale .
- 321 nr: laughs
- 322 nr: **tez dile bhaal hei hoi xhoriror, purona tu ulai gol , notun khumai gol .** aru tez tu dile , fotpot barhi jai.
 323 rogi hai diyu , **doctor soctor nidu de.** taar mane kiyo jane ne **tez tu dile , bikri kori tu khabo doctor**
 324 **bilake, direct rogike dile besi bhaal . namu eta hoi .**
- 325 nr: **Gujarat side jegat thaki kiba eta bhaal lage.**
- 326 me: borhut gorom , ki bhaal lagibo .
- 327 nr: gorom tu hoiye , **kintu manhu bilakor bebohar kiba eta bhaal lage.** Gujarat hok , tamil nadu hok ,
 328 kerela hok , **amar eiphalor nisina nohoi kintu. amar yatei jeneka eman eta gurutwa nidiye , tatei into**
 329 **asei , tatei kiba eta khudile dhuniye bujai dibo. amar yaat enekuwa nohoi. hoi ne kotha tu ?**
- 330 me: olop hoi kotha tu , **tatei helpful hoi manhu bilak.**
- 331 nr: moi tu kisumna jegah ghuri paisu na , **hingkha , amar yaat jenuka .**
- 332 me: hoi , yaat kunbai bhaal korile , dekhibo nuare manhu bilake.
- 333 nr: yaat belegor kotha kobo nalage, **apunar ristedaar bilakor pora apunar ek no. xotru.**
- 334 me: theek koise
- 335 nr: log bondhu bilak tu bhalei hobo , nijor manhu kisuman. eitu bostu amar yaat jeneka, heitu bostu tat
 336 nai.
- 337 me: ekdom thik kotha koise apuni .
- 338 nr: **kiba eta gom paisu karone koisu dei .**
- 339 nr: **beya tu arombhoni tu amar riste dar pora hoi** , etiya dhori lok apunar kokai bhai ase , kunubake eta
 340 pis pori thakil . mur puwali tuye jua bosor bihu functionot 5ta paise purosakar , **mur khoru bhaitiye**
 341 **teneka hingkha koribo nalage.**
- 342 me: tat kintu tenekua nohoi , nijor ghoror manuhe ketia beya nokore , barhiror manuhe beya koribo
 343 pade , nijor ghoror manuhe ketiao beya nokore.
- 344 me: kintu aamar **axomor manhu bilak, borhut xohoj xaral , dhuniya ke matibo , kotha patibo .**
- 345 nr: **aji kali kothur hoise .**
- 346 me: gaon phale kiman xahaj karal manhu , guwahati khon tu baru city hoi , yaat tu pabo olop solop
 347 kothur mane . gaonor phale tu eman xohoj xaral manhu. apunalukor nalbarir phale.
- 348 nr: eai amar **nalbarir phale eman thik nohoi .** moi borhut jegat ghurisu , **mure nalbari pasando nohoi.**

- 349 me: etu kot loi jai (seeing kr taking the long unbuild sofa from the work space)
- 350 kr: eai pispine tarmane , yaat olop jagah oxubidha je , pispine eta mahu thake tarmane , dui jone log
351 lagi tarmane bui dibo heikhon. tarmane yaat olop oxubidha je , fotapot hobo lage je bostu khon .
- 352 me: moi thakar karne oxubidha hoise neki ?
- 353 nr: nohoi nohoi nohoi, aage pisau enekei loi jai aru , tarmane eai dukhon soki akou ulabo lagibo je , he
354 karne ekhon pispine loi goise . apunar thakar karne nohoi .
- 355 me: aru eta manhu ase neki pispale ?
- 356 nr: eta taar mane bettor kaam nokore , belege apuni ahi borhi thake ,khiu ketiaba eneke ahi borhi thake
357 , dekha pai , tak aru kiba eta saah paanir khorcha eta di dibo.
- 358 (nr bisecting the cane into two halves , sound of a stretching the cane into two halves, cracking sound)
- 359 me: moiye kori dilu hoi , muk tu sah pani nalage , moi tu bhalei palu hoi kori pela .
- 360 nr: nai nalage. 3 jon manuhe kaam kora tu oxubidha hoi yate .
- 361
- 362 kr returns back to take something from the space .
- 363 nr: di ahile ?
- 364 tekhetete koise , moi thakar karne oxubidha hoise neki , hetu karn eloi gol pispine ? giggles (nr tells kr)
- 365 kr: nohoi .(smiles)
- 366 me: moiye kori dibo parilu hoi .
- 367 kr tries to say something , but nr interrupts him
- 368 nr: nohoi , hetu kaam tekhetete jiman tara tari koribo , hetu apuni nuaribo nohoi .hei karne ,beleg kotha
369 eku nai.
- 370 nr: order aru ek mahor book ase amar ,hei karne borhiboloi murha eta dibo nuaru . aru Jodi kunbai
371 notun order diye nohoi , taar pisot marhot he he hobo.
- 372 nr continues to bisect the canes horizontally into two halves,making the stretching sound)
- 373

374 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS 3

375 me: taar pisot ki korile ghorot ? bhuj shuj khale ne nai ?

- 377 me: belag jegat eid khabojuwa nai ?
- 378 nr: eai , moi juwa nai diyok (replied with
- 379 me: malike dekhun bohot time logai ase ahute ? phonu kora nai ?
- 380 nr: phone korse , kali mane ahim buli koise dekhun .
- 381 keramat ali calls ,
- 382 Nr: aaun table khon ,bonai kori asu .
- 383 ketia ahibo kali neki ?
- 384 tar pora xur anile ?
- 385 aaun thike ase diyok .
- 386 NR: tamane heri, siliguri goi ase etiya .kali rati pua ahibo.
- 387 me: etiya suliguri gole , ratipua keneke ahi pabo.
- 388 nr: aaji ghuribo siliguri pora , ratir garit ahile apunar ratipuwa pabo hi.
- 389 me: siliguri kiman dur taar pora ?
- 390 nr: siliguri besi dur nohoi taar pora . amaar yaar pora tezpur jiman dur .mar guwahtir pora besi dur
- 391 nohoi tu , tinsukia ke, siliguri he usor .
- 392 nr: arey kiba bet anibo goise tate , patla bet , Malaysiar bet .ajikali amar eai local bet tu bohot daam hoi
- 393 gol tu . hetu karne machinot mara bet tu ani ase , amchinot mara bet tu anile , kaam tu aru olop aag
- 394 barhibo.
- 395 suman das enters the working space with two cups of tea, balancing both the cups, not to let the tea fall
- 396 .
- 397 nr speaks loudly to suman das
- 398 nr: aaun moi nakhau
- 399 nr ask me : sah khabo ek cup
- 400 i denied . I said , moi nakhau dai , moi ghakir sah erisu.
- 401 nr: hoi neki.
- 402 moi nakhau, gakhir saah khale bule gastric hoi , gotike , oi kiba mithai sithai diba , khuda sah bilak khai
- 403 petor bikh hoi mur .

405 SD: fan khon nai , groom lagise .

406 nr: tumi sini paisa ne (asking suman about me)

407 sd: paisu paisu ,

408 nr: kaam na tumar , kaam nai tumar (repeatedly saying to suman)

409 me: school nogola aji (asking suman)

410 sd: gorom bondho

411 nr: khihote dhorna dise

412 me: kihor dhorna ?

413 sd: eitu apunar , subzi , piyaaz daam barhise.

414 me: aaun gst , apunalukor lagibo nohoi gst.

415 nr: aaun tu , khorbonakh hol etiya , customer amak dibo ne nai

416 me : dibo , khitor porai lobo lagibo (i was sceptical about my answer ,as i didnot have any idea about

417 what gst is , only knew that its a tax which will be levied on goods)

418 nr: nai nai, customare tenekuake dibo neki , extra poisa amaak ?

419 me: apunluke milai lobo lagibo

420 nr: hetu ami milabo lagibo.

421 nr: taar mane apunar , ek hazar tokat 3 hazar toka , kali eta keralar manhu etai phone korise, bjp'r

422 manhu hi , khi koise , dutta e amaar karubar bila bondho hobo . moi bulu kiyo ? o sarkare eneka niyom

423 kori dise. taar mane 10 hazzar tokar bostu kinile , 3 hazar tokar tax hai dibo lagibo . hetu ki jani beya

424 hai hol .

425 sd: e subzi dam barhise , nokomai , ki kom .

426 me : kot dila dhorna ,

427 sd: eai raastat te dilu .

428 nr: ki hobo aru duniyar, najanu. taarmane bostur daam barhibo.

429 amar bettor tu nokome , plastic sastic hei belakor daam komibo.

430 amar ei bettor kaam kora, kathor kaam kora mulyo tu kunye dibo nuare. machinery bostu tu beleg,

431 forma khumai dile fot kori ulai gol,etiya etu teneka bostu nohoi na . diyok sun saun , kun phale keneke

432 ki hoi thake.

433 nr: kismanor karne bhaal hol aru , **kisumaor karne beya** hol . besi beya hol , **dangor dangor dui**
 434 **nombori bepaari bilakor karne.**

435 me: aaun, khihote etiya bohut tax dibo lagibo.

436 nr: **dui nombori bilakor karne borhut jhamela hoi gol** , **modi tuye next baar ki hobo, kun jikibo** , **hei bilak**
 437 **akha nokore, taar mane accurate** , **accurate e hobo lage.ei bilak hai asol minister**, **eibilak hai manhu**
 438 **asolote.hoi ne nohoi** ! congressor nisina nohoi tu .khihote pisot ke hobo , hetu hai sinta kore.

439 aru etu niyom laghu korile , thakiye jabo.kisman manhu karne birat bhaal hoise. sakorit dhorile ,
 440 apunar , duta lora dhorile , apuni **tu batori satori sai thake diyok sun** . **sauk sun keneke dur niti. apuni**
 441 **enai ba pass korile sakori napai, paleiu toka dibo lage** , dos lakh bis lakh toka. duta lorai police sakaori
 442 paise, saat lakh, dos lakh toka di paise , eta metric fail.

443 **apuni dhori lok eta dukhiya ghoror lora** , **maak bapeke tak kiman kosto kori kosti porhaise**, **jitiya**
 444 **finishingot sakori tu napabo** , **tetiya kiman eta taar aghaat**, **hazira korib jabo ne thela solabo jabo.thik**
 445 **teneke dur niti bilakor karne** , june pabo lag ekhi napale sakori , tokar bahaduri. etiya tu huwa nai
 446 teneke , etiya huwa nai de.

447 me : etiya olop strict hoise neki ?

448 nr: nai nai eku diya nai

449 nr didn't understand what i said

450 me: etiya olop xajog hoise neki no ?jake take di nidiye

451 nr: **taar mane etiya** , **porhar certificate khon sai diboi lagibo** , enoi **apuni Jodi porhat bhaal, apuni**
 452 **prodorxon koribo pade tu** , **kiyo napau? moi etu bostu kiyo napau? bujai diyok sun.** **moi eai kaam tu**
 453 **jaanu** , **mur apuni ekhonot ki bhoor dekhise bujai diyok sun** .thik teneke hei bilak kotha hoi jai no. **dukh**
 454 **lage diyok** , **nijor jegar manhu hoiyu ami eku napau, dolongote** , **kolomote sob kisu amar** , **napau**
 455 **ami.bhalei hoise diyok** , **ei bilak.**

456 for sometime there was no conversation happening between me and nr. He took **a long piece of cane**
 457 **which was curved and bent from parts, he forcefully made the cane straight and started to cut them into**
 458 **pieces.** I was amazed by the property of cane , where it can be bent into any shape without breaking ,
 459 he told me **the old canes will break if you bend them too much** , **but the young canes won't be.**

460 me: **sob sidha hoi jai no** , beka holo?

461 nr: hetuye , **bettor bahaduri (laughing)** . aamar bostu khini bonale ne nai apuni ?

462 me: aaun hetu uluwa ase , moi printout kori juwa timeot di jam moi apunak .apuni sinta nokoribo , moi
 463 bonai dim .

464 nr:**dile amar khubidha aru** , aru eku belege kotha nai.

465 nr sits and starts scratching the outer skin of the cane . while scratching the cane with his knife
466 sounded as if two hollow bamboo pipes were rubbed again each other, sounded like a sorcerer's
467 equipment , whispering something to tell.

468 me: pasoli katar nisina.

469 nr nodded with a smile .

470 I asked him again the same question ,

471 me: beka korile bhangji najai no ?

472 nr: nai najai.

473 me: besi beka korile bhangibo sage ?

474 nr: nai nabhange .

475 nr took the long piece of cane lying next to him , and bent it to demonstrate that it wont break. that was
476 true, it didnot break even after twisting it .

477 nr: bhangibo nuare apuni , bura hole bhangibo akou.

478 nr went back to his work of scratching the skin off from the cane . then he started slicing the cane into
479 thin strips , he would bisect the cane into 4 parts initially and further into thing long slices , carefully
480 smoothing them to make the jaali .suman das again enters the workspace , sits on the chair kept in
481 front of me .

482 suman asks me

483 sd: tubelight khon sale ?

484 me : ki?

485 sd: tubelight ?

486 me : tubelight , nai suwa moi.

487 sd: moi borhiya ke sai ahilu .

488 me: sala ? kot sala ?

489 sd: laptopot salu

490 me: bhaal ne ?

491 next 2 mints suman described the whole movie to me , it seemed that suman was very much excited by
492 the movie and the fanstasy offered by the movie. he seemed to be a salman khan fan .

493 sd: panir uporo pora jup mare, salman khan nomore. lastot jetiya mori jai, taar photo sotu thake , sob
494 jolai diye .

495 nr: aru je tumi dhorna dila , tar artho tu bujai diya . (asked suman)

496 sd: apuni Jodi subzi kine, apnar daam borhabo,

497 nr: aaun daam borhabo.

498 sd: daam komabo lage.

499 nr: tumi roba, ghorot je olop mati thakile kheti olop man koribo lage , hetu kiyo nokuwa.

500 sd: telor daam kiyo bahe , subzi daam kiyo bahein .aami dhorna dime , aru dime. etiya raastat ghurim ,
501 lagibo hei lagibo .

502 nr: eibilak raastat ghura baad , tumar baido hotok bujai diba . tumalukor schoolot mati thakile , tate kheti
503 koribo lage , xokoluke hetu upadhi dibo lage. dhorna aru kinba laaga bostu nohoi na , hetu karne phota
504 pot dibo pare.

505 nr: apunar boundary tut ,moi mani lolu , apunar dui kotha mati ase ,kiba tu jolokiya tu rubo jegah
506 thake.ek daal tu bhendi rubo paaree. ami Jodi protyek mauhe Jodi koru , ei dhorna diya paglor dorai
507 rasstat raastat , hei bilak tu bondho hoi jabo.

508 the shopkeeper from the next shop heard nr and countered nr, nr replied back with a thrust.

509 nr: sob rubo pari , olop khon mati thakile ,aji kali poriyal khoru hoise.kiyo nuare kiyo , besi jegar kotha
510 ahi nopore.e dhorna diya tu poisa dibo nalage je , paagolor dore ei raastat lagi thake, hoi ne nohoi. moi
511 jiman manhu bure eibilak ke kaun.

512 nr: hedena khon , trainot ahi asu , eta poilceot sakori kore, moi khudilu , sir apuni beya napabo kotha
513 eta khudu.apunar boundary tut 2 kotha maan mati ase, moi anai khudilu. aaun ase. aapuni tate kheti
514 olop maan koribo pare na. eai , dhorna sorna ,eibilak hoise xhohoj bostu. lora suali jonmo diya tu eta
515 khohoj bostu hoi ne nohoi ?

516 me : hoi , kiyo nohoi.

517 nr: mur kintu xikha nai , hole moi tare kiba eta. aru dhorna diya tu besi xohoj bostu.subji kheti nokorile ,
518 daam nabahi ki hobo he. Guwahatit baan paani kiyo hoise, naala maari pelai ghor bonai ase, paani kot
519 jabo.jetia jungle ekhon bhangi dibo , tare hathi bagh bilak kot jabo? mur maa hati marise, sarkaror pora
520 ponchas hazaar toka paisilu, kokai hei tate rangaparant mati sati kini , bagan sagan khuli malik hoi borhi
521 ase. hei tate hathi thaka jegah ne manhu thaka jegah. manhu namari ki goru maribo, kotha bilak
522 bhabok de apuni. andulon kora kintu xhohoj. ek nombor bodmash amar manhu bilak, jekai dibo, enuka
523 korle eneka pabi. burbok bilake buji napai. taka 3 lakh di dile sarkare.kotha tu hoi ne nohoi ?

524 me: aaun , teneke koi sup korai diye no.

525 nr: hei karne , amar kayastha manuhe andolon ketiyao nokore dei. sob jatire manhu ke pabo apuni
 526 andolon kora , kintu kayastho jatir manhu napai kintu. gute dintu guse gol, aami dhorna dile hath borhi
 527 bhangibo ,mori gole tu bhalei , nohole mur pisot aru sarita manhu dori phurok, kiman eta oxantir
 528 poribekh.andolon kor , tohote dur nitik loi kor , khokla andolan kori labh nai tu . jeta eta khomoit sob
 529 bostu nai kiya hoi jabo , andolon korile pabo neki apuni khabo ?

530 me: kayastha mauhe kiyo nokore andolon ?

531 nr: amar kayastha manuhe andolon nokore.januye andolonot ki paam ? Jodi lengra hoi pori thaku ,
 532 amar pisot 4ta manhu kun doribo.

533 sd: laughs

534 nr: hahise ki , khihote eku najane akou. kunbai kiba kole matha beya kore.

535 me : kayastha manhu bilak kun bur ?

536 nr: dutta, adhikari , mahanta , bhuyan , ami asolote shankardevor hai bonxodhor.

537 suman kept on listening to nr quietly , without saying a word. after nr stopped , i was kidding with
 538 suman , asking him to grow crops in his backyard.

539 nr: apunar eai hengrabarit , bhal lagse manhu etai manhe kheti korise buildingor uporot. tar buildingor
 540 uporot omitta se , komola tenga ase , gos ase , daangor daangor . mota muti saador uporot ek komor
 541 man mati uthai dise, aru nijor kheti korise. sob kheti korise. hei bilak manuhe Jodi kheneka pade,
 542 apunar building uthai dile , apuniyo paribo.

543 me: hetu kore ajikali.

544 nr: main kotha ki , apunar ratipuwa khui utha time tu sabo lagibo . apuni Jodi dhorok sakori kore , apuni
 545 8tar loke khui thakil , 10tat duty ahiboi lagil , apuni Jodi ratipuwa 5tat uthe , kiyo nuware hein apuni
 546 ghoror kaam koribo.

547 me: kotha tu thikei koise apuni .

548 me: paani khabo dise ne nai ? i asked suman)

549 sd: nai ami nijay kini loi goisu . amar usorote dolong khonor tolot. aamar agot police , pis phale crpf,
 550 kiba koribi bapeke.

551 me: daam tu komibo ne nai ?

552 sd: daam tu komibo lagibo.

553 suman saw a priest and escaped the conversation .

554 nr: dhorilok , khi eta murkho lora,buji napai na , kunnbai kiba koise hetute

556 nr: aaun , aaru paharor manhu bilake mati dokhol korar karone, aru pahar hoise forest departmentor ,
 557 apuni kotha nai bota nai mati kiyo dokhol korise, takei loi pela andolon koribo , etu kotha neki . moi
 558 uriam ghat , jane ne uriam ghat , hei ja mora mari , kata kati lagisil , golaghat, tate tini bhigha mati
 559 paisilu moi , moi tetiya uriam ghatot , naga bostit asilu , muk koisil tate , mati loi lok apuni .

560 me: mati kot disile ? nagalandor phalei ne ?

561 nr: bordarot. sorkari mati loi eibilak oxanti eta hoi .jodi kiba karnot moi Jodi eibilak lolu hoi , aji oxantit
 562 bhugibo lagile hoi . amar ase , amar eman poriyal dangor nohoi , amar eman dorkar nai . nohoi. amar
 563 ase meadi mati , kunu eku mati matibo nuare . amar tension lobo dorkare nai.

564 me: hetuye , emaan nalage tu .

565 nr: moi bhabhu kisuman manhor, ki je hobo aru manhu bilakor , paagol kukure kamure je .

566 nr: modi hote apunar , next baar ki hobo hobo , khi aru kaam napam hetu bhabhi nathake.

567 suman enters the space again , sits in the chair .

568 me: dam ketia komibo ?

569 sd: komibo , modik photo disu facebookot.

570 me: modi tu americat he ase .

571 sd: aaun tale jabo no

572 its started raining and the sun was still shining . looking at that suman shared with us what his
 573 grandmom used to tell him .

574 sd: rod dise , borokhun dise xialor biya .

575 nr: kaar biya ?

576 sd: xialor

577 nr: kot ase kial ?

578 sd: gator tolot

579 nr: tumi ki koisa eibilak koth a, moi paagol hoi jabo lagibo .

580 nr pulling sd's leg , kidding around with him .

581 sd: borokhun aru rod kiyo diye , hetu khialor biya , aamar aitai jaane .

582 me: tumi guwahatir local lora mane . eikhini jegaar naam ki ?

583 sd: six mile

584 me : hei nohoi .

585 nr : tumi eku najanu , tumi eta gadha murkho .

586 suddenly sd changes the topic.

587 sd: tate eta lora mari thoi dise.

588 nr: mari dise ?kot ?

589 sd: taj hotelor khonmukhot, busor driver etai ahi koise. feringetot.khai loise sage , khai louwar pisot ki
590 kobo , poisa khujise , nai nidu buli koise , maari dise .

591 nr: aamar , fan khon dekhise ne , khuli disu, etiya goromot keneka borhi asu .

592 sd: keta baje ?

593 nr: bas , 12ta bbaje

594 sd: moi etiya ga dhoom , bhaat khai lom , bas aru khui dim , gaan tu bojai dim .

595 me : taar pisot ?

596 sd: garageot ahi bohim

597 sd: apuni eku sinima suwa nai ? rodor sithi khon sale ? angoraag ase ?

598 me : nai suwa . uber bilaor office to kot ase?

599 sd: aase uprot , ola ase , lora ase , suali ase.

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607 **PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS 4**

608 me: bet tu 10 bosor agote kiman daam asile ?

- 610 nr: 2004 pisot hain daam barhise, sauk 2004 moi biya patilu , tetiya daalir kg kinisilu 25 toka.
- 611 me: apuni 2004 hei biya patise , borhut deri ke patise .
- 612 nr: **aaun olop deri hol , ghorot jhamela kisuman thakile teneka hoi jai na .**
- 613 me: ghoror jhamela mane ki asile ?
- 614 nr: **guardian nisina hoi jaun na , bai bhoni bilak asil na, biya siya khokolure hoi gol ,lastot hai moi patisu**
- 615 **, khoru dangor sobore hoi gol .**
- 616 me: apunar bhai hotor lagot bhalei ne ?
- 617 nr: ase thike .
- 618 me : mati baari sob bhaag hoi gol ?
- 619 nr: bhaag huwa nai , henekai ase.
- 620 after a long comfortable silence , while i was observing nr doing his work . he was weaving a circular
- 621 table , the long thin strips of bamboo, coming out from the centre of the table , one end of the strips
- 622 were getting weaved , the end were loose in the air , coming out from all sides radially , **engulfing nr ,**
- 623 **he had to hold some of the loose end and keep them aside not to get into his body , so that he cant get**
- 624 **a reach to the centre of the circular table to weave, it looked like a big flower with with its tentacles .**
- 625 nr: **borhut khomoi lage eibilakot.**
- 626 me: aaun khomoi lage !
- 627 me: major pora keneke start tu kore ?
- 628 nr: pothomote 5 daal ba 6 daal logai lolu ,pisot borhai borhai dilu, taar pisot enekai bui bui ahisu.
- 629
- 630
- 631
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- 636 **PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS 5**

- 638 nr: ahi puwa nai dekhun
- 639 me: ulale ne taar pora
- 640 nr: taar pora ulam buli kole, etiya mobile tu switch off hoi ase
- 641 me: nai aji nahi taar mane
- 642 nr: takei tu
- 643 nr: nai trainot ahi ase neki ratipuwar trainot .
- 644 me: etu hoi gol no (looking at the complete weaving of the center table)
- 645 me: ratipuwa ruti suti khale?
- 646 nr: hotelote khai dilu ratipuwa.
- 647 nr: kali eta minister etak arrest korile neki !
- 648 me:kot ?
- 649 nr: goalparat .
- 650 nr: ki hobo hobo aru
- 651 me: moi news suai nai , apunar tv ase neki ?
- 652 nr: yaat nai tv , eai batori kagozot porhilo ratipuwa. khosa dei , eai sur khupa
- 653 me: kiyo korile tak girafar ?
- 654 nr: nai moi main heri geta porha nai aru , khomoi napau
- 655 me : ki naam tu ?
- 656 nr: nazarul islam , saistha bhimbhagor asile na khiu , sauk na ei 19 or electionar aage ki hoi minister
- 657 bilakor.sob khumuai dibo eibilakok. eai modi kaku bhoi nokore he.kunu ki koro kor.kihote dekhore karne
- 658 bhabha manhu , hoi ne nohoi ?
- 659 etiya sauk , dali kg 50 tokat ahi pale je , hei dali 120 tokatu kini paisilu. amar manhuor main hoise ,
- 660 amar khuwa khaido tu , karbar toka ase dami dress pindhok ,aami olop kom pindhim . khuwa tu praiye
- 661 khokolukor ekeai thake , hoi ne nohoi.kunubai mankho ek din besi khabo , kunubai ek din kom
- 662 khabo,eikiniye parthokyo. keneka dharadhar daam barhisile , eibaar Jodi golei hoi , eibaar tu manhu
- 663 moribo lagile hoi .
- 664 me: hetuye no , bostu bilak paboloi nai , barhiboye daam .
- 665 nr: bostu paboloi nai , taar bhitorot daam belege barhibo , etiya dhori lok gari, garir mur bortoman

667 nathakile apuni khus kari jabo, eta kothar kotha , aji apunar toka poisar kiba eta line ase karne apuni
 668 gari ekhon lobo parise, mour hei line tu nai , muru jetya line ahibo moiya lom . thik teneke kisuman
 669 bostur daam barhile bhaal , sob bostur nohoi.sob bosture e daam.ki asorit . atta 30 tokar pora 25 toka
 670 komi gol .

671 me: khihote(KR) ghor lock kori goise ?

672 nr: mur tat sabi ase

673 me: keta roomor ghor?

674 nr: etai room

675 me: etai room ? apuni kot thake ?

676 nr:mur belek sideot. mur hetu nijake.

677 me:khihotor gutai poriyal eta roomot te thake?

678 nr: khoru poriyal ,pari aru .etiya sauk, jitya bhara thakibo laga position hobo nohoi , tetiya aru teneke
 679 thakibo lagibo , tate aru guwahatir tu aru haw bhaw bilak janei.

680 me: apunalukor gor , nalbari town ote ne gaonot ?

681 nr: townote

682 me: kiba suburi ne?

683 nr: chowdhury para buli koi .kayastha manhu ase tate.

684 me: aru ki para ase nalabrit ?

685 nr: chowdhury para , bhakat para , bakhiyar para.

686 me: shankardev mana manhu bilake puja nokore neki ?

687 nr: nai khihote puja nokore .

688 me: apuni kore ne nai puja ?

689 nr: ami khankar devok namana nohoi nohoi, taunt u aru koi juwa nai nohoi kitabot , ki eibilak kot
 690 nakhaba,eya amar manhu bilake hei nijay bonai loise , manhu bilake olop besi besi kore na.
 691 shankadeve nijor hathe di manhuok mithai bilai furisil, tao'r ashramot, Prasad khuaise. gotike tau te
 692 kuwa nai , ki amar shankariya mahu bilake khali shankariya manhor pora he Prasad khaba.heibilak
 693 amar manhu bilake besi besi kore .

694 me: tar apnuni puja suja kore ?

695 nr: puja asolote apunar sauk , puja apuni muk kori ase , moi apunak kori ase , hetu tu hai puja. beleg
696 eku nai.bhagawane nijor khontanor boli khai neki ? bhagawane tu ketia nakhai ?

697 bhagawanor nammot kiman boli diye.puja suja kunbai matile jao, nohole manhu bilake beya pai nohoi
698 .Aru ji manhue pujar namot 24 ghanta thake naohoi , taar oxanti besi hoi . kiman puja kooribo manhu
699 bilake . musalman dharmor manhu bilake , bosorot eibaar ishwaror namot kiba eta ta kore aru. bostu tu
700 sauk kotha tu bhabhi pala , hoi ne nohoi.

701 amar brahmakumarit sob kotha bujai diye , pratham puja kune korisile , kitabo tu ase kotha tu ?
702 pratham puja korisile , daangor roja ejone , kitabotu ase , agote buronji asile, ajikali buronji nai.hei roja
703 tu mahadev khantusti kora karne puja ekhon korisile , aaji kali puja bilakor artho nai .narakhur , raavan
704 eta devata asil , taar mane 33 kuti devata asile , aami etiya hei 33 kuti devatar majot , apuni devata
705 hobo apare , moiyu hobo paru. apuni Jodi amar brahmakumarit jai nohoi , apunak sob bujai diye , aaji
706 kali pujar kunu kaam nai.

707 apuni khudi ase je eibilak kotha muk ?

708 me : laughs , enai khudisu .

709 nr: etiya boli , apuni boya patise , apunar khontan tur apuni khabo paribo boli ? eai prithvi khonot jiman
710 ase , sob bhagawanor khontan nohoi ? bhagaban jagator mata pita nohol ?

711 me : apuni mane puja suja eman namane?

712 nr: enai tar mane manu , kintu hei puja hisabot moi nidu dei eku . belshorot 40-50 ta bosore moh boli
713 diye .moi aji loke juwa nai tat.

714 me: Prasad diye sage ?

715 nr: Prasad tu khau . nukhuwa nohoi, kintu je moi nijay koribo lage hetu kotha nohoi. nakhau buli khole
716 ghrina kora nisina hoi . ami khaun , kintu naam tu lou “baba” buli , aami jote tote khau kintu , amak lage
717 pobitrata tu .

718 me: ghorot pate ne nai puja suja ?

719 nr: nai , maa agote korisile , maa mora pisot nai, mur nijor poriyal tuk .suali joni heidina khun eid khabo
720 jabo khujise,deta tai allah kasam khaise , goru soru eibilak nosole , ahibo koise.

721 moi bulu suwa , sole jodiyu , tumi sidha koi diba , tohote kha moi nakhau.

722 eku nohoi he , aami sob bhogowanor xontan. eta kotha kintu monot rakhibo , eta Jodi kiba opar shokti
723 Jodi nathakile hoi nohoi , tetiya kintu basi thaibo nuaru. viganot taar mane hetuye likhe. hetuye no
724 bhagawan. agote manuhe “ bhemot “ thoi di sob jegah ghurise, okol “ bhemot “ thoi diye , shokti pai kini
725 sab jegah gussi jabo pade.

726 me: “bhem” mane ki ?

727 nr: bhem bhem , bhem mane apunar , jug(dhyaan).

728 me: ratipuwa koribo lage

729 nr: jug taar mane ratipuwa , 5ta pora 7ta le koribo lage , 7tar pisot tar mane , taiu tar mane olop dangor
730 manhu logot thakibo khomoi napai, lora sualir bilakor logot khela dhule kore .5ta pora 7ta xomoi tu basi
731 lobo lagei, eku kotha bhabibo nalage , khali ek mone .

732 ei bilak bostu taarmane , moi taarmane khunilu nohoi , hei xonkoriya manhu bilake ki koise , amar
733 brahmin manhu bilake ki koise , kusch manhu bilake ki koise , xonaton dharmot ki koise , sobore khunu
734 , khuni pela basi loisu brahmakumari tu.

735 me: brahmakumari tu kiyo basi loise ?

736 nr: brahmakumarite sob bujai diye , ram kun asil , ravan kun asil ,eai bostu bilak dhuniya ke bujai diye ,
737 baki bilakor nisina nohoi.

738 me: baki bilake ki koi?

739 nr: baaki bilake aru ki , ishware tumak toka poisa sob dibo . ishware keneke dibo ?

740 moi Jodi , ishwaror kotha , kaam nokuru , phaal tu keneke pabo.

741 kisumane ghorot borhi borhi poisa kamai thakei , eku nokore , hetu tu ravanor buddhi jane ne , hoi
742 apuni belegor uporot dokait kori pabo (laughs)

743 borhi kini kamua poisa tu teneke hobo na , ne nohoi ? business tu apuni buddhi khatabo lagabo , borhi
744 thaka kaam nohoi. bostu bilak teneka hoi noi. eibilak bostu dhuniya kor bujai diye , baki bilakot nuare .
745 baki bilakot puja koribo diye.

746 kun khin ghorot kar oxanti nai ? aru jaar oxanti nai , khiye hoise bhagawanor asol khontan .bhagawanr
747 mane oxanti tu beya pai na , ei bilak bostu bilak mane jana tu borhut zoruri. ravan ,duryodhon , taar
748 shakti tu soli ase khihotor , challenge khitor he soli ase.manhu bilake akoman doh ke sinta korile bhaal
749 hobo.

750

751 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS 6

752 I reached the work space at 11 am in the morning , usual timing. Keramat ali still not back from his
753 home town , Narendra dutta was working alone in the workspace. I took the chair sat near to him. He
754 was straightening the long cane pieces , which were bent . there was a heater , which had a narrow
755 mouth from which the heat would come out and nr putting the bent part in front of the mouth then
756 straighten the part with a wooden lever . The heat would make the cane delicate so that it could be bent
757 with little force without breaking , something done to bend iron . The heat produced by the heater was

759 task.the whistling sound of the heater was prominent in the space. When i entered the space, he asked
760 me

761 nr: **apunar tu xikha hoise ,apuni etiya dikkha eta lobo lage .**

762 me: aaun thike koise .

763 i **kept on watching him bending the canes** , it was kind of **soothing to see him straightening the cane**
764 **.after some time** , a police jeep came to the nearby shop to get the car fixed , their car was getting fixed
765 , two policeman from the jeep came out strolling to the work space and **started loitering around inside**
766 **the space** , they were looking for something , they were **looking for a long piece of cane for themselves.**

767 policeman: bet dudal lagisile .

768 nr: **bisari lauk kundal lage.**

769 policeman: eidal bonai dibo

770 nr: eidal 20 toka poribo .

771 policeman : **enai dibo.**

772 nr: **nai nuarim dibo enai, eibilak bet borhut daam loi , eani dibo nuari,** beleg bet huwa hole di dilu hoi
773 moi , kintu **eidal bet pabolo nai yaat.**

774 policeman: apuni jitu koise aru , **10 toka eta dim aru , nohole apuni beya pabo nohoi.**

775 nr: eai lora tu yate borhi ase , ekhete **amar pora eibilak khikar binimoit amaak poisau dibo.** eibilak lineot
776 officer boniboloi , eibilak janibo lage tu . tekhete line taarmane porhi ase eibilakor. **aru tekhete ulta amak**
777 **poisa dibo, sinta koribo koribo kotha tu.**

778 policeman: **master hobo lagile , porhibo lagibo.**

779 nr: kakoty buli ejon asile, tekhete 20 toka koi , 10 dal , 20 dal loi goisile. khudi sabo apuni.

780 policeman picked another piece of cane and asked the price.

781 nr: **ekhon bet loi jauk apuni , ekhon bettor poisa nalou .**

782 policeman: apuni **polish kori dibo.**

783 nr: **hacksaw di kati dim .**

784 nr: eai dal bettor **bahaduri tu beleg,** eai dal bet apuni jeneke teneke korok kintu zindagit eku nohoi, eai
785 **daal bettor bahaduri tu apunar xompurno beleg.**

786 eiya sauk ,(nr bent the cane piece into multiple bends and into extreme circles to show the property of
787 the cane)

788 policeman: apuni koisile nohoi , apuni jui logai bhaal ke **bonai dibo. eidal aji bonai diyok.**

789 nr: **lage bonai dibo?** bonai dibo lagile saah khuabo lagibo dei. eai daal bet moi kolu nohoi , **apunar lora**
 790 **sualir biya siya par hoi jabo , ekdom eai kath dhori koisu dei.**

791 policeman: nibo, soore nibo.

792 after finishing the pieces for both policeman , one of them took out a 10rs to give

793 nr: **10toka nolou moi koisu nohoi .**

794 policeman: eai 20 toka eta diyok he . (looking at nr's adamant demand)

795 nr: **eitut tel khoros korisu moi , khomoi khoros korisu moi . policeor manhu pora poisa ulabo bor time**
 796 **lage, eman poisa pai thake apuna luke .**

797 **the policeman got offended**

798 policeman: **naolou aru**

799 nr: lobo tu lagibo , **nolobo keneke hai.**

800 policeman: kiyo , **nolua ke soli asu.**

801 nr: agote bettor dam 3toka , 4toka asile , **agor kotha huwa hole enai di dilu hoi moi. agor nisina etiya**
 802 **janu nhai kokai bilak ekeloge thakibo pade?** bostu bilakor daam barhise.

803 policeman: **eai bet tut ke, hei khoru bet tu kintu bhaal .**

804 nr: **hetu bettor jaat beleg, hetu beleg jaat. hetu taarmane bohot dami bet hetu** , apunar hator etu.

805 policeman : etu bet kor pora ahe ?

806 nr: etu bet hei shilling , arunachal pora ahe , vepari bilake loi ahe.

807 the policeman left in a while , **they were humiliated by nr in some ways** , **since they were looking for the**
 808 **piece of cane for free of cost. but nr bargained adamantly and fearlessly with them to get the price of**
 809 **the cane.**They had to pay the amount and **went straight inside their jeep** , while rest of their colleagues
 810 **were still loitering around waiting for the jeep to get fixed .**

811 **nr: moi ekdom dekhiboi nuaru.**

812 nr: mur **dada ejon policot, moi koisu , dada sikha khini hol tur , dikha guru tu lo , bohot lifeot tok kamala.**

813 me: agote apunak bohot digdar dise.

814 nr: baa , **kom jala dise.lagiboije 5hazaar, kom jala.**

815 me: kot hoisile?

816 nr: etu apunar dibrugarh, tinsukia, jetia moi bepar korisilu bettor. aji pora 14 bosor agote. gari khon niye
817 , joto poto logai diye.

818 nr: etiya tu nuara.

819 nr: harami hoi, eihotor jaat tuye harami. harami manhu.

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821

822 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONS 7

823 me: apuni etiya goi pela kot asile? gaon ghorot asile ?

824 kr: aaun , gaon ghor?

825 me: ghor mane jot bhai hot thake tate?

826 kr: nai , mur nijor ghor . (denied aggressively and pridefully told about his own house.)

827 me: apuni akou ghor bonai hai ase.

828 kr: bonai asu, kintu hoise adha. hoie goise aru, olop ase.

829 me: family manhu ase ne nai.

830 kr: family mane , amar baido ejoni biya disilu. taar giriye tu dhukal. dhukuar pisot moi kolu , toi aar
831 logot ahi thak hi . mur mai ase etiya , 105 bosor.

832 me: 105 bosor , baap re.

833 kr: agor dinor manhu na , ami tu 70 man hole , amr tu 70 par hobo ne nai.

834 me: guwahatit thaka manhur aru digdar.

835 kr: taar mane pasoli bilak bhejal thake no.

836 me: gaonot , apunar nijor kheti seti ase neki ?

837 kr: aaun

838 me: kune kore kheti ?

839 kr: kheti belogok disu ,kheti kori amak adha di jai , adha loi jai.

840 me: subzi kore ?

841 kr: subzi nekori ami dhaan kheti kori . mora natar kheti

- 842 me: subzi tu kini loi mane?
- 843 kr: subzi tu ghorore mane , logai ghorot olop solop. **etiya tu amar ghorot began, rangalau , aru bhendi**
844 **dher ase , kinibo nalage.**
- 845 me: khai taste ase sage?
- 846 kr: **aaun taste aase eibilak khai** , ami khar diya nai nohoi .
- 847 me: apuni taarmane pisole tate settle hom buli bhabhi thoise .
- 848 kr: **pisole tu etu eta thai thikana lobo lagibo.khodai bhara ghorot thakibo nuarim nohoi.**
- 849 me: ki koribo tat?
- 850 kr: lastole goi aru ki kaam korim .
- 851 me: suali joni biya di dile , apunaluk duta he thakibo.
- 852 kr: aaun suali joni biya dibo parile , ami duta hai thakim . mai e tu thik nai na, **105 bosor hoi goise** , **aru**
853 **etiya ke din thakibo ?**
- 854 me: kotha pate?
- 855 kr: kotha apate , khus karhibo pade , lathi loi khus karhe.
- 856 me: bengalit kotha pate no ?
- 857 kr:aaun.
- 858 kr: gaonot eta card di ase bemaror, soboke di ase . hetu bemar hole.
- 859 nr: aaun soboke di ase neki ? amar tat kiyo diya nai ?
- 860 kr: dibo robo
- 861 me:nalbari town sage olop deri ke ahibo.
- 862 kr: ahibo , olop deri ke ahibo.
- 863 nr: **nai nai ,agot muslim area bilakot dise neki. tarmane muslim manhu bilakok eta bisas dibo lage na ,**
864 **aru voto ru kotha ase.**
- 865 me: kihor karne , card khon kihor karne.
- 866 kr: kabar Jodi dangor bemar hoi , card khon di chikitsa korabo pade.
- 867 nr: eai ghor sor je kaam kori ase , ghor latrine bathroom . eibilak , **agote muslim area bilakot he kori**
868 **ase.bjp manhu ejonor no. asil, tau koi asil , eai muslim manhu bilakor mon bilak joi koribo lage na , etu**
869 **...**

- 870 (kr gets up from his seat and leaves with out saying anything)
- 871 me : kune koise apunak etu?
- 872 nr: khunisu moi.
- 873 nr:muslim aru bagan . bagan bilakot bjp vote bur besi na.
- 874 after 10 minutes , kr returns with his card to show us .
- 875 me: apunar Jodi eta bemar hoi , 2 lakh tokar bhitorot chikitsa koribo paribo. jolile , nervor bemar ,
876 kidney , heartor, cancer aru novojator.
- 877 me: etu amiyu anibo lagibo , mur maa ru nervor problem ase.
- 878 kr: dibo.
- 879 me: kor pora anibo lage etu .
- 880 kr: etu amar gao phale panchayatot di ase.
- 881 me:apunar ghorot bemar semar ase neki ?
- 882 kr : nai
- 883 me: karu nai
- 884 kr: noddod no. tothapi anisu.
- 885 nr: atal biharir photo diya se , atal amrit kiba. thike bjiye mon jikibo kori ase eibilak. bhalei kintu.atm
886 cardor nisina.
- 887 me: bhaal bostu dise.
- 888 kr: taar mane etu , 18 bosor jaar hoise , taak tu di dise , 18 bosoror tolot tak tu nidiye.
- 889 kr:khihotor name tu ase , kintu diya nai .
- 890 nr: yate sob bemaror napai apuni .
- 891 kr: main main gita ase , 6ta bemar ase.
- 892 nr: bemar eibilak hobo nalage xhorirot.
- 893 after some time , a policeman appears in the front of the shop , he came near the work space and sits
894 on the chair kept outside the workspace. kr and nr keeps working silently .
- 895 policeman: enekuwa edal kiman man loi ?
- 896 kr: enekuwa bilak 50 toka man pore .

- 897 policeman: enekuwa bis toka manot napai neki ? bakosot khumai thobo para ke hole hoi.
- 898 kr: eibilak kamot lagibo .
- 899 policeman: **apunalukor jukhot nimila teneka nai ?**
- 900 kr: eneke nimila nai , eman dangor hole 50 toka bhoribo lagibo. eai bilak khoru khoru bilak hoi , bis toka
901 manot dibo paarim .
- 902 policeman: enekua tu 20 tokat diyok .
- 903 kr: enekuwa tu nuarim dibo 20 tokat.
- 904 policeman: **bakosor bhitorot khumabo parile hoi** . hetu karne eneka size tut hike ase.
- 905 kr: **koiye dilu apunak eibilak kamor karne katisu , beleg ke kati dibo lagibo , 50 toka pori jabo.**
- 906 policeman: eidal ki bet ? eidal kintu bohut posando lagsil. enekuwa edal dibo 20 tokat.
- 907 kr: enekua tu nuarim dibo , eneka tu napai , khub kom pai .
- 908 **kr putting the nails through the cane , fixing the parts of a the furniture , joining the cane parts.**
- 909 policeman: eneke jukhor tu kata nai budhoi.
- 910 kr: eneka size or e kati dim , eibilak muta bilak beleg beleg kaamor karne kati thoisu.
- 911 me: **departmentor pora nidiye neki ?**
- 912 policeman: diye , heibilak bhal nohoi , **plasticor hoi . heibilak di kubale manhor bhitoro bhitoro beya hoi**
913 **jai. bhaal nohoi.**
- 914 policeman: mur **eibilak di mari bhaal nalage** , belegor lage. jeneke **cableor tare di kubale bhitoro bhitoro**
915 **sut pai , tenekai .**
- 916 **kr: asolote bahe di baa, bête di hai kubabo lage , manhu , goru , sagoli jihe di nukubaok.**
- 917 policeman: eibilak aru sorkaror lathi , bhal nalage , mon tu bhal nalage. **etiya apunar aru mur mon tu**
918 **ekai nohoi .**
- 919 kr was **constantly trying to evade the policeman** , since he was trying to get the **piece of cane in a very**
920 **cheap price , kr was bargaining and giving his answers very straightforward , slightly aggressively.**
- 921
- 922

923

924 **Categories and prominent phrases**

925

926 **AAMI –**

927 amar bostu pori nathake . main kaam axomor. nalbarit sobotse dhuniya thog bonai. thanda

928 manhu(line 813, 815) . ami nijay bonau (line 370, 470)

929 hatare bonale besi bhaal hoi . khomoi lage na bohut (line 93,94) (line 108)

930 puja kore,xonman kore, master ji buli koi. bettor bahaduri tu apunar xompurna beleg (line 783, 784)

931 suali thaka manhu , thanda manhu .

932 shankaor devor bonkhodor.(line 561)

933 muslim dharma xrestha dharma.

934 beya lage nijor jegaar manhu hoiyu ami eku napau diyok sun , dolongoye kolomote sob kisu ammar ,

935 napau ami . (line 454)

936

937 **BARHIROR MANHU-**

938 buji pai , xonman kore , masterji buli koi (line 87,88)

939 xoru pora barhirot thaka (line 298,299) (line 67,68) tatei helpful hoi manhu bilak (line 330,331)

940

941 **THOG**

942 baanh bettor kaam , aami , barhiror manhu

943

944 **PAAGOL.**

945 aamar axomiya manhu. buji napai muhtwa bettor kamor. karigor buli mate. xonman nidiye.

946 jati dharma , hinghka, jhamela (dui nombori , dur niti) , (line 298,299,331,333,334,339)

947 paagolor dore dhorna di rasta rasta ghuri phure. paagol. aandolon kore. (line 557 , 509-511)

948

950 **OXANTI**

951 Paagol(940)

952 jala, police jaat . (813,815)

953 aamar axomiya manhu.

954 bemar

955 dangor poriyal (line 562).

956

957 **Sounds**

958

959 *lastot ami etu kori palau* (hammering the nail head , with a striking sound .) – line 267

960 nr sits and starts scratching the outer skin of the cane . while scratching the cane with his knife

961 sounded as if two hollow bamboo pipes were rubbed again each other, sounded like a sorcerer's

962 equipment , whispering something to tell. – line 465

963 scratching the skin off from the cane – line 478

964 the whistling sound of the heater the cane delicate so that it could be bent with little force without

965 breaking , something done to bend iron . The heat produced by the heater was bothering nr , (*beya lagi*966 *jai soku toku,jhala hai bohut.*) and he was facing difficulty to perform the task. (line 756)

967

968 **Synthesis**

969

970 **Metaphor : bahaduri**(masters, exceptional) is the metaphor, the meaning of the word bahaduri unfolds

971 in different aspects of their life , other than professional field. since both of the workers considers

972 themselves as masters in their life , in all aspect , from work , to family , to society , to morality. they like

973 to being called masters too , and they have masters in their family . For them their daughters getting

974 educated and doing well is “ bahaduri “ , (*suali etiya 60 hazaar toka dormaah , ek toka ghoosh dibo*975 *laga nai , buijise. ek toka eta tar mane ghoosh dibo laga nai .suali joni ei bilak khetrot chalu , log sog*976 *eku nai , planeot goise .nijor bhagin mur .tair bahaduri tu sauk sun*) . Just like the bet(cane) , which

977 bends in any form without breaking , the group lives their life in that way , bending , flexible , non

978 breakable under any circumstances, which is bahaduri .

980 The beautiful work they do , which they often referred as the best thog(beautiful) in nalbari . they
 981 consider their work as exceptionally master class.and as they have said people from outside(bahiror
 982 manhu) appreciate their work and call them “ master ji “. They have trained at place from where hema
 983 malini bought products , so they have this exceptional status.The fact that they are making and selling
 984 their own products without any middle man , they have full control on their own work.(*aaun aaun, amar*
 985 *etu amar nisadhin aru – line 133*) . They have their freedom. Being “nisadhin”is bahaduri for them in
 986 their professional life.*amar tu thike soli ase. amar hei karne murha eta dibo nuaru.jitu murha khihote*
 987 *800 takat bikri kore ami 150 takat bikri koru , nijay bonua bostu daam komai dibo paru.*

988 *sob sidha hoi jai no , beka holo? nr: hetuye , bettor bahaduri (laughing) line 461*

989

990 amar bostu pori nathake . main kaam axomor. nalbarit sobotse dhuniya thog bonai. thanda
 991 manhu(line 813, 815) . ami nijay bonau (line 370, 470). hatare bonale besi bhaal hoi . khomoi lage na
 992 bohut (line 93,94) (line 108) .puja kore,xonman kore, master ji buli koi. bettor bahaduri tu apunar
 993 xompurna beleg (line 783, 784)

994

995 keramat ali's mom alive till the age of 105 , he and his family doesn't suffer from any disease, he has
 996 his own house and property,this is bahaduri for him .Since they are still working at the age of 55, and
 997 they can still work for next 15 years , that is babahduri for them .(*amar tu etiya , echini boiyokhot ji*
 998 *hisabot asu etiya , he hisabot tu aru 15 bosor man parim .15 Bosor kora pisot moriye jam , kot 80-90*
 999 *bosor kot thakibo parim . Aji kali manhu eman bosor nathake na)*

1000 There bahaduri unfolds in their family too. They are proud about their family.That is bahaduri for them .

1001 Bahaduri in being morally sound , since both of them considers each others religion as the xhrestha(
 1002 best) . living and coming from a society where people believe on religion based discrimination , both of
 1003 them ignored all these things.They mutually respect each other's religion and believes their own
 1004 respective morals are best on their own way. *ami asolote shankardevor hai bonxodhor. kayastha*
 1005 *manuhe andolon nokore.januye andolonot ki paam ? muslim dharma xrestha dharma.(line 287) moi*
 1006 *taarmane khunilu nohoi , hei xonkoriya manhu bilake ki koise , amar brahmin manhu bilake ki koise ,*
 1007 *kusch manhu bilake ki koise , xonaton dharmot ki koise , sobore khunu , khuni pela basi loisu*
 1008 *brahmakumari tu.(line 732).* living happily together in the same house and work together without having
 1009 any collision between them They have been leaving peacefully which is also considered as bahaduri by
 1010 them .They are off from the paagol elements of the society , they consider assamese people (mostly
 1011 their own town/village people) as paagol , because they believe on religion based , caste based
 1012 discrimination.And they don't agree by their terms and ignore all those paagol beliefs and live and work
 1013 happily together.they consider sitting for andolon is pointless, they consider only pagol people it for
 1014 andolon. This way of thinking is bahaduri for them .

1015 They still feel they young and will be working for next 15 years .They are not afraid of police and other

1017 *were looking for the piece of cane for free of cost. but nr bargained adamantly and fearlessly with them*
 1018 *to get the price of the cane.They had to pay the amount and went straight inside their jeep , while rest*
 1019 *of their colleagues were still loitering around waiting for the jeep to get fixed (line 801)*

1020 *kr was constantly trying to evade the policeman , since he was trying to get the piece of cane in a very*
 1021 *cheap price , kr was bargaining and giving his answers very straightforward , slightly aggressively. (line*
 1022 *909)*

1023 Just like the bet(cane) , which bends in any form without breaking , the group lives their life in that way
 1024 , bending , flexible , non breakable under any circumstances, which is bahaduri .

1025 The restless elements(oxanti) , for example the societal norms , authority and law , relationships ,
 1026 attachment ,big family, joint family.They constantly get the point of having a nuclear family nowadays
 1027 and its advantage.They feel a big family is a problem(oxanti) these days.They have been able to handle
 1028 all these situations peacefully and efficiently ,not letting the oxanti get to them.hence they have a
 1029 bahaduri.Leaving hingkha(jealousy) .Bahaduri is considered in their bonding also , since keramat ali
 1030 being muslim , and living and coming from a society where people believe on religion based
 1031 discrimination , both of them ignored all these things and living happily together in the same house and
 1032 work together without having any collision between them , bahaduri is also unfolded in this way in their
 1033 lives.

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1038 **Reflexivity**

1039

1040 When I look back at my engagement with the social group ,I feel I have spent a nice time there with the
 1041 two of them. I went to them as a student and submitted myself to them . I constantly tried not to become
 1042 the centre of the conversation . Initially when I used to go to their place , I used to sit outside of the
 1043 porch , they used to handover the pirha(small stool,where they sit and work) to me , for somedays I sat
 1044 outside on the porch , without saying anything , Whatever they offered I accepted happily .Gradually my
 1045 position of sitting changed with time , by the end of the engagement I found myself sitting just behind
 1046 them , inside their working space. I felt like as they were guarding me inside the workspace. Being able
 1047 to talk in assamese was a big advantage and it became easier to get deep meanings out of their
 1048 conversations and words.The mother tongue revealed and made it easier to understand the
 1049 connotations of the word they used and the possible different connections of the word to their life
 1050 worlds.Narendra Dutta liked to talk to me a lot , he kept on continued talking without stopping ,
 1051 sometimes I don't say anything but he kept on talking One day I reached the workspace in a very bad

1052 mood , and narendra dutta sensed my mood , and asked me to follow a guru (moral guru , like
1053 brahmakumari) .Keramat Ali spoke less , I had to ask him, then only the would speak. Keramat Ali was
1054 a very caring , getting evening teas for me and narendra. Both of them initially took time and questioned
1055 my knowledge about the bamboo cane work . I surprised by their energy and enthusiasm at this age ,
1056 they work for long hours with dedication and concentration . Their faith on morality is
1057 commendable.They are not educated people but morally educated people. They are very disappointed
1058 by the assmese people and the way they think , disappointed by the govt.

1059 *beya lage nijor jegaar manhu hoiyu ami eku napau diyok sun , dolongoye kolomote sob kisu ammar ,*
1060 *napau ami . (line 454)*

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