**REIMAGINING THE GOOD CITY FROM ENNORE CREEK**

Interview Transcription

**Interview Information**

Interviewer/s: Gajendran V., Raju K. (GV,RK)

Place of interview: [Madha Temple](https://goo.gl/maps/TVZ9t7qvfrv8CUMM6), Puzhudhivakkam

Geo Coordinates: 13.268118 N, 80.326704 E

Date of interview: 06.04.2023

Transcription by: RK

Audio

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**Interviewee Information**

Name: Anonymised

Pseudonym: PP1, PP2

**Interview note:**

The elderly couples were staying on a sandy ridge between the Kosasthali river and Buckingham canal in the Puzhudhivakkam revenue village region; opposite to the Kamarajar port main gate. There was a small Madha kovil (Mother Mary shrine) on the eastern bank of the canal and river. The canal was on the west of the Kovil and further west, Kosasthalai river was flowing. The couple were residing here for more than 25 years. The couples were from the Irular community. Their livelihood is prawn picking and selling in the local market in Athipattu Pudhunagar.

The place is opposite to the Kamarajar port ltd. first gate. It was called Puzhidhivakkam revenue village in the administrative records. They are only people residing in the temporary settlements, living a semi-nomadic lifestyle, they Scheduled tribal population, making 1% of the Tamil Nadu population.

**[00:01:35]**

GV: Since when did you start to reside at his place?

PP1: We were here when the tsunami came in 2004.

GV: Where were you staying before the tsunami?

PP1: We were staying in the same place, this was a great ride at that time. The ridges were quarried by the lorries; the sands were stolen by them.

GV: How big was the ridge?

PP1: The ridge was along the entire canal to Kattupalli, Puliat in the North and in the South it runs to Sadaiyakuppam till Madras. Then this place was entirely a forest area. Later this place was dredged.

PP2: This places large-large trees on the banks of the river.

RK: What are the trees that were found at this place?

PP2: Cashew plant (Mundhiri chedi), Kaara chedi,

PP1: Jammun tree (Navapalam chedi), all that would be here.

PP2: The easter channel in the river was newly dredged; the channel wasn’t there before. The eastern one is the canal, being here for a long time.

RK: when was the channel dredged?

PP2: Only before the tsunami, the channel was desilted.

PP1: We were living here for ages. Others just came here (neighbours) some years before. We were living before establishing the Kamarajar port.

PP1: No construction was done at that time. There was no compound (madil suvar). That place was a complete forest (Kaadu); it had Cashew trees (Mundhiri chedi), Casuarina (Savukku maram). We were surviving by logging and selling the Casuarina trees.

GV: Where would you sell those logs?

PP1: We used to sell those logs in the Ennore-Thalankuppam. We have to cross the river by boat. Our transportation charge is 20 Rupees.

PP2: We would board from Mugadwaram street; from the wonder land (yester amusement park in Ennore).

PP1: From the forest (forest - Kaadu is general term for places with dense shrubs or trees) we would carry the logs on our head to the Mugadwaram.

**[00:05:00]**

GV: Where were your houses?

PP2: When there was no EB (NCTPS), we lived next to the shores. We were living in 3 huts (kottaai) made with Casuarina logs. (Savukkku mara kattaiya lam odachi moonu kottai pottunu irudhoom). Land owner would come from Minjur; he is a Reddy (a Telugu speaking dominant caste community). He would come and dredge (with the help of laborers) the land to dig out all the Casuarina roots underground, we would tie the roots as loads and stock them. If he comes, he would lift a load of stocked logs and check the weight. He would say the load is perfect, each load costs 25 Rupees. Then he would load the logs on the boat and ship them to the other bank; from Mugadwarakuppam where the wonderland existed to in Thalankuppam.

In Thalankuppam, lorries would be standing next to MGT bungalow (an abandoned british era building in Nettukuppam); from there with help of laborers, the logs would be shipped from boat to the lorries.

PP1: a ton was 25 rupees.

PP2: not ton; a load was 25 rupees.

GV: When was this?

PP2: That was long before, we were not sure about the year.

RK: What was your age then?

PP2: I would have been 50 years older, now I am 70 years (but they were not sure of ages and timelines).

PP1: At present, we even have seen our granddaughters' children.

RK: What is your name?

PP2: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ (in interview notes)

PP1: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ (in interview notes)

RK: What is your age?

PP1: I am 80 years old.

RK: Does the land belong to the reddiyar?

PP2: No, this place was a forest. At that time, the sea was raging (overflowing), severe winds and rains blew; then we were taken to a school in Ennore via Mugadwaram (village). Essential goods for us were coming by airplanes; rice, buns, rotties and breads were given to us.

PP1: Government was also providing clothes to wear.

PP2: All the essentials were served. Kuppathaars (fishers) were sorry for our (irulars) about conditions; they were talking about us stating we as ‘Irulars’. The MGR (former Chief Minister) was in the regine; Jayalalitha amma (Jayalalitha mother) was present at the time.

PP1: No, MGR was dead by then.

PP2: He is stating the current Tsunami story; I am telling the older (palayakaalaathu) story.

GV: Can you elaborate the story?

PP2:When Wonderland was here, MGR visited once. We all went to see him; he hugged the children (seethu pudichaaru); that was captured in the camera. Aiyya (father) is dead and not sure where in the sky? He would be settled as a god. He served bread (padi-alandhaaru) to all of us. If there are any issues, he asked to give a letter to him. A letter was given to him via the panchayat leader in Mugadwaram (river mouth). From then a lot of good things were done to us.

Then a storm approached, I am sure of the year; I am not educated, if I was educated, I would have known the year.

PP1: There was severe dust (dhoosi Dhummu) in that storm surge (sooravali kaathu)

PP2: Then, we were taken to a school, good food was served. All this happened when MGR was present.

**[00:10:00]**

PP1: When Amma (Jayalalitha) was there, after modi was there in the regime we faced hardships.

PP2: He (husband) was severely impacted by the Corona disease, he would have died of Corona.

PP1: Life got very touher.

PP2: He had a severe phlegm.

PP1: I used to lie under that tree.

PP2: He used to split a lot of phlegm at that time.

PP1: I used to say don’t come near me, stay away from my wife.

PP2: Then, I used to tie mosquito nets around him. No one would come near to him.

PP1: Then this hut (their residence) was not existing.

GV: When did this hut come here?

PP1: Only recently this hut was built.

**PP2: We came to this place only after the tsunami. (to check)**

PP1: When I was staying under a tree (a prosopis tree), I decided to go to the government hospital in Athipattu.

PP2: Because of the good wishes of the Matha (mother mary). We have got good places to live, land was provided to us. Fathers from Mukkumbad (a place) and witnessed our place. He was saying “aiyyo, water everywhere, how you all are staying in this place”. At that time, there were only 3 huts. All the places have plants, this place is the river bank (karai). I was saying, “ what can we do, we have to travel more for our livelihood (polaikka varom); we are getting late; there was no auto rickshaw at that time, all the way we have to walk to the river to catch prawns from Athipattu Pudhunagar. Only now, we can see cars, vans, lorries, earlier only walking tour; that’s why I stayed at this place”

GV: Till where you used to walk?

PP1: We used to wait till the Ellaiyamma temple (the one inside Kamarajar port); till Kattupalli, sometime we would walk even till Kalanji.

[

PP2: the sand would be burning hot while walking; it would be hard for the children. I would carry my daughter on my hip and he (husband) would carry our son over his shoulder. Only now we see the building (EB), before that there was no building. Kalaignar built this, he came by helicopter to visit the plant. We were running to see him. We were residing in the place before EB (NCTPS) was constructed. There would be a huge Tamarind tree at that place where we were living.

PP1: It’s called Thathamaram.

PP2: There were two ponds (retta kulam) at that place next to the Tamarind tree.

PP1: The ponds used to have drinking water. The two ponds lie (stands) on either side of the Thatha maram.

GV: Does the Tamarind tree still exist?

PP1: Yes.

GV: Why is it called Thatha Tamarind tree?

PP1: We lived in that place, so we could only call the tree as Thatha (grandfather), because he (the tree) raised us from our childhood, he (the tree) sees us as his children. He is a savior.

PP2: Under the tree many children were born, many families were residing in that place. All those who had children under the tree have got their grandchildren at present. The tree provides us shadow, in a tree branch a swing was tied.

**[00:15:00]**

PP1: Now we are residing with our mother (Metaphor), we are drinking the mothers milk; without mother milk we can’t live in this place (it’s the spring water).

PP2: At the time there was Melur (upper caste settlement), People in Melur were residing near the shores, they were Reddiyaars. Colony people (dalits) used to reside down (geographically less important/outer from the main area of the village) from the residence of Reddiars. Mugadwaram fishers (might be Ennore kuppam fishers) used to live next to the shore. They used to catch fishes and lived based on that. In this side (northern part), groundnuts, watermelon, muskmelon were cultivated. Under the Thatha tree only all the bull carts would stand to load the cultivated goods. With the bull carts all the farm goods would be shipped to Mugadwaram, from there it would be loaded to boats and goods would be taken to Thanakuppam.

PP1: There was no bridge at that time, the bridge was built only recently.

PP2: Even there was no company at that time. There were no lorries and vehicles.

PP1: We would be younger at that time; even this (KPL) compound was not present. There was only a sandy road.

PP2: The river bank was filled with cashew trees,

PP1: It was a forest (kaadu). There were a lot of cows (Maadu).

PP2: If the cows see the humans, it would run and try to hit them; they would start running toward the humans.. They were wild cows (kattu maadu)

PP1: People walking at nights would take fireballs (theepandam) as a protection: once it see the fire balls, the wild cows would run away.

PP2: This was a wild forest (bayangaramaana kaadu).

PP1: Even then, I used to take this old lady (his wife - kilavi) and walk alone.

PP2: we used to walk along the shore (kadala orichi - kadala otti)

PP1: I would take the old lady along the shore, I was not afraid then.

PP2: If we see the tides, we would be amused by their flow. How wide the tides (alai) is coming and going in the shore.

[00:18:12]

The tide/wave, would reach far wide in the shore and then it would fold (agalaamaa yeri apadiye madiyum)

PP1: It would touch our legs.

PP2: If you go far from the tide, even then the tide would come and touch your feet and go inside.

PP1: We would say, we came with by believing in you.

PP2: If we run seeing the approaching tide (aiyaiyo alai vanrudhu nu- oodi vandhom nu vechikkoo), the tide would think “hey, those humans are afraid of us and running away” (hei, manishaa namabala pathu bayandhu ooduraan sollitu, rendaadhu alai varudhu paaru, adhu oodiyaandhu vandhu epadiyaadhu nammbala thottutu thaan pogum), the second tide/wave would come faster and would definitely touch our feet and go.

PP1: the second wave would block our way and cross fold us.

PP2: The wave would come across our way and touch our feet.

GV: won’t it leave you ?

PP1: The wave would say, touch and praise us with your hands (thottu kai eduthu kummbutttu poo).

PP2: We would touch the Ganga amma (lord - the sea) and wish for we would love to live for some time (Ganga amma, naanga vandhu innu konjo kaalo irukanum amma, enaga peran pethiya nenachachi naang kolandha kuttiyooda nalla irukanum ammaa). We like to live with our grandchildren, we should live with children happily. While going, take us to god as our fate.

GV: You said about a god, can you explain about the god?

PP2: She is called Gangaamma.

GV: Who is Ganga amma?

PP1: It’s the shore wave.

**[00:20:00]**

PP2: We used to call her ganga Poorani, we used to pray, “don’t make any mistakes in our lives, we wish to live for some more years, we have gained our grandchildren, take us when our fate is done”.

PP2: Now my son has joined christianity.

PP1: Some fathers addressed him to possess christianity. They preached to him, “don’t leave behind you parents, keep them fulfilled, if you let your parent’s down, then you cannot grow in your life. Your life depends on how you treat your parents”

GV: Does the Fathers say this?

PP2: No, Jesus (Andavar). Jesus was saying don’t let your parents feel or shed tears.

(the slogans mimicked by both of them)

GV: Did Jesus say this to your son?  
PP2: They are going to prayer (jebam), there these were said.

GV: Did you build Mary's church?

PP2: No, it's been 8 years. It was built by the company (KPL) as the church inside the port was not accessible.

PP1: Many people crossing this place would come and pray here

PP2: People from Nettukuppam, Ennore, Mugadwarakuppam would come on Sunday’s to pray here.

PP1: If we go inside, we can go and pray to the Ellaiyamman (inside the KPL). If we go and inform them at the gate, they would let us in.

PP2: There are two gods, one is Ellaiyamma, other is Yegathamman.

GV: Was the Matha (Mother Mary) temple inside the port ?

PP2: Yes, the Matha temple was inside the port earlier. Even now it exists inside.

PP1: To stop people inside, a small Madha temple was built here.

PP2: People coming to this place, would pray and provide almsgiving (annadhaanam). If there no are infants for the couples, they are even donating hair to the Matha (Mother Mary).

PP1: There is a big church built inside the Port built by fathers. They would let us in if we ask them to visit the church.

GV: How you used to Pray Ganga Poorani amma.

PP2: We used to pray her during Aadi month (Mid-July to Mid-Augus).

PP1: We used to take a garland (maalai), used to cook pongal,

PP2: We would pile up the sand on the shore, make it a deight (temporary) deity from it.

(Making model deity with sand)

(Photographs)

PP12: There would be 7 steps of deity (athaaa). We would apply turmeric, Vermilion (kungam) to all the 7 sand piles and keep the garland over them. Then we would sever the offertory (padaiyal) and keep a lamp in the front. Then we pray with our wishes. We would ask for’ “what are the shortcomings we have left for you”

PP1: The god would be possessed over any small girl.

PP2: She (god) would get on the girl and see our offertory served. The spiritual Kaamachi amman lamp would be lit (kaamchiamma vilakku). We would make the god possessed girl to stand in front of the lamp and we all would stand facing the girl and the god would possess the girl only after asking, “Mother; the wave; Ganga Poorani; what the shortcoming you have, my mother, come and let us know all your shortcomings” (yemma, Alaiyaa, ganga poorani, unaku enna kora iruku en thaaye, yerangi vandhu kelu thaaye). After possessing the girl, she (god) would look at us completely in slow motion (in series). She would respond,”I don’t have any shortcomings”. Later we would pray to her by lighting lamps (dheevaradham), would break the coconut, would light camphor and keep those in a Thaampulam plate (Thaampulam thattu) and leave the burning camphor into the sea.

PP1: the burning camphor would go into the sea.

PP2: We would place the camphor over the ‘Pathirikai’, at that instances we all would pay the god with folding hands and say,” Mother;Ganga Poorani; Alaiyaa, bless us with childrens, we should be good, this world, globe (ulagam, Loogam) should good for coming years”.

PP1: People who have come this places, are trying to send us from this land (engla thorathuraduku paakuraanga)

PP2: we would get things that are given to us and we consume that. Many people are giving rice pulses and fine to get those and have; as we are aged, not sure if we would exist this or next year.

PP1: serve the children (interviewers) some food.

GV: Would you pray Ganga poorani only in Aadi month?

PP1: we would pray for her daily.

PP2: In the Aadi month, for Ellaiyamman kovil, they used to tramp the firepans (neruppu midhipaanga).

GV: When would you pray to Ganga Poorani?

PP2: Every New moon day we would pray Ganaga poorani.

GV: Are practicing the prayer regularly?

PP1: Yes, we used to pray every new moon days’.

GV: What are your offerings?

PP2: nuts (kadala), Agazlu (lamp made of rice flour)

RK: These Pooja (prayers) are done on the shores. How would you go to the shores?

PP2: If we ask in the gate, they would let us into the gate.

**[00:30:00]**

PP2: If we ask the securities in the port gates like,”we wish to see the sea, we want to see Ellamaththamman, Yegathamman. Then the watchman would come and open the gate for us. If we take the coconuts, camphor and all the Pooja material, the gate would be opened.

GV: Would you go as a group?

PP2: No would come.

PP1: We only two would go to the temple.

PP2: Since the tsunami, we are rotting in this place.

PP1: If my wife says,”I wish to visit the temple”, I would go to the main gate directly. (en kelavi paakanum sollichi-nu vechikoya, naa neraah gate ke poven). I would say, hey, “we wish to see our mother (aathaa), open the gate”. Then the watchman would reply,”grandfater, come to the temple gate” (thatha anaga vaa), he would ask,”how many hours it would take”. I would go to the sea shore and come back, it would take 3 hours. I would convey the same to him.

PP2: He would say,”come grandpa, come inside”(vaa thaa vaa thatha). He would welcome us.

PP1: He would say, “okay grandpa, I would come back at that time” (seri thatha seri thatha)

GV: Who are gods staying inside the temple?

PP2: Ellamathamma (Ellaiyamman), Yegathamma,

PP1: Yegavalli.

PP2: Kanni statues, Thatha statues, Kaali statues. All are there inside.

GV: Who is Ellamathamma?

PP2: Ellamathaamma is our mother.

PP1: She is our mom (enga aathaa ava)

PP2: Mother; she is my mother who was not born to us. (vaithula pirakaadha thaaiye).OM Shakthi means without Sakthi there is no Sivam.

PP1: She is the one who has made me survive when I had Corona (Covid19). My mother Yegathaa made me survive.

PP2: Go and see her

PP1: She is in a single palm tree. She is there with 8 children.

GV: Who are the 8 children?

PP1: She trampled her husband's leg and pulled his leg and threwed away as his husband has done sins.

PP2: She (goddesses) has hit her husband with Soolam.

GV: Can you tell me about her story?

PP1: Vaanavaraayan came to this temple and wished to the Goddesses,”I am taking the oil and if I had good sales, I would be back and do good to you”.

GV: Is Vaanavaraayan her husband?

PP1: He is an outsider.  
PP2: He used to sell oil to the villagers.

PP1: His husband was raising, “Why are you favoring others? But not favoring me”. His wife is saying to him,”I am respecting you only because you have tied the Thaali to me”. How many days he was cheating.

PP2: Vaanavarayan was wishing,”I want to make good business, then I would serve you good Pooja”. Then he sold all the oil in different villages. Later, he didn’t do anything to the goddesses as promised.

PP1: Then the goddess was asking. What is the matter between you both? Then she got angry over him. He was killed over the stone (paarangal)

PP1: If the couples are not blessed with children. The goddess would bless them with children. After getting blessing 2 to 3 babies are born for the couple not having children.

GV: If couples do not have any children, would they worship Yegathamma?

PP2: Yes, there is a single Palm tree and there is another big (of different kind). People not blessed with babies would have tied swings in that tree, students not getting pass marks in the exams would keep the stones one over the other as a layer and pray to yegathamma to get passed in the exams.

PP1: She was angry over the trader and she (goddess) has changed the avatar to a small girl child. The same girl child called him Thatha (grandpa) and asked him to bring oil. That person replied “I have my business to do, why are you calling me, I have to go,” She replied, “Hey man, come here” (dei inga vaada). Then she said “let’s see whose anger wins; Let see yours and also my husbands”. Then she pulled the man and tampered with him and laid him over her shoulder and also his husband was killed and laid over his body (the story isn’t a complete one). She has only one palm tree, no temple should be built at that place.

PP2: If we have to build a temple for the goddess, then we pluck the tamarind leaves (leaflets), we have to build the temple only by sewing the tamarind leaves.

PP1: How can this temple be built with tamarind leaves(puliya thagai?

PP2: How can this be built?

PP1: How many leaves can be knitted?

PP1: Even if all the family members try to knit the tamarind leaves, how would that be possible?

PP2: She needs a ceiling with tamarind leaves? How would that be possible?

GV: Does this mean that the goddess would be saying under a single palm without moving?

PP1: Yes

PP2: People tried to build a shelter kind of shade to the temple with logs and sheets (thagadu). But that has gone into dust (thool thool ah poiduchu). How can we build a ceiling building with tamarind leaves?

PP1: If this is said cashew leaves, then one or other way, something can be tried. We can at least sew those leaves, what we can do with the tamarind leaves.

PP2: She is there near one palm tree and another flowering tree.

PP1: If you come, I can take you into the port. To visit the temple.

GV: When you resettled from the place where Thatha tree was standing?

PP1: Thatha tree was in Ennore.

[00:40:00]

PP2: We lived near the shore; we lived near Mugadwaram; He is not remembering the current.

PP1: When I was 22 years older, my mother told me “I couldn’t see anything with my eyes, eyesight is diminishing. You are asking me to cook food for you”. I replied to her,”wait, some girl will come for me”. My mother said,”If your father was there, he would get me married or if any brother was there, he would get me married. No one is there, how you would get married”. I said,”wait, someone would come for me”. Grandma (his wife) came all of a sudden at that time. (aaya Narukkunu vandhaa)

GV: Where did she come from?

PP1: She came from Andra.

GV: How did she come here from Andra?

PP1: I saw her and I said,”Okay, look at yourself and look at me, we are good, can I ask your mother and father to get you married?” (un moonjium paaru, un moonjiyum paaru, nalla iruku!! Aatha aappan ah kekkata?). I asked their parents if I can get their daughter married to me. I asked her, are you interested” (unaku ennama)

RK: Did you ask her directly?

PP1: Yes, I went straight to her and asked her.

GV: Where did you ask this?

PP1: I didn’t go to Andra, I asked her at Mugadwaram, when she was here.

PP2: I was born and brought up in Uthukottai, I was from Andra side; it was across the Periyapalayam. My mother was born, brought up there, she gave birth to me at that place.

GV: When did you come here?

PP2: We came here 50 years ago.

GV: Why did you come from that place?

PP2: My uncle (Periyaappa - Elder to father or Husband of Mother’s elder sister) was here at that time. He was a grazing pig here.

P1: It was only forest (kaadu) at that time.

PP2: My father and mother decided to join my uncle here in Ennore. My elder brother, my younger brother and I stayed in our Native in the Andra side.

GV: Were there many pigs in this place?

PP1: Even now, there are many pigs.

PP2: At present, there are plenty of pigs here.

PP1: Even at present there are plenty of deers.

GV: Is that living inside the port?

PP1: Yes, they would also come here.

GV: What does the pig do here? Is that country pig (domesicated)? Or the wild pigs?

PP1: They are wild pigs.

GV: Would they have tusks?

PP1: Yes, they would have tusks (koora)

GV: Would they not hit(muttidume) humans?

PP1: It would attach our leg and tear our legs.

**[00:45:00]**

GV: How would it tear the leg?

PP1: If people tried to attack a pig, it would hit them with their legs from their back side.

GV: Has anyone been hit by a pig?

PP1: Yes, There are two boys, whose thighs were torn by the pigs by attaching them. It was a long tear in the tight.

GV: How did it happen?

PP1: When they tried to attack the pigs, it was revenge.

GV: Would you go pig huntings?

PP1: We would not go. We would go to our work (Thozil), would be back and cook our food. That’s our life.

GV: What work do you do?

PP1: Prawns are a job, I do prawn picking.

PP2: We have super fan like breeze here.

GV: What?

PP1: It would be like an AC breeze here.

GV: Would it be like an AC breeze here?

PP1: Wait and look, after dusk, how the place would be.

PP2: It would be freezing here.

PP1: We have to cover with thick blankets (Jamakaalam)

PP1: We would keep the radio next the pillow while lying, Aaya (means grandma; his wife) would lie down there (little apart on the clean white soil bund; color of yester river sediments) and I would lie here (outside their hut covered by torn tarpaulin and old banners). We only lie down quite distant from each other, would not lie down long with each other (say this with a small laughter with less noice)

GV: When did you buy this radio?

PP2: Might be 1 month.

PP1: It’s been 2 months.

PP2: Simply, it's quite boring for us.

PP1: Aaya told me it’s boring (verupa irukudhu), buy us a radio. I went to Minjur and bought this for Rs.700.

PP2 (while PP1 was speaking): 500 rupees

GV: Did you tell just Rs:500 earlier?

PP1: No, I bought this in front of her.

PP2: He took me to the shop and while purchasing, I asked for the radio for 500 rupees. But he took the 700 Rupees and gave that to the seller. I was to bargain for 500 rupees, I kept 200 rupees with me and said to the seller that we only have 500 rupees with us. But they (in plural as a respect to husband and not to address as first person) said, “hey, give the money” and gave them 700 rupees.

GV: How much did they tell you about the rate?

PP1: The seller asked for 850 rupees.

PP2: Should he not ask for money based on the age? (Veyasukku thagundhaar pola kelvi illayaa). You (seller) have Grandma and Grandpa (Aaya, Thathaa). That’s why I was telling that I have only 500 Rupees, by the time of bargaining he got the money from me and gave it to the seller.

PP1: (while PP2 was responding; dual responses) I gave the money and I got down (by train) in Athipattu Pudhunagar by train, came to Annachi’s (known persons’) provisional store (Annachi kadai) and asked for 500 Rupees from Annachi and bought 500 rupees from the Annachi. Then I bought 2 quarter (liquor)

PP2: Daily he is drinking.

PP1: Then I had a quarter (liquor). I won't lie (poilam solla maatan). I am drinking daily (daily thaan).

GV: You said prawn picking is your livelihood and where would you get those prawn?

PP1: Here itself we would get the prawn.

GV: What river is this? What's the name of the river?

PP1: Ennore river.

GV: Would Aaya (grand ma) pick prawns?

PP1: Aaya doesn’t not know.

GV: Why didn’t you teach Aaya to catch prawns? Many Women are catching prawns.

PP1: Aaya should not net into the water

GV: Why?

PP1: I won’t let in.

GV: Why won’t you let her?

PP1: In this river there are black colored Keluthi fish. If the fish hit any one, we can't resist the pain/toxicity (bodha (or bhadha?) thaanga mudiyaadhu).

PP2: As the pain cannot be resisted. He would say, “don’t get down, stay on the ridge(modu)”

PP1: Whatever it might be only I would get into the water.

PP2: In our village we don't catch prawns; we don’t catch crabs: we don’t catch anything. We only do seedling job (naathu thozl thaan), we used to do paddy cropping (arappu arappadu), seedling planting (naduvu naduthal), weed removal (kalai eduppom). We used to take the cutting paddy load (hauling) and do threshing (beat the paddy to remove from the paddy plant) and cleaning paddy (cleaning - by pouring the paddy from the higher palace to remove the immature, unfilled and non-grain material: Nellu Thoothuvom). Also used to go to chilly seedling (Mulagai naathu pudunga povom) plantation;

GV: You only did agricultural work?

PP2: Yes, In our village we did only agricultural work. There was no fishing work there. I used to go to cutting raagi, raagi seedling plantation, that our job in my village. No catching and selling of fishes; prawn and crabs. They (land owners) (00:50:30 - to check with ?) would cultivate the Arakeeri (a type of lettuce), they would call us to cut the green lettuce; to cut the lady’s finger; to cut the brinjal. I would go for all those farm works. They would call us to cut the paddy. After cutting, if we make bunches of paddy, that would be threshed to remove paddy from straw, we (women) would give the paddy bunches (aumadhi) who are threshing the paddy. Men would hold the bunch and beat it and remove the paddy, we would pick that bunches and thow it to them (Men), they would be beating it and making haystacks.

If we go to cut the raagi, they would give a basket full of raagi to us (labors); the basket would be knee height. If we go to harves chili, a basket of chilly would be given to us.

PP1: (speaking simultaneously): They (women) have to hold carefully and throw the bunch; that has to hold as a bunch (catching partially would lead to spillage of the cut paddy bunch) and make only 2 beats.

PP2: If we go to pluck lady’s finger, we would ask for wages (kooli), not lady’s fingers. If go to cut the ellu, we would ask for wages; if we go to get the Kambu, we won’t ask for Kooli, instead we would ask for Kambu.

GV: Would you use that for your food?

PP1: Yes

PP2: With Kammbu, we would make porridge, if we pluck chilly, we would ask and get chilly. If we go to the Tamarind tree and shake that to spill the tamarind, we would ask for one basket of tamarind, we would say we don’t need wages. That is our practice in our village.

GV: Would you keep all these with you?

PP2: Yes, we would keep all this in our house. If we go to cut Ellu, we ask for the Ellu and get it to the cold swing machine and make it as oil. If we come here, we have to catch prawns (pick), we have to take it to the market and sell it, we have to catch crabs and we have to take it and sell it. (Ira pidikanum, adha eduthuttu poi vikkanu; nandu pudikanum, adha eduthutu poi vikkanum). It’s so tiring work (bejaaaaaru).

GV: Why are you saying this as tiring work?

PP2: It’s so hard.

GV: This is hard. Is it?

PP2: In our ‘country’ works, by 12 PM we would get our Kooli and keep it home. Then we would cook beautifully, charmingly we would eat (azhaga samachi, azhaga saaptu, kulichittu gilichittu), we would bath, and get ready. Even if we cut Kammbu, if it’s 1 PM we would be back home. (cont…….. At 53:10)

PP1: (Speaking Simultaneously)We would be back home by 1 PM. They won’t call any outsiders to work in their field. But they would ask me to come to work by saying, “Elderly (peruse), you come”.

GV: What work?

PP1: Kooli work in farm land.

GV: Then you went to your wife’s place?

PP1: Yes, it’s been years, anyhow I would have stayed there for more than 10 years.

GV: Did you take him there for 10 years to your place (village)?

PP1: Ask her. It was a forest, even the forest officer welcomed us. I told him,”Man, I came here with my wife and two children, I don't have a house here to live” Then I cleared the small piece of land and laid a hut at that place in Andra.

(00:54:00)

00:54:05 - 00:54:10 not clear

PP1: My son got a severe fever, then her (wife) mother and father died. Then I chose not to reside at that place. I told the forester to keep the forest land with himself (indha, neeye vehciko). I would go back.

GV: Why did you go there? Where is this place not suiting you?

PP1: Yes.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

PP2: (speaking simultaneously from 53:00 ) If we take Kambu to our home, we would get it dried and get the grain. If we were required, we would make porridge out of it, we would make ‘Adai’ and eat. I would cook ‘Adai’ and give it to children. They are going to school, they would ask,”mother, cook something and giver (amma, edhadhu sutthukudu amma)”. Then I would use little oil to make ‘Adai’; with little sugar I would serve the Adai after cooking in the pan (light ah enna oothi, light ah sakara pottu sattila sutthu kuduthaa, kolandhaiga thunnum). Children would consume that. That is the practice of our village. I would serve raagi ‘Adai’, make porridge and ‘Kali’ with raagi and serve.

Nothing is available here. Here we can only find fish, prawn and crabs (ingyaaa, Meenu, Eraaa, nandu). Come and see our village, we would get Araikeera, Sirukeera, Ponniyamana keera, Pulicha keera, all these lettuce would be available. (yenga ooru side-la paaru \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_)

RK: Don’t you find anything here?

PP2: Nothing can be found here. I worried so much about why I am here. Why I got married to this village. (inga yedhume illaa; enakae, chaaa! Enda vandhu indha oorula kuduthaanga nu nenaipu poidudhu, indha meenu idhula saapd maatom seriyaa). We won’t consume fish that interest us. We (people of their village) only love to consume vegetables. We would love to consume vegetables; we would cook and consume those vegetables. Then we would continue our daily wage work.

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

GV (PP2): Were you residing for 10 years at that place?

PP2: What! 10 years ah! I have been there for many years. I was born and brought up in my village.

GV: No. I was asking how many years you were staying in your village with your husband and children?

PP2: Yes, he got me to my village. But he wasn’t residing there for a long time. Again he brought us her and making us die (anga irudhu inga kootinu vandhu saava adikiraaru)

(00:55:02)

PP1 (to PP2): Hey, how many years we were ruling (living) there?

PP2: We were living there for 80 years (she wasn’t sure about it because of her age). The our son was sick with typhoid. My son had 181 deg (might not be factual, but a representation of high fever). We admitted him to the government hospital, a woman from the hospital was saying,”How decent is the child, move away from the child”. Then I asked her,”don’t you have any children or are you infertile. Would you stay away from your child if they are sick”. We only have one son.

PP1: We made him survive in such a way, now he is not providing us even 10 rupees.

GV: Why did you come from there?

PP2: He (husband) only brought us here.

PP1: We don’t need to live there; her mother and father (un aatha appan illa) are no more.

PP2: I don’t have anyone. I have only one elder brother. He is my native village; he living in the place where he was born. He has not come and visited me here (Avan vandhu paatha kodunmai illa enna)

PP1: I decided to come to Tamil Nadu.

PP2: It has been 70 years (arbitrary) since my mother's death; father’s death. But my brother is still trying to come and see me. One person from my village told me,”you told that your brother is dead, he is alive '' (anna sethutaan nu sonnigale, Oolakka dahiyaa irukaane oorla). Only the elder brother has to visit his sisters (periyabvan thana vandhu akka thangachiyaa paakanum). He has to think,”what happened to my sister during covid? Is she alive or dead? Or was she dead in the Tsunami? Shall he not come and see me once? If we have money, he might have come” (enna da ithu en thangachi indha corona noi la sethoola, illa tsunami la poi sethaalo, vaandhu paaka koodadhaa oru nimisham. Paanam na mattum oodiyaariye)

PP2: My father got a government job in Ennore EB.

PP1: All that has been taken by someone else.

PP2: When we lived next to the shore, my father got employment from the government and he (husband) also got employment from EB.

PP1: My mother made it worse (en kelavi adha naasam pannidhuchu).

PP2: Why do we have to live such a life in this hut? If we had the job.

GV: What did she do?

PP1: She sold that job to someone else. At that time we (he and wife) were residing in Andra.

PP2: Like you we would have lived somewhere with regular income and would have lived in a good house. (\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ some 3 sec not clear) I would have sat in that house.

PP1: She (his mother) did a sin to me; she is now a prey to the soil.

PP2: My father got a job, then I called my brother at that time. Official asked me if my father has an heir (vaarisu) and I told,”Yes, I have a brother”. When we called him, he told me I was not interested in coming there. How would my father work at that age?

GV: Was your father not interested in that job?

PP2: My father got older, he couldn’t do that job and signed in a document that I have an heir, so that job can be given to my brother. For that, I went to my native and informed my brother,”brother, our father got a job; you do that job, it’s good for you; you don’t have any children or any to take care; you can make livelihood with that job” (adhuku naa pona, anna, appovukku vela vandhu iruku na, andha vela poi sei naa, unkau nalladhu naa. Unaku pasanga kedaiyaadhu onnume kedaiyaadhu, andha velaiyaa vehinu pozhai naaa). When I asked him to come, he told,”You go, I am not coming to that job”.

GV(to PP2): You could have given that job to your husband.

PP2: He also got a separate job

PP1: I got a job! But I was in Andra at that time.

PP2: That time we were on shore. It has been just 3 weeks since I gave birth to my son, immediately he (husband) got the job. He could have done that job.

His (husband) mother is **devil fucker.** She was saying if he climbed anywhere in this work, he would die by falling from high places. How could a person die in that way? How many people are working in this EB (TNPCB). People are humiliating for this action.

PP1: I am aged now. My son is scolding us why I have gone to that job.

PP2: People in Nadiyamabkkam (where their community people are living) are scolding us. It’s a shame.

GV: Was your job offer sold?

PP1: Yes.

GV: To whom the job was sold?

PP1: It’s been sold to a person in Nettukuppam.

PP2: It's a shame. We weren’t benefited from it. Not even one lakh was given as compensation.

GV: For how much, the job was sold?

PP1: My job offer was just sold for 25,000 rupees. That’s it. Then I decided not to live with my mother. Decided to go to Andra.

PP2: Land was also provided; 3 cent land was allotted in Athipattu Pudhunagar.

RK: If your land exists at that place.

PP2: Where is it? (enga irukudhu?) All that has been sold.

PP1: She (mother) immediately asked me to leave the house with my wife and children.

GV: Who?

PP2: His mother

**(01:00:00)**

GV: Why?

PP2: She (mother-in-law) told me, only because I laid the hut next to the shore, you got employment and land. He (husband) ran and beat his mother. But he built a good house in that land. House walls were made of stones and cements; on top straw huts was built.

PP1: I built an awesome house.

PP2: It had a veranda on both sides of the house entrance. It had 4 rooms, a bedroom; pooja room; a hall and a kitchen. It was beautifully built.

GV: Why did you leave that house?

PP2: Because of his mother.

GV: What did your mother do?

PP1: She would say, “only because of me, you got the job”

PP2: From dawn to dusk, this is her only job to register this. She would torture us.

PP1: That’s it. One day, I ran and hit her with a slipper and I told,”the day when you die, I would sell this land and do a funeral for you. (Othaa, nee ennaiku saaviriyoo, annaiku andha nilatha vithu naa un saava edukuran)

PP2: He sold the land and made a funeral for her mother after her death.

GV: How much did you sell the land for?

PP1: I don’t know how much he sold the land for.

GV: To whom the land was allotted? Was it allotted for you (PP1) or your mother?

PP2: It was allotted for him.

PP1: It was allotted for me, when it's dawn, when it’s dusk, she (mother) would say, the house and employment was given to me. It’s a torture for me.

PP2: She used to consume liquor. She would drink liquor and sit in front of her daughter's house and say,”only because of me, they have built the house and are residing in this house. If I wasn’t there, they would not have any house or livelihood.(voodu vaasal kidaiyaadhu, naaradichi poi irupaan, thrula suthinu irupan) He would have gone worse; he would lived in street”

PP1: Its was only a torture for us.

PP2: Then we left for my native village in Andra. Only from there we got our children educated.

PP1: I worked in a rice mill and took care of my family ( rice mill la vela paathu kolandha kuttiya kaapathuna).

PP2: My children were educated; I had two children.

PP1: I used to lift heavy gunny bags. I would lift an 80kg, 90 kg gunny bag full of rice.

PP2: Would he(husband) be able to lift now? (ippo thookkuvaaraa paaru). There would be a wooden ramp, we (workers) have to lift and shift the rice sack in that ramp. The wooden ramp is longer and supported in only two ends; if the wooden ramp breaks, we would fall down along with the rice sacks.

PP2: We suffered more in our life.

GV: You came here, after her mother and father died. Is that right? Does the same house exist at that time in Athipattu Pudhunagar?

PP1: Yes, the house is there only, even now.

GV: Does the same house exist in Athipattu pudhunagar?

PP1: No, we have a house in Athipattu.

PP2: From shore (Kadaloricha irundhu) we are displaced to Athipattu Pudhunagar; but from Pudhunagar, we don’t have a good option to make our livelihood. It’s hard for us to come to the river from Athipattu Pudhunagar. So we made a hut in this place.

GV: Where exactly?

PP2: In this ridge of the river.

PP1: Now, In Athipattu, there is a perumal temple, we have to cross that and reach the Nagatha Temple and then there is Vinayagar Temple. Beyond that, there is the Yesu nagar (Arunodhya nagar).

PP2: It was built by the Church Fathers. Now a new road has been laid.

**(01:05:02)**

GV: Why did you come here from Athipattu Pudhunagar? From the shore, you have been taken to Athipattu Pudhunagar. Then, how did you come here (madha temple)?

PP2: From shore, we have been displaced to Athipattu Pudhunagar. Then, we lived there by building a house in the land allotted. But, it was hard to make our prawn picking livelihood. So we settled here. (In Between they were residing in Andra, later we given houses in Athipattu, even then they have moved here again due to family issue and for the sake of livelihood)

PP1: But now, our children, my grandsons, and my granddaughter are residing in this place. My son has a separate house.

GV: Did you get your house in Yesu nagar after coming here?

PP1: Yes

GV: Who provided you the houses in Athipattu?

PP2: A father, he is dead now. We had issues with his mother in Athipattu Pudhunagar. After her death we sold the house and came here. The father used to come and help us with provisions. After the regular visits they were under our hardship faced on the river banks such as tsunami, flood and other things. At that time hot water was flowing in the river.

GV: From when and where the hot water was flowing?

PP1: It was coming from the company (EB)

PP2: A leader from Kattupalli village visited this place and told the fathers that there are two huts on the river bank. They are reading with children. Then the father arrived here in the van and called us as,``Fisher grandma, fisher grandma” (meenukaara aaya, meenukaara aaya). I told them, it’s hard for us to come now as the hot water is flowing in the river. Then he told us to come slowly. They provided us with rice, pulses for all milk powder, sugar for children. The provided us,”sirumeen arusi” (a type of rice), which would be somewhat red in color. They said it was grown in their county; that was provided to us. They gave apples grown in their county; orange, other fruits were given. Later that saint died of a heart attack. We (community) all went and laid garland in his death. He bought ‘Patta lands’ and gave it to us. Not Porambokke land, he gave us original patta land. He bought land, laid water pump sets, dug well, all that have been served. When we were here (before going to Yesu nagar) he gave us cycle, cast net (visura valai), Kacha nets (nets used to catch crabs), all that were provided.

PP1: We were wealthier then. But his name was not included.

GV: In which they have not included the name?

PP2: In the plots in Yesu nagar, In the name board his name was not included. He took photos with all the children.

PP1: Even when the house was built in Yesu nagar, we didn’t go inside the house.

PP2: We told others, with Aiyya (father) we won’t go inside the houses. But the coordinators were saying that father won’t come. They were arguing that Aiyya won’t come.

PP1: He was lying to us.

GV: Who?

PP1: The second father.

PP2: Now the second father is not handing over the Patta us.

GV: Don’t you have the patta now?

PP1: Now the father (2nd father) is asking for 50,000 rupees per house to give the patta document.

GV: Are you son staying there?

PP1: They are staying in the same; Yesu nagar.

GV: Does the church father give your son separate housing?

PP1: In total,19 housing were given.

**(01:10:03)**

PP2: He gave an open ground opposite to the housing. He was saying that,”A marriage hall would be built in that ground and a separate church for those who have joined(/practicing) christian. You are worshiping ‘Kanni’ gods, for that I would build a separate temple. Where is all that? Nothing has been built.

GV: Why did you come here again?

PP1: (with laughter) To make our livelihood in the river.

PP2: My granddaughter has 3 daughters; the granddaughter was born for my daughter. Even the third child is a girl. Their life is a pity, her (grand daughter’s) mother in law exploited their wealth, sold the land they had and left the place. How can we (husband and wife) witness all these and live? So, we gave our house to my granddaughter to live in and we left that place. (indha ma, neenga irunga).

GV: You gave it to your daughter?

PP2: No, we gave it to our granddaughter. We got married to our daughter in Palavakkam, our son-in-law is no more.

PP1: She (wife) won’t like any cruelty. (indha kelaviku nee sierra kodumai pudikaadhu). She (granddauhter) would talk with the hauteur; then I would shout at her. So, I decided and told her (wife),”I would get you to the river bank and make you die there (with laughter)”.

PP2: I didn’t like the way she (grand daughter) is doing, not maintaining the house well, throwing garbage everywhere. I told her to keep the house clean. Now you see my place, how clean is it?

GV: It’s so clean?

PP2: Like that I wish to have surroundings. Granddaughter is saying,”that lady should not come here, take (to grandfather) her to Madha temple”.

PP1: If my granddaughter speaks anything she (wife) is getting agitated by it.

PP2: You can even come, I will get to the Yesu nagar and show my house. You can see, how is it now?

PP1: It’s not good now.

PP2: White wash has been done to the outer wall, outside the house a oven has been set up and a clean bathroom is built at the back, even in the window mosquito nets have been installed to stop mosquitoes getting into the house. ( but she was recollecting the newly built house).

GV: When did you sell the house in Athipattu Pudhunagar?

PP1: On the day of my mother’s death, I sold the house and did the funeral for her. I spent the money for the funeral from the money I got for selling the house. Then again left to Andra.

(GV recollecting the timeline of their migration and stories to understand the timeline)

PP1: By the time of Tsunami we were back here (in ridge next to river).

PP2: We came back here before the Tsunami.

PP1: At the instance of Tsunami, a van came on the road next to the Madha temple (/church) and people said, “A storm has arrived, come here! Come here! Even this compound (KPL) would break because of the water force, do come! Run and come”. They were shouting on the Easter bank of Buckingham canal.

PP2: Even the company people have asked us to come with them. They again shouted,”hey fisher, sea is raging do come with us”

PP1: At that time there were only two house people here.

PP2: We said, we won’t come. His sister , my sister’s children and we two were here. I replied, we are not coming even if we die, we would die in this river. At that time this was large ridge.

**(01:15:04)**

PP1: I told them,”If we die or if we survive, let that happen on this ridge/bank”. They again responded,”that is not possible, get up and come”. I told them,”okay, you go and come tomorrow, if we lose our life within this one night, let it be our wish. Check us tomorrow morning, I would at your face then”

PP2: Then they came here after 4 days.

PP1: The water surge touched my leg, thumb finger and crossed us (dhooo, indha katta viral vandhu thottuchi).

GV: Did the tsunami came till here.

PP2: Yes.

GV: How did it come here?

PP2: It was like how the sea waves come and go. At that time, the river bottom was flatter ( north of konamudakku), only now this has been dredged and made as canal (have to check the more facts on this)

PP1: This was large ridge (serrrriyaana modu)

PP2: This plant (mongroves) we can see the ground clearly, this was a greater plane (place they mention was/is salt pans). Splashing water would come (sethururaamaari thanni varum)

PP1: Again the water would be back in the same path (thirumba sala sala sala nu apadiye poidum)

PP2: water would be back with the same speed (apadiye sallunu poidum); then there was jamun tree, a larger Odiya tree (odiya maram), another Odiya tree was there down the ridge; there were only 2 huts next to it. We were cooking under that 2nd Odiya tree down the ridge.

PP1: My sister was saying “what is that, look at that now”

GV: What is an Odiya Tree?

PP2: That the Odiya tree (showing that)

PP1: My sister was saying, “what is that now?, all the plants (mangroves) have been submerged, why is this happening all the sudden? (Anna enna na idhu, chedi ellam mulugi podhu, ella abbakku abbakku nu pogudhu). I replied,”that’s nothing to worry about”.

PP2: In the earlier time, it was said,”If the sister dive first in the sea, the elder brother would jump second”

PP1: I told my sister the same story, this is some like that.

PP2: He (the wave) is trying to catch his sister (Avan thangchiya pidikirathuku ooduraan, andha alai thaan ma idhu), that wave is this surge we see; something bad happened in the sea (kadal la edho thappu nandadhuduchu, adhunaala thaan avan ellaiya thaaandhi ooduraan), that’s is why the he (wave) is running beyond the boundaries. At the time of the surge we all were discussing this, he was also speaking and I was also speaking. While coming, the water would fill in the river, it would return immediately.

PP1: The river bank would be submerged by that time.

PP2: At the time of the Tsunami, we completed cooking and sitting under the Jammun tree. We were waiting for the water to flow and thinking about what happened.

PP1: Then, there was no road here.

PP2: We are discussing and talking about the things told by those people who asked us to come. We were thinking, if it’s from the sea, it should also be coming across this compound (KPL). If what they say is right, if it’s gonna affect us, then water should also be coming across this compound wall.

PP1: Then we decided to sleep silently.

PP2: Then again some company employees were shouting at that time, Tsunami has surged too much. We sent them and stayed here.

GV: How deep was the river?

PP2: No, it was flatter. Now the plants (mangroves) have grown. (kedaiyaadhu nainaa, moodu, chedinga maranjidhuchu)

GV: Has the Ennore river in the south been deeper?

PP1: That belongs to Ennore. It was not deep then. Now that part of the river has been dredged and deeper now.

PP2: Earlier, we were able to walk from this bank to another bank in the river and from another bank to this bank of river. Now we can't walk across the river.

GV: Even then the river was flowing. Am I right?

PP2: Yes, the river flows till Pazhaverkadu.

GV: Why was the river dredged?

PP1: The river sand was dredged for the construction of the company (EB-NCTPS). Now we don't have income (we couldn’t earn from the river) in our livelihood. (ippo polaikuradhukku varumaanam illa)

GV: How about before dredging?

PP: Before dredging the river sand, we had a good livelihood.

GV: How?

PP2: We used to catch prawns, fishes, crabs, all that were caught.

PP1: Now, all that is left in the pit where they have dredged.

(01:20:00)

GV: Could you not go there?

PP2: No, we could not go there and catch that. If there is too deep water, how could we go there?

PP1: There are people who used to swim and submerge to catch fish and prawns and there are people who don’t. If people who don’t know how to swim get into the deeper water, thinking of an elevated area in the river, they would be dead.

PP2: That's it, they would be taken towards the river mouth.

PP1: If there are people around them at that time, they would save them from death or else no they would not survive. (illanaa illa). If Aaya gets down in the river, I would save if she gets into the deep water. I would swim any distance. I would put them (survivors) on my shoulder and then keep swimming.

GV: Have you ever swam in the sea?

PP1: Yes, I have gone till half the sea. Aaya won’t come, she is scared of.

PP2: He would go in the sea, I would not go. Even if I get into the sea upto hip level, the tides would take me to the shore (wash away).

RK: Till, Where has it been dredged?

PP1: From Ennore to L&T, the river has been dredged. Because of that, we don’t have a livelihood in the river.

RK: In which part of the river do you make your livelihood?

PP2: We make our livelihood everywhere from here (pointing to North from the KPL gate). (Pointing towards the South) Earlier we used to go till Ennore, now the river has been dredged thus, all the prawns, fishes are getting into the deeper dredged pits in Ennore.

GV: Where do you catch the prawn?

PP1: From here, we would ho till kalanji.

GV: How do you catch the prawns?

PP1: We would catch the prawns with our hands.

GV: Would you not use the net?

PP1: We would use the nets, but we won’t get good catches in the nets.

GV: Why so?

PP!: If we trace them in the river sediments with our hands, we can easily get 2,3 or 4 or 5 at a time and that would be collected in a bag. But with nets, we have to sprinkle the wheat bran and sit on the bank for a longer time, a boat would arrive and mix the bran, sometimes he would spread ‘ara valai’, which would disturb our net catch. (thavudhu vechittu, konjo nero kundhikinnu, boat-u kaara varuvaaan adhan kalakkittu poiduvaan, ara valai viduvaan, kalakittu poiduvaan)(THEIR FISHING PRACTICE IS DIFFERENT FROM THE OTHER FISHING COMMUNITY, THEY ARE TRIBAL PEOPLE USED TO PICK PRAWNS WITH THEIR HAND. USING OF NETS ARE NEWER TO THEM SINCE THEIR TRADITIONAL PRACTICE. THIS DIFFERENCE EXISTS PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF THE MARGINALIZATION IN THIS CASTE HIERARCHICAL TAMIL SOCIETY)

GV: What is ‘Ara valai’

PP1: The net would be spread for a longer distance in the river by (the dominant fishing community), that would disturb our net (cast net) catches. If we get into the water, even if he (dominant fisher) has spread any nets, we would trace (thadavi) by crossing their nets. In prawn picking we don't have any issues with other nets, we could tamper the net and continue to pick prawns.

GV: Where would catch(/pick) the prawn? Is that near the river or inside the river?

PP1: We would catch prawns inside the river.

GV: At what depth would you catch prawns?

PP1: I would get into the river til the water is tight deep.

GV: Then you don’t get into the center of the river?

PP1: No

GV: Where do the prawns grow?

PP2: Prawns come from Pazhaverkadu.

PP1: If the river raises (high tide) from this direction (north to south), then the prawn would come from that side (from north)

GV: Do the prawns come from pazhaverkadu?

PP1: Prawns would come from North, not from this side (south)..

GV: Why does prawn from the South not come?

PP1: Because of the hot water discharge. In Thalankuppam, hot water is discharged into the river. So prawn from that side won’t come here. But prawns from Pazhaverkadu come as there is no hindrance, The amount of prawn coming from Pazhaverkadu is based on the force of the water from the North.

**(01:25:03)**

GV: Are the prawns not produced(breeds) here?

PP1: No. They are dying here. Prawns could not breed here because of the pollution.

PP2: Did you not see the water here, it’s reddish in color, it’s the hot water (degree thanni).

GV: Prawns are said to grow in the muds?

PP1: Thats different prawns, that is Manneraa (sand prawn)

PP2: It’s Mannera, also called Valechera.

PP1: That prawn can’t be peeled.

PP2: That prawn can be peeled in hot water.

GV: Are you able to get Valechera at present

PP1: Fishers using Kacha net would get that prawn, we have aske kattupalli fisher about that prawn.

GV: Won’t you get those prawns?

PP1: No.

GV: When would you catch prawns?

PP1: I will go tomorrow morning.

GV: Where did you catch the prawn this morning?

PP1: In Kattupalli

GV: Did you not catch it here?

PP1: No. I went to Kattupalli.

GV: What prawns did you get today?

PP1: Today, I earned 1000 rupees.

GV: What's the prawn's name?

PP1: It’s Vellraa

RK: What was the size of the prawn?

PP1: This size (Showing the middle finger and index finger twisted to represent the size of the prawn). More than that this size (twisting 3 finger and representing the larger size) prawns are in the river, it would look like blocks; it’s called karupera

GV: Are there any other kinds of prawns caught in the river?

PP1: No other prawns are here in the river.

GV: What are the prawns that are caught before 30 years?

PP1: It’s different, it’s a sea prawn. It’s called ‘Singera’. Each mustache (shrimp antenna) is as long as a hand. But the prawn body would be smaller than the shrimp antenna, though they are the largest prawn.

Picture

PP1: I would have a mustache on two sides, it would beat the person trying to catch the prawn.

GV: How would it beat?

PP1: It would beat people with its tail.

GV: How would you catch that prawn?

PP1: I would be caught with nets, it can't be caught by hands as other prawns. We would take Poochi (slugworm) along with us to catch the ‘Singera’. Poochi is called as ‘Pooran Poochi’, the river poochi (river slugworm). We would take that poochi and hook it in thorn and place it in between the stones of the break waters and if we sit idle, the prawn would pull the Poochi; at that time, we have to catch the prawn before it gets into the stones. If we are slightly careless in catching the prawn, it would cut the thread just with it’s mustache and get into the stones (gaps in the stones). The prawn escaped, but the threat would be cut.

GV: At present were you able to get those prawns?

PP1: No, now we can’t find ‘Singera’, each prawn costs 2500 rupees.

GV: When was the last time you caught the Singera?

PP1: It was caught before in the sea.

(1:30:00)

GV: Where did you catch this prawn?

PP1: Stone (groynes/break waters) were built when the company(NCTPS) was established; those prawns were found on the gaps between the stones. If they keep the bait in between the gaps of stones, Singera would come get that Poochi in the bait like ants crabbing their food. We have to be silent and hold the threat tightly. Singera would keep the Poochi in its mouth and swing the bait; after knowing that the prawn is trying to each the Poochi, on the third swing we have to pull the bait with the thread, the prawn would also be pulled outside, we have to act immediately and catch the prawn. We have to take the prawn alive. (3 vaatti asachaa piragu, sakku-nu thattunum nu vechikoven, avalo thaan, pakk pakk nu oodum. Apdiye namma thookika vendhiyadhu thaan, adha uyiroooda thaa eduthutu poganum)

GV: What if the prawn is dead?

PP1: It won’t get sold.

RK: Where is the exact place, you catch the ‘Singera’?

PP1: The place where L&T exists now.

GV: Does the L&T was there then?

PP1: No. Later only L&T was constructed. If we get into the shore, the stones would be arranged sequentially. Through that stone we can even directly go into the center of the sea. We would go over the stone and catch the prawns hiding in the gaps between the stones. (nadu kadalukke poi, andha kallungalaaanda kallungaalaanda poi kundhinu irudhan vechiko, SI varuvaan) While sitting on the stone to catch the prawns, SI (sub-inspector; police) would come there; Once we see him, we would hide behind the stone. Why? Because he would beat us. We are scared of him. He would patrol the place; once he is gone, we would hook the Poochi in the bait and continue our catch. If we catch that prawn, we need to keep it with a motor. We would store the prawn in the pitcher(kudam), we need to have a motor inside the pitcher.

GV: Why does it need a motor?

PP1: It would make them (prawn) cool, then only they can survive.

GV: Did you had the motor?

PP1: If we tell our boy (from community), they would bring the motor. Now people catch that prawn with nets.

GV: What are all the prawn you get in the river?

PP1: Vellara. Singera is in the sea. Normal size prawn is 2000 rupees and lager size is 3000. Now everyone is catching nets.

GV: Can you talk about the prawns that grew in the mud?

PP1: Leave that, that’s striking prawn (gabbu Era)

GV: Why do you call that a striking prawn?

PP1: I used to live buried under the sand.

GV: Won’t you catch that prawn?

PP1: No.

GV: You said you would pick the prawns from the bottom of the river, would not catch that?

PP1: It’s Vellera (white prawn), it would jump.

GV: How would it be jumping?

PP1: It would jump immediately after touching our hand.

GV: How do you catch the prawns that are jumping from your hand?

PP1: block them with muds to hinder their movement while prawns are jumping during the catch (Chethaa keetha, vaari adichi adha madakka vendhiyaadhu thaan)

(01:35:05)

RK: What if you get the Chethera in your hand while picking the prawns?

PP1: I would leave that again the river.

GV: Why do you do so?

PP1: It won't suit us.

GV: Would it be smaller in size?

PP1: If we take to the market and keep Chethera as bunches, it would look like withered prawn; customers won’t have good face after seeing this prawn during the sale (moonjiye irukaadhu). People would question us,”why is the prawn bad”.

PP2: People would say it as yesterday or day before yesterday prawn.

PP1: Vellera would look brighter. As the chethrea is not getting sold, we won’t catch that prawn. So, I would only catch Vellera (white prawn), Karupera (black prawn) and crabs.

GV: What kind of crabs do you catch?

PP1: I would catch Korakaal crab and Pachanandu (Green crab)

GV: What is kattu nandu?

PP1: It’s the same pacha nandu. It costs 2000 rupees per kilogram.

GV: What is Korakaal crab?

PP1: It would be black in color.

GV: Which month would you get the great catches?

PP1: In Aadi month (mid julyto Mid Augest), we would have a good catch, It’s rain time. during rainy season we would get good catches.

GV: Would you not get it in the summertime?

PP1: In summer, catches would be less.

GV: Why, in the summer season the catches are less?

PP1: Water would become warmer, some think like hot water that we use for bathing. The prawns would go and lie in the cooler places. It won’t come near the river banks. Prawns would get into the pits. In the night time also the same water would be warmer.

GV; Would you go in the night times to catch prawns?

PP1: No, we are aged now. Currently we are going only during the day time. We would go in the morning, I would ask my wife to sit on the river bank and quickly trace for the prawn with my hand (kada kada nu thaduvavan). I would get 3 or 4 bunches **(kooru)** of prawns. That’s it, I would be back by 10 in the morning.

GV: Did you go catches this morning?

PP1: We went and came back and then you people arrived.

GV: What is the growth period of the prawns?

PP1: Every prawn is different in size. Vellera would take 5 months to grow to full size.

**(01:40:35)**

PP1: From this size (showing a small prawn from his bascat), Vellera would shed their shell 4 times in their life cycle (shedding shells is like next birth in their life cycle)

GV: How many months it would take to grow fullest from this size ( showing another prawn).

PP1: To grow to this size, this prawn would have shedded its shell twice (two births) in their life cycle. From the current size, after two cycles (two births) of shedding their shell (/skin), it would grow to the normal grown Vellera size. But it needs good sand to grow.

GV: How should the sand be?

PP1: The soil should be like this (showing the sand ridge on which they are residing) and prawns would dig pits in the sand and keep their stomach in the pit, it would change their stomach to red color, it’s their next birth (adutha porappu). If we leave that prawn without catching it, it will go to its next birth (next shell shedding cycle).

RK: How many months would it take?

PP1: 4 months guarantee?

RK: Is that birth from this stage to the next birth?

PP1: If we leave the prawns in this size (showing a prawn in the basket). It would shed their shell(/skin) during new moon day and and also during the full moon day. It would keep growing for the next 4 months. (Showing the length of the prawn with his hand for the second, third and fourth month). In 4 months, It would be this size (showing his wrist to represent the size). We cannot catch the prawn with our hands. It would beat us when it jumps. It would take 4 months (4 cycles). Only 2 new moon days and 2 full moon days would take for its full growth. *(this might be confusing, with the interview audio note, it he trying to say that the prawns would shed their shell every new moon day and full moon day, a prawn would grow to the fullest after the 4 th cycle of the shedding their shell, which they called it as next birth in their life cycle)*

GV: Earlier, did the prawns come from Ennore side?

PP1: Yes, when the hot water was not released in the Mugadwaram (river mouth), the prawns would come from Ennore. Then many people were earning in the river, I also earned good in the river. Then, we earned lakhs of rupees. Now, after EB was constructed, hot water is released in the river mouth, because of that it is hard for the prawns to exist (bejaaraaraa iruku). I stopped going to Ennore. Prawns are only coming from North.

GV: What are the other places that prawn would choose to stay as you said,”they would stay in the pit”?

PP1: Only in pits.

GV: Don’t the prawns stay near the mangroves?

PP1: No, they don’t stay there. But during the high tide, while the water is rising, the prawns would get under the mangroves’ root; they would feed on things under the mangroves' roots by \_\_\_\_\_\_\_ (surandi).

**(01:45:00)**

GV: When does the prawn come outside ?

PP1: It would come in the night and also in day time. Today, prawns would come by 7:30 in the evening.

GV: Why did the prawns come at that time?

PP1: Because of the water flow (it was high tide from 2:48 PM to 8:42 PM on that day)

GV: Does it not come during the day time?

PP1: No, not in the day. My route is difference (catch)

GV: What does the prawn consume?

PP1: Prawns consume Poochi (Slugworm) and sand. (kara kara kara kara kara kara nu noondum mannu sapdum). It would also consume the (wheat) bran that are sprinkled while catching prawns by nets.

GV: What species would consume the prawns?

PP1: Fishes would consume the prawns, Keluthi fish would consume the prawns. Many species would consume the prawn.

GV: would the snakes consume the prawns?

PP1: Yes, they would also consume the prawns. To whatever species, the prawns are getting into their mouth, those species would consume the prawns (adhu adhu vaai edhu edhu aapdudhoo, adhu ellamae saapdum)

RK: Do any birds consume prawns?

PP1: Birds would also consume. If the birds get down as a clan, then there would be no prawns and fishes at that site in the river; all that would be taken or consumed. Birds would take those (fishes and prawns) and feed their offspring. You can go and watch even in that tower (transmission tower), they are residing with their offsprings (kolandhiyum kuttiyumaa irukudhu; kiyaa muiyaa nu kathikannu)

GV: While catching the prawns, if the birds are consuming the prawns; would you not get a lesser catch at that time?

PP1: We would get out of the river.

GV: Would you not stay in the places where the birds used to hunt?

PP1: No

GV: Where do the birds hut prawns/fishes?

PP1: In the river. They would get down as a group, like a group of people going to catch the prawns; from one side they would start chasing the fishes in the river (kallakinu varuvaanga). As a good chance, smaller cranes would wait on the banks for fishes that are chased by the larger birds, the smaller birds would consume the fishes that are running towards the river banks to save themselves from the birds; they are clever beings.

GV: Would not use nets to catch the prawns?

PP1: I would catch prawns only by hand. sometimes we would use nets, but if we are using the nets we have to earn some 3000 or 4000 per day; then only I would net or else I won’t

GV: This means you use nets when there are more prawns in the river.

PP1: Yes. If I could catch only 500 or 600 rupees of prawn with the net, then I won’t use the prawns.

GV: How do you know the magnitude of the prawns in the river?

PP1: Karthi month (Mid-Nov to Mid-Dec), then the water flows with heavy force. I would catch the prawns in my hut itself and unfold the net here itself. Aaya would pick the prawns from the unfolded nets.

GV: Then you use nets in the Karthi month and use catch by hands (pick prawns) in the other months

PP1: Yes. I would carve all the grasses here on the ride and keep this place good to catch prawn in the Karthi month. This one Paadu (fishing ground) is enough for me to get a good catch.

GV: Is this your Paadu?

PP1: Yes.

GV: What is the name of this paadu

PP1: Visuru valai (cast net)

GV: Is there any other Paadu here

PP1: No.

RK: Why do you call fishing zones as Paadu?

PP1: That’s Paadu (not responding)

**(01:50:00)**

GV: Do different people catch in this Paadu?

PP1: No only I would catch, no one would come here.

GV: Don’t you let any others catch the prawn here?

PP1: No. They would catch it from their huts. My Paadu is straight to my hut; their Paadu is straight to their huts. That’s it. No one should interfere in another's catch. But we would communicate. If things happen, I also would go to them and they would also come. That’s the unity. But I won’t go to any, because the situation here is like that.

GV: Your life is based on prawn?

PP1: yes.

GV: How do you cook the prawns?

PP1: It can be fried, can be made as curry (padhartham) and Thukku (like chutney) could also be made.

GV: What do you consume the most;Fishes or prawns?

PP1: prawns.

PP2: What would we do? We cook and consume as you do.

PP1: She has bought bitter gourd and is making curry. Last night she cooked prawn Thokku.

GV: Today also we saw prawns offsprings were dead

PP1: I told you, it's the hot water (degree thanni). Fish, prawns, all would die. Now if you can go and get into such water , your whole body would get boiled. You get itchy in your body. If you can get into the water, then you would definitely think what I have said now. Now you came here walking across the same water, you have to go and wash your leg with soap. If not your leg would boil. You can see many scars on our leg, it’s impact of this water. That is why fishes and prawns are dying.

GV: Would it not affect us by consuming those prawns?

PP1: No, that should not be consumed.

GV: Won’t you don’t catch those prawns?

PP1: No, I won’t touch the prawns. Then I would to Kalanji to catch the prawns. I would make Aaya sit on the banks and in one round I would catch as many prawns as possible. I would catch a full basket. Then I would take my wife to seek shared Auto. Seeing me, the auto rickshaw owner would press the horn. He would invite me to come.

**(1:55:00)**

GV: Do you have anything more to say about the prawns?

PP1: Nothing.

GV: Are prawns impacted by the coal ashes?

PP1: Initially, ash water was released in the river, at that time prawns were impacted. Then the ash water stopped and it was released into the ash pond. He (NCTPS) understood that releasing ashwater in the river would impact cows, humans and there lesser chance for the fishers to earn. Then he built a bund and started to discharge the water into the bund.

GV: Isn’t the water impure here?

PP1: Yes. There are prawns, but it’s advisable to consume them.

GV: How are the prawns impacted?  
PP1: They die immediately. You have seen the dead prawns while coming here, that’s how it is here. Even in this place I have never consumed prawns and fishes that were caught here (opposite to KPL; their settlement)

GV: Then, would you only consume the prawns that’s caught in the Kalanji?

PP1: No, I won’t consume even those prawns or fishes. I only eat rice with kaara kulambu (a spicy curry), rasam and Sambar; that’s it.

RK: How many days before you had the prawn?

PP1: I would never consume prawn.

RK: Why?

PP1: No!

RK (to PP2): Would you consume prawn?

PP1: She would consume.

GV: Why did you stop eating?

PP2: He didn’t like to consume the prawn.

PP1: I don’t consume any non-vegetables, even meat. I don’t like to eat food. See!Aaya is cooking rice now, she would serve the rice to me. I would knead the rice, then would eat only one hand (orae oru pudi thaan eduthu vaaila veipan) of rice; that it.

GV: Where would you sell the prawns that are caught?

PP1: Athiapattu Pudhunagar.

GV: Would you sell the prawns on your or whole sale the prawns to someone?  
PP1: I would sell it by myself. She won’t sell. I would shed some sand on the board and I would sit silently there. Customers would ask if there are any prawns available for sale. I would say, I have prawn ( era kidhaa, era kidhaa kettunu varuvanungaae, irukudhu irukudhu nu solluvan). I would ask them to come closer, when they came I would shed the prawns on the board (over the sand), they would ask,”tell me the rate of all the prawns”. I would say,”we don’t need to negotiate, give me 700 rupees for the prawns” (unakum vena, enakum venaa, 700 roova kudu). See, are these small prawns? They are bigger prawns, can’t you see that? (paaru, podi eravaa idhu pursue perusaa irukudu, therilayaada unaku). He (customer) would respond,”Thatha (grandpa) I would give you 500 rupees. I would say,’be quiet with your mouth, If I split all the prawns in to two bunches, I would sell each bunch of prawn for 400 rupees, over all I would earn 800 rupees”. After listening to all this, he would say,”okay, pack the prawns in the cover”. Then, he would 700 rupees for the prawns and get the prawn and he would leave. While leveling I would say,”hey, can I get another 50 rupees' ' (hey, hey, hey 50 rubaaa kudraaa). He would also give 50 rupees and I would be back home. Why because,”we have consume by asking” (kettu saapdanum)

**(2:00:15)**

GV: Where does the fiddler crab live?

PP1: They live on the banks of the canal (Buckingham canal).

GV: Would it not get into the water?

PP1: No, it would only live next to the Buckingham canal.

GV: How many days would it take to grow? How big would it grow?

PP1: It would never grow.

GV: What is the life period of the fiddler crab?

PP1: Not sure about that. But he (crab) would have an arm larger and body would be so small. In earlier days a Washer (washerman) washed the clothes, he had taken 10 villages clothes and went to wash the clothes. He (Washerman) beat the cloth and washed it by watering with one hand while holding the cloth in the other hand. Seeing that the fiddler crabs made a joke of him (washerman) by showing one had to wash the clothes holding the other hand. Washer cursed the crabs after the crab was making a joke of him. After that the crabs were repeating the movements, with one arm it would wash the cloth (Fiddle in repeated mode), with the smaller arm it would wash the cloth that is holded by the other hand, because of that the crab is called as Vanna; the washer. The washerman gave this name to the crab, minding the joke tha crab made reflecting his action. He made this because How you can make such a joke on me. He said,” You (crab) have to wash like this with one hand and rinse with other smaller hand”

GV: Are there any different types of the crab?

PP1: No, only one type of fiddler crab is there.

GV: Are there different colors of fiddler crabs?

PP1: There are different colors of the crabs. But we have to see the different colours (color color ah keedhungo, namma adha color color ah paakanum). There are white colored fiddler crabs, Red, black and such colors. Female crabs would look different and male crabs would look different.

GV: How would the female crabs look?

PP1: It would look good (sokku sokkiya arumaiya irukum, they would have only smaller legs)

**(02:05:17)**

GV: How about male crabs?

PP1: They would have one larger arm and one little arm. The larger arm would wash the cloth and the smaller arm would rinse the cloth. (ponnungala paathaaru vechikko, chakku nu gaga paivaaru) If they see the female crabs, they would show up with their arms and wash the clothes. He (male fiddler crabs) would sight the females clearvely (ponnugala avalo sooka paapaaru avaru). That is why there are birds called Ullan, they would go and catch these fiddler crabs even if they try to hide themselves in their borrow. Ullan would consume the crabs. If the crabs see the Ullan, they go and hide in the borrow immediately.

RK: What does the fiddler crab eat?

PP1: They would only eat sand.

GV: what are other species that would consume the fiddler crabs?

PP1: Only small birds, the Ullan would consume the fiddler crabs. They would run and catch the cra; they would remove their two arms and swallow the body.

GV: Is fiddler crab's existence good for this place?

PP1: Here many crabs have died. If you can go and see the Mahabalipuram, there are abundant.

GV: Is this crab good or bad?

PP1: It’s good.

GV: Why is it good?

PP1: He (crab) is the one who is washing your clothes.

RK: (laughing)  
PP2: Brother is laughing.

PP1: If he (crab) doesn't wash the clothes, we can’t wash the clothes. Only because of the gimmick trick)what he (crab) had thought, our women are washing clothes and men are also washing clothes.

GV: Would humans consume the fiddler crab?

PP1: No, humans would not consume the fiddler crabs. It’s our children.

GV: Why do you say the fiddler crab as you children?

PP1: I would never say that comment to you. I would say everything to you, but I would not say anything about my child.

RK: Are they children only to you?

PP1: No, they are children to everyone in the world.

GV: Are there any changes in the growth of the prawns or fiddler crabs because of the toxicity in the water?

PP1: Now, they are affected.

GV: What kind of impact?

PP1: In the western banks on the Athipattu side, they would climb up while the water reached their space (high tide) and they (crabs) would back once the water drained (low tide). In the low tide they would stand as a large group.

GV: Would they bite humans?

PP1: Yes.

GV: Would the bite give pain?

PP1: No.

(02:10:02)

GV: Is there any change in the sediments.

PP1: No

GV: Hasn’t there been any changes in the color of the sediments?

PP1: No. Only the same stand.

GV: Any changes due to effluents?

PP1: effluents would go stop in Ennoe.

GV: I am not asking about water, I am asking about muds and sands inside the river.

PP1: That has changed.

GV: How has that changed?

PP1: Now is black in color; earlier it used to whiter in color.

GV: Why has it changed to black color?  
PP1: Because of the mud. When the company (EB) released water (ash water), the river been impacted.

GV: How the sediment used to be?

PP1: Earlier it was only sand (Manal) in the sediment, it would like this (showing the white sand ridge he is seating upon)

GV: Would it smell bad?

PP1: Yes.

GV: Would the smell be too bad?

PP1: We were able to bear the smell, it would not be too much. But our hands and legs would turn black if we get in to pick prawns.

GV: Is the black sediment good or bad?

PP1: It’s not bad; if it’s how we all humans, children, how can they get into the water (aalunga, kolandha kuttinga, ellam thannilaye vulundh kedakkudhungale). If the sediments are bad we would have had health problems now. So, it’s good.

GV: Are prawns impacted by it?

PP1: Now, during full moon day, we would get the things (prawns or fishes), only if the water comes from the North not from the South. If the water flows fully, the prawns would catch the flow and climb up to this place (in high tide).

GV: This means the prawns are breeding here at present, only if they come from the north, their production here is stopped right now.

PP1: Yes. We would go to L&T by 6 AM in the morning.

GV: How would you go?

PP1: From the temple (Madha temple), we would board a shared auto and get down near L&T. Then we would have some food and get into the water by 8 AM. We would pick the prawn and by 10 AM we would go to Athipattu Pudhunagar to sell the prawn. I would sell the prawn and get back by noon. That is our routine. In the market, even if the prawns are sold or not sold, I would consume on quarter liquor, with that I would not sustain (vikkirano illayo theriyaadhu, oru quarter adipan, adhu illaadhu poonaa enaku velikaavadhu). After consuming a quarter, again after coming home I would consume another quarter liquor. Then, if Aaya (wife) cooks anything I might consume or I might also not consume. I am sitting and talking as you are here or else I would stretch the mat, keep the pillow, would switch on the radio and would have silently laid.

GV: What is your name?

PP1: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ (in the interview note)

GV: What is your son’s name?

PP1: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ (in the interview note; also said their granddaughters name)

**(02:15:00)**

PP2: One granddaughter is studying 7th standard. Other granddaughter is studying 1st standard.

GV: So your son has 3 daughters?

PP1: Yes, he has 3 daughters. No sons.

GV: Did you have only one son?

PP1: No, I have a daughter. She is also staying in Yesu nagar (Arunodhaya nagar)

GV: What’s your daughter's name?

PP1: \_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ (in the interview note). My son-in-law has died.

GV: What happened to him?

PP1: He died in Corona. If my son-in-law is present now, I would not be here like this. He would have kept me well (nalla kaapaathuvan enna).