



# ETHNOGRAPHY REPORT

## DESIGN PROJECT 1

ANAND B  
NEW MEDIA DESIGN  
Second Semester

2 **Autobiography categories**

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- Joint family
- Language
- Risks
- Push
- Sensitive
- Possessiveness
- Adjusting
- '*athu anganeyaa*'

43 **My Frame**

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Born in a conservative **joint family** in a small village in Kerala, the close-knit living atmosphere at home with 8 members has had a profound impact in shaping me. Having lived in this comfort zone for 23 years, NID gave me the first taste of many things - urban life, living away from home, and people from different backgrounds and cultures speaking different languages.

I've always been a shy person since my childhood, and always needed for a **push** to do things. Even in college, my friends forced me to contest for the student council elections, which I eventually happened to win and went on to perform well in my role. Also, having lived in Kerala all my life, I've never been comfortable with any language other than Malayalam. This has been the biggest difficulty I've faced so far here in such a diverse student community. Being far away from home in a culturally diverse atmosphere coupled with my inherent introversion and difficulty to pick up **languages**, I withdrew further into my shell.

Owing to the conservative nature of my family, I had accepted many societal norms as is, - '**athu anganeyaa**' - without questioning or bothering to enquire further about them - women being considered 'impure' while on the menstrual cycle, for instance. However, life at NID has helped my perspectives and see things in a different way.

I've always been **risk** averse in life - be it with ordering the usual chicken biriyani everytime I go out to eat, leading a routine lifestyle or even choosing to join my brother's company rather than sit for placements after graduation, I've looked for familiarity and comfort zones all my life.

Raised in a joint family, I'm very accommodating by nature, and I try to **adjust** with people and situations, mostly giving in without taking a strong stand. I'm also extremely **sensitive**, from all the pampering I have received as a child. **Possessive** too, in my own ways - not selfish, but I'm hold my family and my achievements very close to my heart.

Mine is a story of an introvert - a nice guy who finds it difficult to do things that would displease others, slowly finding his grip in the real world. Thrown out of my comfort zone, I've got no choice but to walk on.

84 **Possible implications of the researcher's frame with respect to his engagement on the field.**

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Though the social group I've chosen is a malayali restaurant (which is closest I could get to my zone, without any language barriers), my frame would invariably have implications on my field research. Due to my introverted nature, I am likely to be extremely conscious of how my actions would be perceived or received by the members of my social group. It would take me some time to gel into the environment so that I am able to understand the activities of my social group in its true sense. Also, being a malayali myself, I might miss out on certain observations as would be routine in my eyes, but something significant in the eyes of a language agnostic observer.

125 **Research Question**

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127 What is/are the sound/sounds that are significant to your social group ?

128 What are the specifics of the significance?

129 How does the sound resonate with the social group?

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132 **Social Group**

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134 The Social group chosen for the study – possible reasons for the choice as the researcher understands it:  
135 how is it linked to her frame?

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137 Details of the social group must be included - Profile of its members, geographical location, caste, history,  
138 etc

139

140 Kerala Food Corner is a small Kerala restaurant in Sabarmati, Ahmedabad. Commonly referred to as 'KFC'  
141 by regular customers, many people confuse it with the American franchise, Kentucky Fried Chicken. It is one  
142 of the very few restaurants in Ahmedabad that serve beef, as cow slaughter is banned in Gujarat. Beef being  
143 an indispensable part of the non-vegetarian Malayali diet and Malayalis being present all around the globe  
144 (in every *corner* of the world, as goes the saying), it isn't surprising to find such a restaurant in Ahmedabad.  
145 KFC was started in 2013, in a building that was previously occupied by a tyre retreading factory, where the  
146 owner Lawrence *chettan* worked for 16 years before starting his first Gujarati restaurant in Maninagar.

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148 The owner Lawrence *chettan* and the cook Biju *chettan* are the mainstays in the 5 member workforce at KFC.  
149 The absence of either one of them would make things difficult to manage. Additionally, there also is a  
150 temporary help named Unni, who is usually roped in when the kitchen really needs more hands. During the  
151 afternoon when the footfall is usually less, Lissy, Lawrence *chettan's* wife looks after the restaurant while  
152 Lawrence *chettan* and Biju *chettan* take a break. In the morning and evening, a *cleaning* lady comes to clean  
153 the utensils.

154

155 The social group under study consists of Lawrence *chettan* - the owner and Biju *chettan* - the cook; who are  
156 at the restaurant everyday.

157

158 Behind the restaurant is a colony with residents belonging to the thakur and dalit castes - which makes it  
159 possible for KFC to serve beef in the area. The *cleaning* lady, who is a non-vegetarian, also lives in that  
160 colony. The restaurant is situated between a bike repairing shop and a tyre puncture shop. As the  
161 construction of the Ahmedabad Metro is progressing in the area, there is a severe space crunch in the front,  
162 also making the area very dusty.

163

164 Language was the prime reason that prompted me to choose this group, as all the staff spoke Malayalam,  
165 and that even the customers were mostly Malayalis. I was not comfortable with speaking Hindi despite having

166 lived in Gujarat for almost a year. My options were also limited, as there were only few places where Malayalis  
167 worked in Ahmedabad and Gandhinagar. I visited 7 groups from which I found KFC to be a good option, as  
168 I could also eat there everyday. I had also acquainted with the owner Lawrence *chettan* before, as we had  
169 called him to NID to cook the 'Onam sadya' last year.

170  
171 The owner Lawrence *chettan* aged 57, is a catholic christian, but has never visited the church for the past  
172 three years. He lives with his family a kilometer away from the hotel. His wife Lissy also comes to restaurant  
173 to help him. They have 3 children - 2 daughters and a son. The elder daughter is in her final year in B.Com  
174 and wishes to do an MBA afterwards. The younger daughter is in the 12 standard, and suffers from certain  
175 growth issues as she was born premature - a matter of serious concern for Lawrence *chettan*. The youngest  
176 son has just completed his 10th std and is awaiting the result. The children are rarely seen in the hotel - the  
177 son had come over during Vishu. Lawrence *chettan* wants his children to study well, get good jobs and not  
178 be like him.

179  
180 Lawrence *chettan* reached Gujarat at age of 12, having ran away from his home in Kerala. During his  
181 childhood he never wanted to go to school. He used to bunk classes everyday, roam around and come back  
182 home in the evening. One day his parents caught him and beat him badly, which made him run away from  
183 home. Back then, the farthest he could travel by train was to Arakkonam. At Arakkonam, some people caught  
184 him and put him in a canteen where he couldn't escape from. After 3 months he managed to escape from  
185 the canteen and went to the railway station. He meet a person at the railway station, who was from Gujarat.  
186 Thus, Lawrence reached Gujarat in 1979. He worked as cleaning boy in hotels and as a helper in a tyre  
187 puncture shop until he got a small job in tyre retreading factory. Gradually he rose up to be the floor manager  
188 there and worked there for 16 years. After that he started his own hotel in a rented space in Maninagar, which  
189 served Gujarati food. In 2013, he got to know that the factory he had worked at got shut down due to pollution  
190 control issues and on negotiating with the factory owner Antony Bhai, Lawrence *chettan* bought the space  
191 for 16 lakhs - the instalments for which are still being paid.

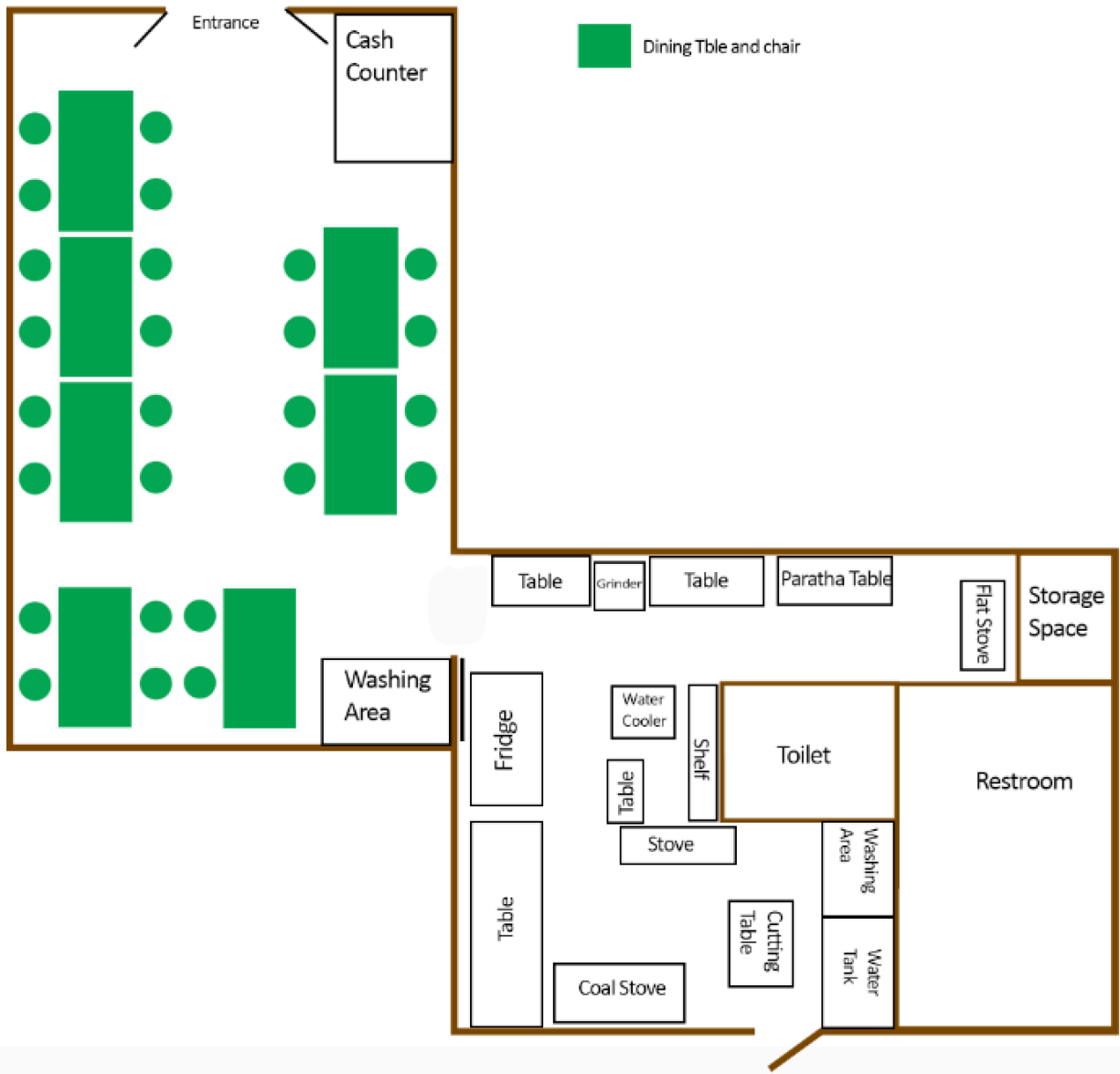
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193 Biju *chettan*, aged 48, is the main cook at the restaurant. He was born and brought up in Kollam, Kerala and  
194 he belongs to the Ezhava community. He reached Gujarat 3 years ago. Some of his relatives are settled in  
195 Gujarat, engaged in business activities. Before coming to Gujarat, he ran a hotel in Kollam which had to be  
196 shut down since the area was acquired for constructing a bridge. This prompted him to come to Gujarat and  
197 he started a hotel near ONGC Gate, Ahmedabad. The space belonged to his brother [wife's elder sister's  
198 husband]. Following a tiff with his brother, he started working in KFC two years ago. He lives near the hotel,  
199 at a walkable distance. He has two daughters, studying in the 10th and 5th standards in his brothers school,  
200 a main reason why he chooses to stay in Gujarat, though he doesn't like it.

201  
202 Biju lost his father when he was 5. His father was toddy tapper. After his father's death his mother started a  
203 small tea shop which later grew into a hotel [In kerala restaurants are usually called hotels]. He also didn't  
204 like to go to school, and stopped his studies when he failed in 10th. He wasn't very comfortable with sharing  
205 details of his past with me. Once he said " Njan pandu othiri kannichittund, athite okke bhalam ayirikkum  
206 eppo annubhavikkane", signifying that he regrets what he did in his past. After closing the hotel one day,

207 Lawrence chettan told me that Biju had worked as a loading/unloading labourer under AITUC and got booked  
208 for some cases, and that back then he even looked like a gangster. I found this hard to believe, seeing his  
209 meek response every time Lawrence scolded him. He got married to his customary bride.

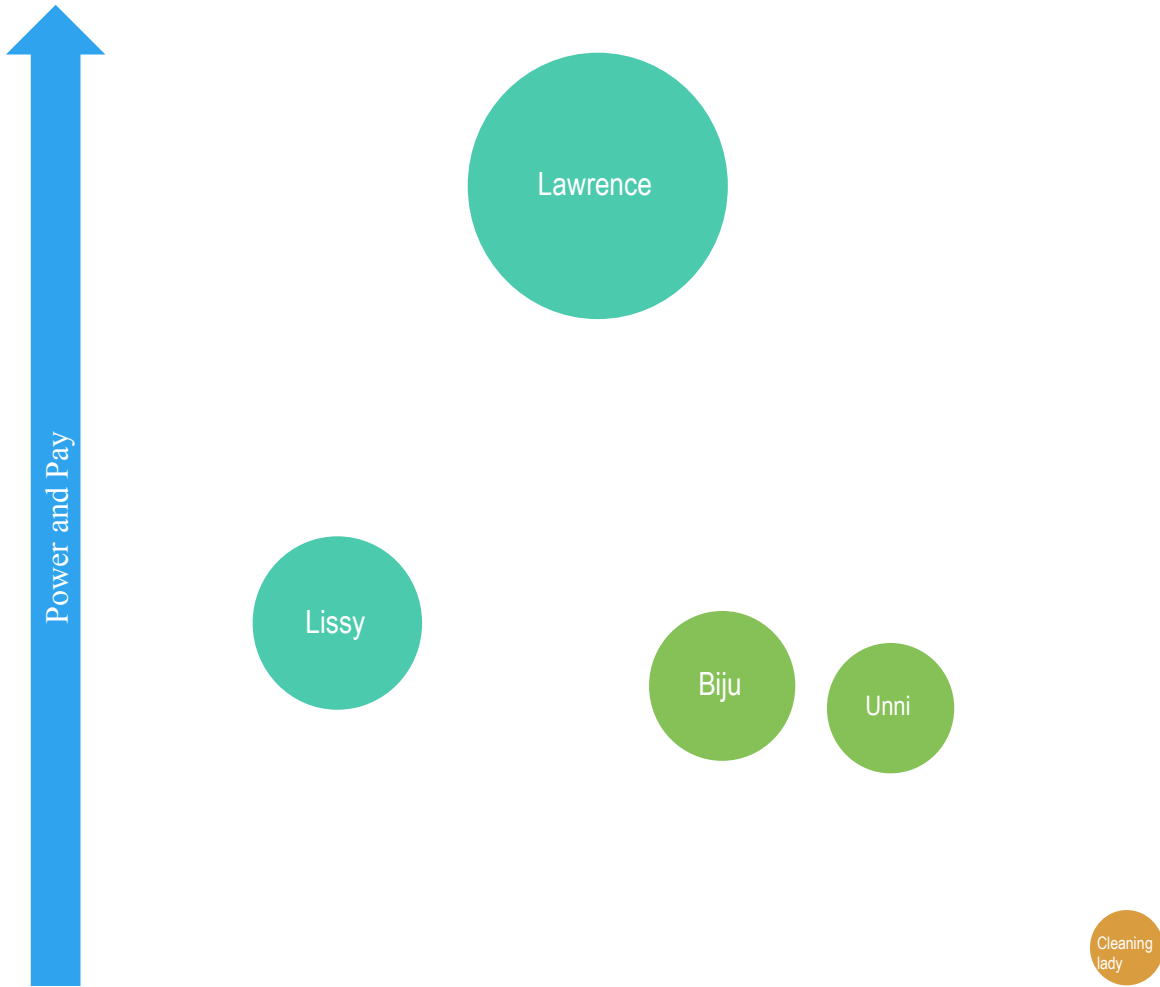
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### Restaurant Layout



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### Power Dynamics in group





220 **What are the Daily activities / routine of the social group, what are the shared patterns of life?**

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222 A typical day in KFC begins with Lawrence chettan coming to the restaurant at 6 AM to fill the water tank,  
223 after which he goes for his 3 km morning walk. Then he goes to the market to buy fish and vegetables and  
224 returns by 8-8:30 AM. He then starts cutting and marinating the fish until Biju reaches by 9:30 AM.

225

226 Nowadays, KFC doesn't serve breakfast as they found it difficult to manage the time and had to stop it. On  
227 the days that Unni comes to help, he too reaches by 9:30 AM. Lawrence chettan's main job in the kitchen is  
228 to cutting and marinate fish and meat, after which he prepares the rice for lunch. Biju starts with making the  
229 curries for lunch first, followed by chicken curry and then biryani. In between these he fries the fish too. Beef  
230 is cooked depending on the stock available.

231

232 All remaining items are stored in a big fridge in the kitchen. Till 12 noon, the kitchen is a very busy scene.  
233 The food is cooked in the morning, and heated before serving for lunch. Unni is usually engaged in cutting  
234 vegetables and cleaning desks. Till 11:30 AM -12 noon, everyone works in the kitchen. The lady who comes  
235 to clean the utensils comes twice a day - at 11:30 AM and again at night between 8:30 -10:00. The tasks are  
236 clearly defined and is always under Lawrence chettan's supervision. Lunch gets ready by 11.30 AM and by  
237 12 noon, Biryani too. Customers usually start arriving from 11:30 AM, sometimes even as early as 11:00  
238 AM. The footfall reduces between 11:30 to 2 PM, and there are more takeaways than at night.

239

240 Lissy chechi reaches by 12:30 - 1 PM, and helps in serving food. After 1-2 PM Lawrence chettan leaves  
241 home to rest and comes back at 6 PM. Compares to night, the sales are less at noon and everyone would  
242 be having lunch. Biju leaves at 4PM, comes back at 7PM and starts making porottas. Porottas are only made  
243 in the evening and a set of porothas cooked in a day will be supplied till the next evening.

244

245 At night everyone will be there, but sometimes lawrence chettan won't be there and he comes before lissy  
246 chechi leaving to their home. At night there will be more customers, but they are not cooking anything other  
247 than porotta, everything is heated and served. Chechi will leave at 10 PM, she will turn off all lights in the  
248 dining area except the cash counter. Lawrence chettan usually waits for another 30 mins, to serve any late  
249 customers. Biju would then transfer everything into containers and keep those in fridge. Once all the work is  
250 done, they drink charayam [locally distilled alcoholic drink]. Lawrence chettan stocks some bottles of  
251 charayam in the hotel. Lawrence won't let them drink more than 2 glasses, as Biju wouldn't turn up the next  
252 day if he gets drunk. He also informs Biju's wife when he leaves the hotel, because many a times after closing  
253 the hotel Biju has gotten drunk elsewhere, not coming for work next day.

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### Photos



Satelite view of the location. Behind the hotel there is a colony.



Signage Board

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Dining area



Metro Construction

341 **Research plan**

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344 I first visited the restaurant as a customer, as I had done many times before. Then I spoke to Lawrence  
345 chettan about the research, and that I wanted to observe their life and work. After a few days, since I felt that  
346 being just an observer wasn't giving me a lot of insight, I expressed interest to learn what they did, and that  
347 I'd like to help with chores at the hotel. This helped me gel well with the group, as I gradually became one of  
348 the workers in the hotel. I started helping with cutting vegetables and waiting the tables. During my initial  
349 days, I was not very certain if I should be continuing my research with this group as the cook went on a leave.  
350 I even went out searching for other groups – however, Biju returned soon, which put things back on track for  
351 me. On the day of Vishu, I was working at the hotel till 3 AM to help them prepare the sadya. I even got to  
352 join the group during their daily rounds of liquor after closing the hotel. I tried to keep some distance so that  
353 I won't immerse into the social group. I adjusted my daily schedule to suit the time of the staff so that I could  
354 get to spend quality time with them. Though I had visited the hotel on 13 days for the field research, I was  
355 unable to write a daily account of the P.Os due to the irregular work times. Most of the days I went in morning  
356 and evening.

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358 **Data from the field**

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360 Participant observations, informal conversations, field notes were the main data that I collected from the field.

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362 **Participant Observation 1**

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364 Date & Time:11:15 AM to 12:00 PM | 30th March, Friday

365 Actors:Anand, Lawrence Chettan, Aunty, Cook Biju, Unni chettan, Customers

366 Place: Kerala Food Corner(KFC)

367 Time of Transcription: 9:24 pm

368

369 I left the campus at 10:30 in a bike. It was a bright sunny day. Kerala Food Corner(KFC) is 20 mins drive  
370 from campus. The roads were so **dusty due to the construction of metro**, I found it very difficult to ride the  
371 bike. But my main thoughts were whether KFC would be a **right place to do ethnography** and I need to find  
372 **at least two people working together and the communicating in malayalam**. I already talked to Lawrence  
373 Chettan (Restaurant owner) on phone regarding this and he said Ok and **he didn't have problems in that**, but  
374 **his voice doesn't seem to be welcoming** as if **he couldn't say no to me because I asked him**. I was also  
375 **concerned whether I'm creating any discomfort for them**. I reached KFC at around 11:15 AM. The whole  
376 **front region of kfc is occupied by the metro construction** and there **is hardly any place to walk** in front of kfc.  
377 I kept my bike outside and rushed towards the wash basin to wash my face because **my eyes were full of**  
378 **dust**. I saw one guy sitting and waiting for food. I went near the kitchen door to find whether lawrence chatten  
379 is there or not. I couldn't find him that time in the kitchen. I thought I would ask them, but by the time he came.  
380 He was in **his usual red tshirt**. I Looked inside the kitchen and everyone **was busy there**. They **were preparing**  
381 **dishes for lunch** and **aunty seems to be rushing** as I could **hear her chappals hitting floor like beating**  
382 **someone**. The **cook was frying fish, sizzling sound reminded about my mom frying fish in my home**. There  
383 **were two more guys** in that kitchen other than lawrance chettan, aunty and the cook. They seems to **be non**  
384 **malayalies**. Lawrence chettan came out of kitchen with a **hand full of plates**. I noticed some **vessels covered**  
385 **with aluminium foils**, I thought there would be **some catering events** in which he would be **supplying the**  
386 **food**.He kept all the plates in the table near the **counter** and **started counting**.

387

388 I went near to him and said "Lawrence chetta, **njan annu ennale villiche**".

389

390 "Para **mone entha karyam?**". He **said without looking at me**, he was **busy counting plates**.

391

392 "Nagade **oru research nte karyamthne** enikku evide kurachu divasam nikkanan pattuvo?", I asked

393

394 He **replied smilingly** "**Nino**, enikku oru kuzhappavum illa" . I **felt very relaxed**, because when I called him in  
395 the **phone he was not so welcoming**.

396

397 He **was counting the plates**, I guess there would be around 50 plates. The plates **were plastic** and seems to  
398 **be quiet old**. While counting the plates he **was removing some plates** which were not so looking good.



399

400 After that he went to the counter and took a paper in which contact details of a guy was written. He mentioned  
401 some **name who belongs to IIM**. So most probably there would be some event in IIM A where the food is  
402 ordered from KFC and those two other guys were there for that purpose. **I wanted to ask more about it**, but I  
403 didn't **since its my first day I don't want to interfere into his business**.

404

405 I asked **him about the timings** and **comfortable time** for them so **that I can engage with them**.

406 I asked "Evidathe samayam okke egane aa?, nigalkku buthimuttu illathe oru samayam nokki njan varam"

407

408 "Njan **ravile 5 manniku evide ethum**, **oru 11:30 okke avumbol dinner chalu avum**"

409 "**Uchakku othiri thirakku kanilla**, **rathiri ayirikkum therakku**" he said. He **mentioned dinner instead of lunch**.

410 The word 'chalu' reminded of my father elder brother who is settled in mumbai. Because he also uses the  
411 word chalu very frequently.

412

413 "Rathiri ethra neran vare undu?" I asked

414

415 "**10 manni vare undu**" He replied

416

417 "Njan evide enthakkilum joli cheythollam, nigale buthimuttikathe"

418 "**Waiter ayittu ninollam**" I said

419

420 "**Nagalkku evide waiter ne avshyam undu**, **nee vennaki eppo muthal thudangikko**" he replied [laughing]. I felt  
421 **more comfortable** since I can participate in their daily activities. **KFC didn't have enough people to do all the**  
422 **work**. **Only 4 people are managing the hotel**.

423

424 By the time he finished counting the plates and handed it to those other guys and went inside.

425

426 The one customer who was waiting there asked him" Chetta, 8 porttaum beefum"

427

428 **Poth is malayalam of beef**, which **is banned in gujarat**. **KFC is one among the only few shops where they sell**  
429 **beef**.

430

431 Lawrence replied "**Poth ayittilla, samayam edukkum**"

432 "**Ennu sadhanam kittiyappo kurachu late ayi poyi**"

433 "Unnum meen varuthathum undu, athu edukkatte"

434

435 That guy came near the kitchen door and said "Enkki oru unnum meen varuthathum edukke" guy **said like**  
436 **not at all interested**.

437

438 "Kurachu time kudi edukkum, onnu wait cheye" **Lawrence said very politely**

439

440 “Ente ennathe ravilathe chayayum, uunum ellam ethu annu, vegam edutho” guy said  
441  
442 He went back to his seat, garbing the metal chair. All chairs in KFC are metal. So when ever someone moves  
443 it creates a dragging sound.  
444  
445 “Ennale NID ne kure piller vannu, avarkku beef mathram mathiyarnu”[smiling]  
446 “Atha theernu poyath”  
447  
448 I was also becoming hungry. I enquired “Beef eppo thayarakkum?”  
449  
450 “Poth kundu vannu vechattullu, onnum cheythattilla”  
451 “Rathiri avuvollu”, Usually beef will be available all time.  
452  
453 He was using the word “Pooth” instead of beef, I always forget about that. I thought next time onwards I  
454 should use poth only.  
455  
456 I saw aunty rushing to counter to take a packet and went back to kitchen. I thought I would talk with her, but  
457 she was very busy.  
458  
459 Lawrence asked the cook whether all curry for lunch was ready or not. He said “ Unnu ulla curry ellam  
460 ayittund, special varkkan undu”. Special refers to aila fish fry.  
461 “Pinne poth onnum cheyan samayam illa”.  
462  
463 I was sitting in the chair, after some time I saw aunty coming outside dressed up in white saree and white  
464 blouse. She was looking at the mirror in the washing counter. She was in a hurry. Then only I remembered  
465 that day was good friday and they might be going to church.  
466  
467  
468 I looked for them. I couldn't find them, so I went inside the kitchen asked the cook “Lawrence chettan poyo”.  
469 Biju was frying fish. I noticed the sizzling sound of oli. I looked around the kitchen, it is very unorganised and  
470 there are some random tables in which things are kept randomly.  
471  
472 “Avar eppo poyatheullu, lawrence chettan kurachu kazhinju varum”he replied.  
473  
474 “Njan kurachunal evide kannum, oru project te karyam thne” I said.  
475  
476 “Lawrence chettan ippo varum” [looking suspicious at me]. He was not understanding what I was saying and  
477 felt suspicious.  
478  
479 “Njan lawrence chettan ode samsarichatha”  
480

481 In between unni came and said he is leaving. But biju didn't want him to go. Biju asked him no to leave.

482

483 Unni said "Njna doctor ne kandittuvaru" [ Smiling ]

484

485 "Vegam varanam"[he said interestingly]

486 "Sadhnam kittile?, [pause] urppalle?"

487

488 Then I got some idea what they were talking about. They were talking about alcohol. Unni was drunk. I could  
489 see that is his face. Red coloured eyes and unstable body.

490

491 Gujarat being a dry state I wondered how they get alcohol so easily.

492

493 "Enkki vegam poyittu vaa" biju said. Unni left.

494

495 I asked " Chettan te peru entha?"

496

497 He said " Biju"[Smile]

498

499 "Nattil evidaya?"

500

501 "Kollam" he turned back and went to stir the curry in another stove.

502

503 I thought I would leave. Because Lawrence chettan was not there and he didn't told anything about me to  
504 biju chettan.

505

506 I was hungry, so I asked him "Poth ayo?."

507

508 He said "ill ,time edukkum"

509

510 I said "Kuzhappam illa, njan poyittu monday muthay varam" and I left KFC.

511

512

513 Sounds

514

515 -Sizzling sound of frying fish

516 -dragging chair

517 -chappals hitting floor

518 -Sound of fan

519 -sizzling sound of oil

520



521 **Participant Observation 2**

522

523 Date & Time:10:45 AM to 12:30 PM | 3rd April, Tuesday

524 Actors:Anand, Lawrence Chettan, Aunty, Unni chettan, Customers

525 Place: Kerala Food Corner

526 Time of Transcription: 10:24 pm

527

528 I called Lawrance chettan before leaving from NID because I wants to make sure that the shop is open.  
529 Monday when I went there it was closed due to some riots happening in Ahmedabad. As usual the the sun  
530 was very bright and it was very difficult to ride bike at that time. I reached KFC at 10:45 PM. I entered the  
531 restaurant I saw Lawrence chettan having food. No customers were there. He was having rice and some  
532 curry. I couldn't identify which curry exactly, but it was just gravy . I was thinking why he is not having rich  
533 food when he owns the restaurant. I thought that would the right time to have a conversation, otherwise he  
534 would be always busy. The whole restaurant is taken care by only three people Lawrance chettan, his wife  
535 and cook Biju. I took a chair and sat near him and asked "Lawrence chettan eppolano kazhikkane?", Even  
536 I'm also confused whether he is having his breakfast or lunch. He replied "Kurachu kazhijal samayam kittilla,  
537 atha eppo kazhikkane.". So he would be having his lunch early, because after sometime he won't get time to  
538 eat anything.

539 He said "Pannikaran Vanilla"

540 Me: "Biju chettan anno, njan annu samsaricharnu"

541 "Athu entha pulli varathe?"

542 Lawrance : "avan oru divasam kuduthal panitha pitte divasam varilla, easter te annu ithiri pani kuduthal  
543 undarnu, adukondu ennu vanilla, Kallilil anni kondu agane okke parayandayi njan onnum kandilla [oru  
544 thalpariyam illathe paranju]"

545

546 Me : "nigal randu per mathram alle ullu, appo nalla kashta padau ayirikkum alle?"

547 Lawrance : "Nalla padanu"

548

549 Me:" Ente vaylichan ne pandu oru hotel undarnu, panni kare manage cheyan nalla padannu, allkar vannu  
550 nilkkumbo bakshnam illa ennu parayan pattuvo?"

551

552 "Nmmade ee hotel thudangiyattu ethra varsham ayi?"

553

554 Lawrance:" 4 varsham"

555

556 Me:" Chettan te nadu thrissur alle, avide evide ayitta?"

557

558 Lawrance: "Mukkili ennu parayum, ennu paper ill oru footbal kallikar ne patti parayandayille, pulli avidana"

559 Me:"Enikku arayilla, njan evide vanattu pathram kaddittu pollum illa"

560

561 By the time he finished his eating and went inside kitchen, I accompanied with him towards the kitchen. I saw  
562 unni chettan inside the kitchen, he was shirtless wearing a black pant. When ever I saw him he would be  
563 drunk. Someone had told me that he was working in a company and the he lost his job because of drinking  
564 while working. He was filling water in the cooler from which drinking water is served. The kitchen is very  
565 unorganised. Everything inside the kitchen is jugad. Things are kept everywhere, so there is hardly any place  
566 to move around. Every time I need to shift my position when someone moves.

567  
568 I wanted to do something so that I can be a part of them I asked lawrence chettan “Enikku cheyan pattana  
569 pani undo?”

570  
571 He said” Evide agane pani onnum illa, nagalkku cheyavuanathe ullu”

572  
573 I roamed around the kitchen. I found a room inside the kitchen. It’s door was always closed. I wanted to know  
574 what is inside the room but I didn’t tried to open that. Maybe I can open it later. The kitchen floor were made  
575 of damaged granites and the floor looks very untidy.

576  
577 I asked him “Njan eppo vanallum nigal nalla thirakkill aayirikkum, nigal rest onnum edukkile?”

578  
579 Lawrence chettan said “ ee thozhil oru panna thozhill annu”

580  
581 Unni chettan replaied “10 tyre panniyathum oru choru vekkanathum thulayam annu”

582  
583 I asked him “Paldi NID ne kure piller evide vararille”

584  
585 He said “Vararund”

586  
587 “Avide aduthu pinne Akabar ikka de kada undu, Abkar ikke ne ariyuvo?” I asked him

588  
589 “30 varsham ayittu ariyam, 2002 ill evide kalapam okke undayappo alle nagal okke annu nattilekku ketti  
590 vittath” he said

591  
592 “Akbar ikka de naduu?”

593 “Pulli kozhikode ne annu, muslim alle”

594  
595 I saw unni chettan peeling some onions. I went nearer to him. He once came to our college for making onam  
596 sadhya with lawrence chettan. I asked his “Enne orkkando?”. He was clueless I said ”Chettan annu NID le  
597 Onam sadhya ke vannatundayille?”. Then he got me. I started peeling onions with him using my hands. He  
598 then gave me a knife and asked me to sit. I sat near him and started peeling onions. Lawrence chettan was  
599 busy making biryani for the lunch. I was sitting near the freezer, I could hear the vibrating sound of the  
600 compressor.

601

602

603 His wife was not there so I asked him when she is coming. He said she would be reaching soon. His wife is  
604 also from the same place he belongs to, Thrissur. For last 45 years he was living in Gujarat. I also asked  
605 about his children's. He is having 3 children's the elder daughter is final year in Santhigiri college, second  
606 daughter is studying Mount Carmel and youngest son is studying in 10th standard.

607

608 I asked "Nigal nattil povarille?"

609

610 He replied "Avar ellam povum, njan povarilla"

611 "Eppo vaccation ne avar nattill povum"

612 "Njan nattill poyituu 4 varsham ayi"

613

614 His children used to book flight ticket early so they get it cheaper.

615

616 After starting hotel he never went to his home.

617

618 "Appanum ammayum okke marichu poyi, pinne arae kannana nattill ponne."

619 "Pinne pengalmaru okke mathram ullu avide"

620

621 I said "Lawrence chettan nattill jeevikanathilum kuduthal evide alle jeevichekkene "

622

623 He replied "Enikku nattill patilla"

624

625 Unni said "45 varsham ayittu njan kannuva enikku thanne 62 vayasayi"

626 "Ee kannanath motham pulli thanne kashtapettu undakkiyatha"

627

628

629 "Lawrence chettan ethra mathe vayassill annu evide enthiye?"

630

631 He said "12 vayasayippo ethiyatha"

632

633 Unni added "njan 13 vayasayappo ethiyatha english padikkan". He was drunk. Even I didn't understand the  
634 joke I laughed.

635

636 Lawrence chettan said " Njan Pinne nattill chellane 8 varsaham kazhinja "

637 "Avide motham maripoyi road okke valluthayi enikku vettill ekku ulla vazhi onnum manassill avanilla"

638 "Evide panni eduthu kurachu paisa okke undakkiyatta ponne, "

639 "Shirtum pantum okke ettu"[ He was laughing]

640 "Vettill ethi, ellarkkum appo valiya karyam arnu"

641

642

643 Lawrence chettan was cutting fish. The fish was already dressed and it was kept inside the refrigerator. I  
644 asked him “Meen okke evidana kittane?”  
645  
646 “Ravile market ill poyi vangikkum”  
647  
648 “Ennale bandh ayathu kondu vagan povan pattiyilla”  
649  
650 His phone ringed it was an old nokia phone, you could easily identify it by its ringtone. He said that he is in  
651 shop and he can't come right now. He was mentioning about some sthlam.  
652  
653 Even though I didn't asked about the call he said “Kurachu shtlam medikkan nokkand, nadakkuvo ennu  
654 arayilla”  
655 “Eppo thamasikkane sthlam oru sugham illa”.  
656  
657 “Njan kadyill annu, eppo varan patilla”  
658 “Aa mariyan Biju innu vanattilla”  
659 “Chechi varumbo njan varam” he said  
660  
661 He was also mentioning her wife as chechi.  
662  
663 I could hear the hammering sound from the tire repairing shop nearby. There is bike workshop and tire shop  
664 near the hotel.  
665  
666 They are collecting water from a tap which is attached to the wall. There is only one water tap in the kitchen.  
667 Taking water for cooking to cleaning utensils are taken from that tap only.  
668  
669 I asked unni “chettan te nadu evidaya?”  
670  
671 “Njan thiruvanathapuram, attingal” Unni said while chopping onions. I could hear the tuk tuk sound for  
672 chopping onions.  
673  
674 His name is unni nair. Sometimes biju used to call him “edo unni nair ee”  
675  
676 They asked me about my project and I explained about that.  
677  
678 Then I asked “Evide tyre pannike othiri malayalikal undalle?”  
679  
680 Lawrence said “evide othiri malayalikal undu, Tyre nte pannike lokham motham malayalikal matharm ullu”  
681 “Pinne, eppo kurachu bihari kal tyre panni thudangiyattund”  
682 “Malayalikal kranju thudangi”  
683

684 “Evide aduthu malayalikal undo, tyre pannianavar” I asked

685

686 “Evide aduthu thanne 4 5 sthlam undu”

687 “Pinne njna thamasikan aduthu undu” he said

688

689 One of Lawrence chettan’s friend came, he was calling him to go outside, But Lawrence said he can’t come.  
690 Biju is not there. His friend is working in Vodafone in infocity and he knows about NID. We had a small  
691 conversation.

692

693 His friend asked lawrence “ Biju entha varathe?”

694

695 He said “Minijannu easter allamo, annu 250 appam okke undakkanarnu, annu night full panni undayi”

696 “Thirakkum karyangal okke undayi”

697 “Athu kondu vannilla”

698 “Randu divasam ayi” He said with some frustration.

699

700 His friend said “Thirakkum karyangal okke undayittu paisa undavanille?”

701

702 “Njan avannu extra kodukkarund”

703

704 “Athu alla, eyalkku onnum kittarille?”[laughing]

705

706 “Athinnu eppo ethu kittana?”Lawrence replied not interestingly.

707

708 They both went inside the room in the kitchen and came back after some time. They went for a drink for sure.

709

710 The coal stove was making a cracking sound.

711

712 I asked lawrence chettan “Ethinu mumbu lawrence chettan enatha cheythath”

713

714 He said he had a hotel before and it was in Manninagar, that was a gujarati hotel.He also said that he didn’t  
715 like this business.

716

717 “Ethill kashta paddu mathram ullu” he said.

718

719 He wanted to have a factory like Antony had, but it needs lots of money and he didn’t had. He also never  
720 wants his children’s to come into hotel business.

721

722 After sometime I had some food and I left KFC.

723

724

725 **Participant Observation 3**

726

727 Date & Time:10:30 AM to 1:30 PM | 7th April, Saturday

728 Actors:Anand, Lawrence Chettan, Aunty, Unni, Cook, Customers

729 Place: Kerala Food Corner

730 Time of Transcription: 6:43 pm

731

732 I went there in the morning, because last day when I went there in the evening they were taking rest so I  
733 came back. The cook was also not there for last few days due to injury in his leg. I entered the hotel, I saw a  
734 Gujarati reading Gujarati newspaper. Lawrence chettan is subscribing Gujarati and malayalam news paper.  
735 He asked me “what do you want?”. I replied “Nothing, I came here to see Lawrence chettan” in hindi. I went  
736 inside the kitchen, I saw biju chettan after so many days. Unni chettan, lawrence chettan, Biju chettan and a  
737 gujarati were there in kitchen. The cook was wearing the same green sleeveless tshirt. Lawrence chettan  
738 was cutting fish and unni was peeling onions. Chechi was not there.

739

740 There was no place to keep my bag, so I kept it behind the chair. There was some space in the counter but  
741 I thought it won't be nice keeping the bag in the counter without asking. The counter is the place where cash  
742 is kept.

743

744 Lawrence chettan asked unni questioningly ” Urulla kizhangu medicha bhakki paisa evidaya?”

745

746 Unni replied “Kayill Undu” without looking into his face.

747

748 Biju was having pass pass.

749

750 Lawrence chettan asked me “Nee bakshnam kazhicho?”

751

752 I replied “Ravilathe kazhichu, uchathe evidanu kazhikkam”

753

754 Biju chettan said lawrence” Achyan te kadayill ninu vellichanna vangiyattund” showing one bottle of oil.

755 And opened the refrigerator to take some fish and showed it to lawrence chettan.

756

757 Biju Said “ 5 special meen undayollu, njan athu mullaku paratti vechattund” and showed it to lawrence,  
758 lawrence was cutting vegetables.

759

760 I went near Lawrence chettan and asked interestingly “enikku cheyan pattiya panni entha ullu?”

761

762 He said “Manga em valliriyum ariyan undu nee athu cheytho, njan eppo eduthu tharam”

763

764 There is a room in the center of the kitchen, It's door were plastic. I was very curious to know what is inside.  
765 I went near to the room and opened the door slightly. It was a bathroom as I expected. But it's so weird  
766 having bathroom in the center of a kitchen.

767

768 Lawrence chettan asked unni” Aachar undo?” he replied “illa illa”.

769

770 Unni was sitting in the floor and every you can see the hierarchy in the kitchen. Lawrence being the owner of  
771 the restaurant is the king then comes his wife as queen, the cook Biju and unni are just soldiers.

772

773 I asked Lawrence Chettan”Lawrence chettan nerathe cook cheyuvarno?”

774

775 “Njan pandu muthal cook cheyuvarnu” he replied

776 “Ee maryanmarkku onnum arayilla, njan aa padipiche”[laughingly]

777

778 He gave me the mangos and showed me a how to cut it. It was for making pickle. Cutting like that without  
779 finger cover needs lots of practice. But I didn't cared about that too much. I started cutting the mangos. I was  
780 taking too much time compared to them, but gradually my speed started increasing and I was sweating.  
781 There is only one exhaust and its turned off, It might not be working. I continued cutting and after biju came  
782 near me and said he need to cut some other things and asked to move for some time. There was only one  
783 cutting board. He started cutting some onions and tomatoes. I carefully watched how is cutting, it was really  
784 different from my cutting and very fast. He finished everything in a minute and left. I started it again, I had cut  
785 half of the mangos. After some time Lawrence chettan came and I asked him is this enough and it's somewhat  
786 bigger. He said it's for pickle and it's fine.

787

788 I asked him” Hindikar manga upayogikkarundo?”

789 He said “Illa, nammal upayogikkanath polle illa”

790 “Avar aachar okke upayugikkum, athem ullu”

791

792 Finally it happened, I cut my hand. The wound was small because the knife was not so sharp, thank god. I  
793 didn't told anyone about and continued cutting and finished it.

794

795 Unni chettan was grinding coconut , sitting in floor and he said biju the “Thenga chirandanda panni ninte  
796 annu”. So the tasks in kitchen must have allotted by Lawrence. Everyone hardly talk each other. Even if they  
797 talk they would talk about buying things from shop. I never heard them talking about family, politics or any  
798 thing other than kitchen activities.

799

800 For sometime I started observing the sounds in the kitchen, utensils hitting each other is the main sound in  
801 the kitchen, cutting of vegetables. The cutting of vegetable had a rhythm. Buzzing noise of the refrigerator  
802 was also audible.

803

804 Unni was waiting for chechi to come, he said chechi would come at 12. I looked at my watch, it was 11:59. I  
805 saw some tyre repairing tools inside the kitchen. Lawrence one mentioned me that before hotel business he  
806 had a tyre repairing shop in the same place. It's almost 4 years the hotel had started.

807  
808 I saw a small mouse inside the kitchen. I wanted to tell them that there is a mouse inside the kitchen. But I  
809 didn't.

810  
811 Lawrence chettan turned on the exhaust, I thought that exhaust is damaged, even the lights are turned on  
812 only when there is very low light. I think he is very concerned about electricity.

813  
814 Biju chettan was frying onions for garnishing biryani, the smell pierced through my nose and I couldn't breath.  
815 I went outside the kitchen. Unni chettan was washing washbasin. He would be always cleaning something.  
816 While working unni never wears the shirt. Lawrence took unni's shirt and took money inside his pocket.  
817 He was counting the money and asked unni what all things he had brought. He said he brought 2.5 kgs of  
818 potatoes.

819  
820 Lawrence chettan asked me "Ethu ninte bag anno?" I replied "Annu"  
821 "Athu aa counter te avide eduthu vekke, avide vecha arekkilum okke eduthu kondu povum". Lawrence went  
822 outside to buy something. I took my bag and kept it below the cash counter. In the counter I saw a christian  
823 magazine 'tabor voice'. I searched in internet about that. The magazine is published by Tabor divine retreat  
824 centre based on Kalayan in Maharashtra. Even though Lawrence left kerala when he was 12, he still believe  
825 in christianity.

826  
827 Biju was busy preparing biryani. Last time when he was not there, Lawrence chettan was preparing that. I  
828 asked him about the oil they were using for cooking. Biju said that only for avil and some curry coconut oil is  
829 used, other than those items sunflower oil is used. Everytime when I asked about the job they were not  
830 interested. All of them didn't like the job they were doing, only thing they need is the money to support their  
831 family.

832  
833 One guy came dressed in workshop uniform , I had seen him before. He is not a malayali. He went to kitchen  
834 and asked biju to parcel paratha and chicken fry. He saw me and looked at me suspiciously. Then went  
835 outside. Biju packed the food and gave it to me and showed a gesture to pass it to that guy. I had given it to  
836 that guy with a smile and he smiled me back , which made me relieved. I noticed he didn't gave money or he  
837 must have given it earlier when he went to kitchen, so he must be a regular customer.

838  
839 After sometime Lawrence chettan came. He had some masala packet in his hand. He kept it on the table in  
840 the kitchen. After some time the cook came and took that. Lawrence chettan phone rang.

841  
842 "Nigal eppo varuvo?"

843 "Njan eduthu vechekkam"

844 He must be mentioning about some parcel. They are getting more parcel orders than regular orders.



845 It was almost 1 PM, chechi was still not there. In between unni left and nobody knows where he had gone.  
846 I saw one cat going outside the kitchen holding something in the mouth. The washing area is full of flies.  
847 Kitchen full rats. After seeing all there I didn't want to eat anything from there.  
848  
849 Biju chettan asked me "Nattil evidaya" I said "Ernakulam [pause] chettan te nadu kollam alle?" he said "ente  
850 veedu kollam"  
851 "Chettan evide samayam okke egane aa, ravile Lawrence chettan oppam varuvo?"  
852 Lawrence Interrupted the conversation and said "Pinne, Njan evide 5 mannikke varum avan varumbo 9 manni  
853 avum"  
854 Biju didn't reply anything and he was not so happy with the question and lawrence replay. I thought shouldn't  
855 had asked that question.  
856 I paused for sometime and asked "Chettan evidaya thamasikkane?"  
857 "Ara kilometer appurath"  
858  
859 "Chettan mathram ullo evide?"  
860  
861 "Alla, ellarum undu family motham"  
862 "Amma okke nattill aa"  
863  
864 "Chettan egane aa gujarathil ethiye?"  
865  
866 "Kazhija janmathill entho papam cheythathu kondu njan evide ethi"  
867  
868 "Pakshe Lawrence chettan ne gujarat eshtam annalo"me [Laughingly ]  
869  
870 "Enikku gujarat ishtam aa" Lawrence replied suddenly  
871  
872 "Makkal okke appe"  
873  
874 "Oru allu 10 um mathetu 5 ilum" he replied  
875  
876 "Evide hindi mathram alle ullu"  
877  
878 Lawrence said"Hindi englishum "  
879 "Malayalam medium schoolum undu"  
880  
881 Lawrence was looking for unni and asked biju where he is. Biju said he don't know.  
882 Lawrence asked" Avan ee kachara onnum eduthu kallangille?" Looking at some waste kept near the washing  
883 area.  
884  
885 Biju chettan used to called Lawrence chettan as 'Anna'.

886  
887 Lawrence chettan took some parcel and said he would come soon. He also said that "Current povunale,  
888 purathu poyi nokkanam"  
889 "Ethava bill online anu adachekkane".  
890 I thought I need to find more about the electricity connection, because he is very concerned about that.  
891  
892 One guy came , He asked parcel for Poth, full meals with fish fry. I helped biju chettan in packing. Biju asked  
893 me to enquire whether he need fish curry, I went outside the kitchen and asked him in malayalam, he was  
894 not replying, I thought he would be a north indian and asked him in hindi somehow. He said yes. I went to  
895 biju chettan and said he need fish curry.  
896 Biju silently said "Pulli railway ille valiya udyogasthan annu"  
897 "Bharayaem pillerem okke vittu"  
898 "Eppo ottakku kallu kudichu villasi nadakkuva"  
899  
900 Biju chettan gave me the parcel and asked me to collect the money, it was 270 rupees. I handed the parcel  
901 to him and said 270 rupees. He gave me 500 rs. I went to kitchen with this 500 rs and asked for change. Biju  
902 chettan said" Evide change illa, akke menkedu ayallo"  
903 He came with me and asked the guy whether he had any change for 270 rs. He said no and asked us to  
904 keep that gave him change next time. He asked him whether he needs an extra cover. He said No, he is  
905 having a car and showed us the key. He also mentioned his car name while speaking.  
906  
907 After sometime a customer came when we were in kitchen, he already turned on the fan above the table  
908 where he was sitting. He must be a regular customer. I went near to him to take order.  
909 He said" Oru set paratha em beefum"  
910 "Pinne oru full unnu parcel"  
911  
912 I took the order and went inside the kitchen and told that to Biju chettan. Parathas were yesterday's, need to  
913 heat it and even the poath was in freezer. He heated both and gave it to me. I served that to the customer. It  
914 was my first proper service. After that I took the water mug and filled it with cold water and served it to the  
915 customer. He was looking at me[confused]. But, he didn't asked me anything.  
916  
917 I started feeling hungry, I thought I would have paratha and beef, but paratha was yesterday's I thought I  
918 would have unnu and beef. I told Biju chetten I need unnu and beef. By the time chechi had arrived. It was  
919 almost 1:30 PM.  
920  
921 I saw the rat inside the dough mixer. I wanted to do something, but I didn't do anything and pretended to be  
922 normal. After sometime the rat escaped from there. After that I confirmed I won't be eating paratha from their  
923 in the future. The place is very unhygienic.  
924

925 Chechi was discussing something about salary with Biju chettan, their tone were not so good. Both were  
926 arguing each other. So I stayed away from their conversation. For the last few days the cook was not there  
927 and Lawrence chettan and chechi need to manage everything. She must be showing her frustrations.

928

929 Compared to Lawrence chettan, chechi had more conversation with biju

930

931 Aswin had asked me to bring parcel from KFC, so I asked them to parcel one unnu and beef.

932

933 By the time my meal was ready, I took that and went to the sitting area. I sat near the table where the fan is  
934 turned on. I saw some beef left over in the last customer plate. I was wondering why he must have left that.  
935 I started eating and found the beef was not so fresh. Then I understood why he had left the beef unfinished.  
936 I had the unnu and thought I would take the beef back to campus. I finished the unnu and I told them I was  
937 not hungry so I didn't ate the beef. I packed the beef in the parcel cover. Biju chettan had already done with  
938 the parcel. I put everything in the cover and said bye to them.

939

940 I went to Lawrence chettan and said "2 unnum 2 beefum, etha ayi?"

941 He asked me "Ethu arkka parcel?" [laughing]

942 "Friend ne aa, njan engottu poruva ennu paranjapoll parcel konduvaru paranju"

943 "340 rupa ayi"

944 I gave 400 rs and he gave me 60 rs balance.

945 "Enni eppola vanne?"

946 "Vayikuneram chechi rest edduvannu orthu kuzhappm illa, nee pore"

947 He was very happy and if I buys food daily they would be very happy.

948 Everytime I noticed that he was very happy while collecting the money. Compared to Akbar [Mallu hotel like  
949 KFC] the price is high and food is not so tasty.

950 I left KFC around 2 PM .

951

952

953

954

955

956

957

958

959

960

961

962

963

964

965

966 **Participant Observation 4**

967

968 Date & Time: 7:30 PM to 9:30 PM | 9th April, Monday

969 Actors: Anand, Lawrence Chettan, Aunty, Cook, Achyan, Customers

970 Place: Kerala Food Corner

971 Time of Transcription: 12:12 AM

972

973

974 I went to KFC in the evening in my bike. When I reached there **only Lawrence chettan wife was there**. She  
975 was busy in cooking some curry. **She also don't know much about me** and what i'm doing there. I asked her  
976 "Lawrence chettan evidaya".

977

978 She said **"akkathu undu"** pointing her hand to room inside the kitchen. I felt uncomfortable, **she was not even**  
979 **smiling at me**. So **I went outside the kitchen and waited for Lawrence chettan**. I the table **I saw one daily**  
980 **collection book**. In the wall **there was a certificate from some chit fund based in kerala**. Near the cash counter  
981 there is **Jesus photo frame and a bible**. Avide pinne oru chadanathiri de stand **undarnu athu kathikkarundannu**  
982 **thonnanilla**. Njan ethu vare avar avide parthikkunath kandattilla.

983

984 After some time Lawrence chettan came. I thought he was sleepy and he was scratching his eyes. I asked  
985 him "Uranguvarno?"

986

987 He replied **"Alla, Kannill oru kuru"**

988

989 "Mm, eppo egane undu?"

990

991 "Kuzhappam illa, marunu ozhikkand"

992

993 In the counter I saw some medicines. I saw biju chettan, **he showed some expression[nee vanno ennu oru**  
994 **expression]**. I went inside kitchen. I could hear some people speaking in gujarati from the colony behind the  
995 kitchen. **Behind the kitchen is a colony, sometimes people from the colony comes to kitchen** to talk with  
996 them.

997

998 **Other than having food, that was the first time I'm going to KFC at night. Usually everyone would be busy,**  
999 **But that day all were doing nothing. All seems to be lazy and sleepy. I also started feeling sleepy.**

1000

1001 Chechi was talking about unni chettan, [she is mentioning him a unni bhai] that **he was drunk and made some**  
1002 **issues in the morning.**

1003 **"Othiri virthi kedukkal paranju pulli"**

1004 **"Enikku athu okke kettappo tholli uringu poyi"**

1005 **"Annan avide undayirunel, unni bhai de montha adichu pollichene "**

1006

1007 I couldn't understand the whole conversation, since I was standing at the otherside of the kitchen. She was  
1008 speaking very fast, I also noticed the **thrissur slang in her conversations**.  
1009 Even if Lawrence Chettan is from thrissur **he doesn't have that slang**. He also uses **many hindi words while**  
1010 **speaking**.  
1011 They were **speaking about alcohol**. To extend the conversation I said "aapo evide eagne aa kittane"  
1012 "Avide college ill konduvannu tharum"  
1013  
1014 He asked "**ethu ENGLISH aa?, nalla villa ayirikum alle**"  
1015 I didn't understood what he means, but he understood that I didn't understood.  
1016 "**Evide packet ill kittum**" he said  
1017 Now I got it, he was **talking about charayam**. **That is exactly what I wanted to know**. Once **Sreeraj told me**  
1018 **that Everyday Lawrence chettan drinks charayam**. This restaurant and charayam are somehow connected  
1019 but I don't know what exactly. **Biju silently said that " Purakkill ulla 4 vettukarude main paripadi ethu annu"**  
1020 **Showing 4 fingers**. **Before I thought they are making charayam in the hotel**.  
1021  
1022 Two customers came and asked whether the restaurant is working, since one was there in the dining area.  
1023 Biju chettan and me were sitting near the door. Biju replied "undu, entha vende" they said "randu fish curry  
1024 meals". I went to the cash counter and turned on the fan. **The fan sound broke the silence and laziness in**  
1025 **that place**. After that **I served water for them**. They seemed to be a newly married couple, the lady was  
1026 wearing lots of ornaments. Biju chettan took meals from kitchen and served it to them.  
1027  
1028 He asked me to sit down.He was sitting in a small stool and I sat in the table near the fridge. **The fridge**  
1029 **compressor wash making a vibrating sound**. That fridge is never turned off, So that sound is contineous.  
1030  
1031 I asked "pillerkku okke eppo vacation alle?"  
1032  
1033 He said "aa, **ellarkkum vaccation , oru vidham ullavar okke nattill poyi**"  
1034  
1035 Biju chettan aske me "**Nee entha ennale varathe?**"  
1036  
1037 I replied" Njan varanam ennu ortha erunne, pinne **othiri panni undayi**, "  
1038 **"Bike odichu evidem vare varan annu ettavum budhi muttu"**  
1039  
1040 Then Biju chettan said that **it really hot now** and **he is drinking lots of water**. And he don't want to do anything.  
1041  
1042  
1043 Chechi came and asked "Unni bhai ravile kallukudichu othir virthikedukal paranjalle?"  
1044 **He didn't reply anything**.  
1045 "Nigalkku pidichu randu kondukkann padilarno" she asked biju. **She was very angry with unni bhai**.  
1046  
1047 **She was counting the parathas and said gloomily "Randu paratha poyollu"**.

1048 Bju added "ennu thinkkalaazhacha alle, atha". Even I thought there were only few customers and I had a  
1049 feeling whether they would think that the sales is less because of me going there.  
1050  
1051 Chechi was calling someone, she speaks hindi like me. She was calling the lady who comes there for  
1052 cleaning. For last few days she is not coming because her daughter is having delivery.  
1053  
1054 Biju told me that the old lady who comes there for cleaning was a great help for him. He also said the "Meeran  
1055 behan oru nalla sthri annu". She would help him peeling the onions. She cleans the floor very well. The lady  
1056 coming now is not that good as Meera behan. She would do something and go.  
1057  
1058 I asked biju chettan "Kollath okke choode kuduthal anoo"  
1059  
1060 "Avide town ke okke nalla choode aa, ente bhagathu coode illa"  
1061 "Beachum theeradesham annu, kadalum kayalilum nadukkan"  
1062  
1063 I added "kadalinnu aduthu choode kurava"  
1064  
1065 "Ente vettill ninu oru pallam keriyal kadal ethum"  
1066  
1067 [silent for some time] he said "Nalla katta"  
1068  
1069 "Chettan nattill evide arnu ethinu mumbu" I asked him  
1070  
1071 "Enikku pandu hotel arnu, nattill"  
1072 "Avide palam panni vannapo, kad irrikkanadath aa kallu kuthiyath, appo kada pollikanda vannu"  
1073 "Pinne loading unloading panni cheythu"  
1074 "Pinne chettchar villichappo ponu"  
1075  
1076 "Chettchar paranja?", last time he mentioned about chechi  
1077  
1078 "Ente aliyante pengalde mone annu chettchar ennu paranje"  
1079 "Avar evide janichu valarnatha, pullide achan ne ONGC ill arnu joli" he said, Even though I didn't understand  
1080 the whole relationship, We continued the conversation.  
1081  
1082 "Avarum evide hotel nadathuvarno", In kerala for restaurants we used to call hotel only  
1083  
1084 "Hotel alla, avarkku evide plywood business annu, 4,5 kada undu evide"  
1085 "Athill oru kada enikku set cheythu thannu"  
1086  
1087 "Nagade avide kure plywood company undu" I added  
1088

1089 “Evar evide famous annu, pinne ella furniture te paripadiyum undu avarkku”  
1090 Appo adukkalayill entho thillachu pongi, so our conversation got broke  
1091  
1092 Biju said me”Najn eppo varam, nee onnu nokkikonne” and went to wash room.  
1093  
1094 I saw the rat again, it seems like rat is playing hide and seek.  
1095  
1096 Lawrence chettan came from the room. He went near the washing area and looked at the mirror. Aunty got  
1097 some call from some relatives and she was saying that one of their relative had been hospitalised and her  
1098 condition is not so good. Lawrence went near the counter. He checked the cash drawer and he was counting  
1099 some money. He was not so happy. Might be because of less sales. Monday the sales are usually less biju  
1100 chettan had mentioned about that.  
1101  
1102 The customers who were sitting there had finished eating. I noticed the sound of dragging chair. Chechi came  
1103 and took all the plates. She had put all the waste in the waste bin near the washing area.  
1104  
1105 Everyone was silent there. Even I felt asleep, only the sound of refrigerator was there. Even the fan was  
1106 turned off once the customers left the place.  
1107  
1108 Lawrence came to kitchen, I was standing near the door of the kitchen. He went near the water cooler and  
1109 had a glass of water. And went inside the room. Even he will be also very bored. There is room inside the  
1110 kitchen with a bad and mattress. But didn't find anyone using that before. Maybe this room is used only when  
1111 customers are very less. I heard the sound of coughing from inside his room.  
1112  
1113 I asked him “ Rathiri adikkan pani illale?”  
1114  
1115 He said “ravile ellam undkki vekkum , rathiri distribution mathram ullu”  
1116 “Krachu ullu okke aringittu choode akki kodukkum, atherm ullu”  
1117 They will prepare everything in the morning and night they will distribute it. The main sales in during night.  
1118 They don't serve breakfast. They will start the service from 11:30 am with lunch, till 10:30 the shop is open.  
1119 There are only very few varieties of food.  
1120  
1121 Chechi was saying something to biju silently near him, maybe because I was standing there.  
1122  
1123 Achan came to the kitchen, Achyan is the shop owner of the nearby kerala stores from where they buy kerala  
1124 items to the shop. Achyan is from kottayam. While going inside the kitchen he smiled at me, but he didn't  
1125 asked me who am I?  
1126  
1127 In KFC I noticed there is no stockroom, one storage space is there but they are not using it. They always buy  
1128 things from outside when need. They usually buy from the nearby two stores. One is a gujarati grocery shop

1129 and other belongs to Achyan, where all kerala items are available. They mostly buy from the gujarati shop.  
1130 But some items like rice, maida etc are stored in sacks in kitchen.

1131  
1132 Biju came to the dining area and he was touching his belly. Biju belly is huge. He was like pregnant women  
1133 touching the belly. He said " Vayaru entho polle, gas kerikkanathu annu thonnanu"[said very dull]. He then  
1134 sat in a chair under one fan. He also mentioned the heat inside the kitchen. Whenever there is no customer  
1135 is there and if he is free then will will go to the dining area and sit under the fan.

1136  
1137 I had no money, so went to ATM to withdraw some money and came back. I had paratha and poth. I left KFC  
1138 around 9:30.

1139  
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1170 **Participant Observation 5**

1171

1172 Date & Time: 8:30 PM to 11:00 PM | 10th April, Tuesday

1173 Actors: Anand, Lawrence Chettan, Chechi, Cook, Aachyan, Customers

1174 Place: Kerala Food Corner

1175 Time of Transcription: 10:12 AM

1176

1177 I reached KFC at around 8:30 PM. There was a dog sleeping in the veranda of the hotel. There were 7  
1178 customers in which some were having their food and others were waiting for food. Most of the fans were  
1179 turned on, so the dining room was very noisy. I went inside the kitchen I saw Unni chettan, chechi and unni  
1180 chettan. Lawrence chettan was not there. I'm observing the cook and lawrence chettan, So I need both of  
1181 them. Out of curiosity I asked biju where is lawrence chettan. Biju was heating parathas He said "aa, pulli  
1182 enni 9:30 10 manni okke kazhinju varuvollu". I felt disappointed and I was confused whether to stay or not.  
1183 But I decided to stay. I could hear the frying sound of oil while heating the parathas. He was also humming  
1184 some song, but I couldn't understand that.

1185

1186 Unni came near the water cooler for having water. While taking water in the glass, his hands were  
1187 shivering. There was a cheev inside the kitchen. I was hearing that sound after a long time. Which remained  
1188 of my place. That insect is very common in my place.

1189

1190 Chechi was in the cabin, she didn't came to kitchen. Might be because there is no work in kitchen. In KFC  
1191 they make everything in the morning and at the evening the distribute it.

1192

1193 Biju was packing parcel for one customer, he took some parathas and packed them using the aluminium  
1194 foil.

1195

1196 After sometime chechi came to kitchen and asked unni bhai to get some change for 500rs. Change was  
1197 always an issue in kfc. Maybe because of that everything is priced in round figure like 100rs, 10rs etc..  
1198 Price list is chicken, beef, full meals with meen curry, biryani is 100rs, veg meals costs 70 rs and paratha 10  
1199 rs. Price comparatively higher than other malayali restaurants like akbar in Johapura.

1200

1201 Biju was frying papadam in the kitchen. When the papadm is cooked it creates a sizzling sound. I went near  
1202 to him. I looked at the process for sometime. I thought of asking him that whether I Can do that. But I was  
1203 waiting for him to say that. After some some he asked "Kachan ariyuvu"  
1204 "Pinne njan vettil cheyarullath" I said.[I used to cook papadam in my home]  
1205 "Enkki pidicho" he handed over the remaining papadam to me. There were ony 6 -7 papadam left. I started  
1206 frying papadam. While doing the first I was little bit anxious, But it was fine. I finished all the remaining  
1207 papad.

1208 I asked biju chettan "Rathiri adikkam panni ellale?"

1209 "Rathiri distribution mathram ullu "

1210 "Kurachu ulli okke arrijuttu choodakki kodukkum"

1211  
1212 Chechi came inside the kitchen, I smiled at her, but she didn't smile at me. She asked me” Entha parcel  
1213 venno?”  
1214 I felt very awkward, I had already told her twice that I’m doing some research. Biju chettan and lawrence  
1215 chettan are very nice to me. I felt very bad. Maybe she must have forget. She is seeing many people a day.  
1216 I would be one among them.  
1217 I don't why she is behaving like this to me. She is having a feeling that I'm there to study their trade secrets.  
1218  
1219 She asked me like questioningly “Enthu project?”  
1220 “Nagalkku oru community poyi avidathe allukalde kude work cheyanam”  
1221 “Avar samsarikkana basha ariyanam, enikku malayalam mathram ariyuvollu, hindi sheryum ariyilla”  
1222 “Agane njan evade ethi” I said  
1223  
1224 Biju was frying papadam I could hear the frying sound .  
1225 I went near him and asked “Ravile panni kuduthal alle?”  
1226 “Aa, ravile 12:30 vare nalla panni ayirikum, pinne distribution ullu”  
1227 He mentioned the word distribution before also, I remembered that.  
1228 “Food choode akkum, kurachu ulli arinju idum”  
1229  
1230 There were no customers so biju and chechi went outside and sat there in the steps at the entrance of the  
1231 shop at opposite ends. I sat in a chair behind them, not so close. They were talking about some random  
1232 topics like prices of land in their area, comparing how parents are taken care in kerala and gujarat. They said  
1233 some customers comes at closing time and they won't leave. Which irritates them.  
1234  
1235 Biju was narrating some stories about his friend and he said that “ Njan kallu kudikkum ennu pennumbullaku  
1236 adhyam arayillarnu”  
1237 “Adhyam okke chellumbo pepsi alle ennu chodikkum”  
1238 “Pinne pathukke pullikari ke manassil ayi”  
1239  
1240 Appo chechi paranju “ Enikku oonum cheynan undayilla, pullikaran athu paranjitta kettiyath”  
1241  
1242 Then two north Indian came to the shop and chechi gave some money to them.Chechi tried calling  
1243 lawrence,but he was not picking up the phone. They were wearing small rounded skull cap so would be  
1244 muslims. Later I came to know that they used to supply beef and chicken in KFC.  
1245  
1246 After sometime everyone went inside kitchen. Biju started cutting fish because there was no fish fry.  
1247 Lawrence chettan came. He was reading Gujarati newspaper in the cash counter. Two customers came.  
1248 There is a table bell in the counter. He rang that bell and asked “Lissy, customers vanattund”. That is the first  
1249 time I'm hearing chechi's name.  
1250 Lawrence was counting money in cash counter and asked questioningly Lissy “ Ennu arkku enkkilum paisa  
1251 koduthamo?”.

1252  
1253 She said "Chicken karan vannarnu, 1200 rs kodathu"  
1254  
1255 "Enode chodichattu koduthaporarno" He asked in a rude way.  
1256  
1257 "Njan villichattu kittiyilla" she said and he checked his phone. There was a missed call.  
1258  
1259 He didn't say anything.  
1260  
1261 I looked outside and saw rakhi and akshay, there are from NID.  
1262 Rakhi asked "Dey, nee evide undayo?"  
1263 "Njan pinne evide alle, enikku eppo evide annu panni"  
1264 "Ethnography" I said smilingly.  
1265  
1266 I asked them what they want to eat.  
1267 "Enikku oru unnum meen curryum, akshay what you want?"  
1268 "Chicken [pause, feeling confused]" said akshay. He doesn't know malayalam.  
1269 "Paratha and chicken is fine?"  
1270 He showed a hand gesture.  
1271  
1272 I went inside kitchen and told biju, even aunty was there, I told him about the order. He started making chicken  
1273 fry. Even it is called chicken fry it is not chicken dry fry. What they were doing is take some chicken pieces  
1274 from chicken curry and put some onions and chillies into it, then heat it. Mean while I served water for them.  
1275 After that I took parathas and biju took unnu and meen curry. I couldn't carry everything so biju also came  
1276 with me to serve. Rakhi and akshay were laughing. Asked biju "Nagade kochine kondu nigal evide panni  
1277 eduppikuvale?"  
1278 Biju replied "Even evide enthakkilum panni undo ennu chodichu vannatha, nagal arum nirthithalla" [laughing].  
1279 Biju didn't know rakhi is from my college.  
1280  
1281 I sat in the dining area, even biju also sat with me. Usually he won't sit there if there are customers. We had  
1282 a conversation with rakhi lawrence chettan and me. Biju didn't talk anything he was listening.  
1283  
1284 Rakhi asked me "Nigallku sherikkum entha cheyande ethnography ke"  
1285 I replied "Kandille, ethupolle evide enkkilum okke poyi panni edukkanam" [laughing ]  
1286 "Agane alle nigade final deliverable etha?". Akshay was looking both of us and he was trying to understand  
1287 what were speaking. But we could only speak in malayalam, it will be awkward if we speak in english  
1288 there. There are listening to our conversation.  
1289 "Njan detail ayittu paryam, panni edutha mathram pora"  
1290 "Oru social group kandupdikkanam, avar samsarikkana basha sherikkum malassill avannam"  
1291 "Aa group ill at least randu pere choose cheythu, avar enthokke aa cheyanne, avar thammill ulla shared  
1292 patterns okke entha ennu manasill akkanam"

1293 “Evar work cheyumbo our dynamics okke kanille athu okke observe cheyanam”  
1294 “Final ayittu oru report undakkanm”  
1295 Lawrence chettan said “Kollallo nalla project.”  
1296 “Athinu nigal panni edukkanath enthiana, evide vanittu observe cheythu report undkkiyapore”  
1297 “Agane observe cheythittu karyam, evide ulla oru alle polle avanam allankki athu pure observation ayi  
1298 povum”  
1299 “Nagal oru participant ayittu observe cheyanam”  
1300  
1301 Some other customers came biju went inside the kitchen. They were lawrence’s friend and his wife. I guess  
1302 they are seeing after a long time. They asked for parcel.  
1303 Lawrence “ Biju, evide vanne ?”, ringing his table bell  
1304 “Entha anna?” came near kitchen door and asked.  
1305 “ Evarukku randu poth parcel edukke”  
1306 “Poth mathram mathiyo?”  
1307 “Poth matham pore?” he asked to the customers.  
1308 “Athu mathi, vettill elam erikkand” the lady said.  
1309  
1310 They were talking about some accident happened in that morning. The accident happened to a malayali  
1311 which both of them knew. While talking lawrence chettan talked about that he brought the room from Antony  
1312 bhai for 16 lakhs 4 year before. He said “Akkathekku othiri sthlam undu, 3, 4 muru undu”  
1313  
1314 During that conversation he also said that he need to renovate the hotel but some financial issues.  
1315  
1316 I became curious to know that story. I waited them to leave so that I can ask him about that.  
1317  
1318  
1319 When they left chechi came to lawrence chettan and said “ EE penumbulla ara ennu ariyuvu?, [pause]  
1320 Ee penumbulla annu palliyill kedannu pattu padan mic kodakilla ennu paranju adi undkkanath”  
1321  
1322 I asked him “ Evide aduthu palli evidaya”  
1323  
1324 Pointing his hand he said “evide apurathu oru palli unsd, avide nagal ponne”  
1325  
1326 I asked “Appo avide malayalikal mathram anno ullu”  
1327  
1328 “Alla, avide malayalikalum, thamillanmarum, pinne goan karum undu”  
1329  
1330 [silence]. I thought it was the best time to ask about his past.  
1331  
1332 “ Lawrence evide egane aa ethiye”  
1333

1334 “Njan 1979 vannath evide ethiyatha” he said.  
1335 “Ente kadha parayanakki 2 3 mannikur edumm” [we both laughing]  
1336 “4 classill padikumbol njan naddu vittatha”  
1337 “Annu direct train onnum illa, aarakkunam vare train ullu”  
1338 “Avida nnu bombay ke keranam pinne engottu”  
1339  
1340 “Appo gujarat ill varan karanam entha?” I asked  
1341 “Aremkkilum ariyavunnavar undarno?”  
1342  
1343 He didn't reply to that question.  
1344  
1345 “Annu aarakunnam vare vandi undayollu, avide piller piduthkar undarnu,”  
1346 “Avar enne pidichu kondupoyi canteen ill akki”  
1347 “Athute akkathu keru poya pinne avar vidilla, avide oro panni cheythu kodukkanam”  
1348 “Pinne avidannu oru parichaya karanne kitti, railway station ill vechu”  
1349  
1350 The cleaning lady came and the conversation got interrupted. She was newly appointed . She was asking for  
1351 increasing the wage. Her current wage is 100 rs per day. But Lawrence chettan was not going to increase  
1352 the wage. Even his tone got louder. He said that the lady is doing nothing and the utensils were also not  
1353 properly cleaned. Finally she agreed with him. He asked biju to give her some chicken curry.  
1354  
1355 Chechi turned off all the lights except cash counter and she left. I went to kitchen biju was transferring  
1356 everything to containers so that they could be kept in the fridge. There is a large fridge in the kitchen where  
1357 all the remaining food items are kept. That fridge door got damaged so one need to hold the door while  
1358 keeping those containers inside. Biju asked me to hold the door and he kept all the containers inside.  
1359  
1360 One customer came and asked for four parathas, lawrence chettan turned on the lights again. He asked him  
1361 does he needs and curry with that. He told he just need some gravy. Biju took 4 parathas and some chicken  
1362 curry gravy. He served it to him and as usual I served water. Since he took gravy from the top it was full oily.  
1363 After some time the customer complained about that to lawrence chettan. He called biju.  
1364  
1365 “Nee entha ee koduthekkane, ethu motham enna annlo?”  
1366 “Evide enna veruthe kittanathanno”[ He was shouting]  
1367  
1368 He asked him to remove the oil and bring it again. He also went with him to the kitchen. He was shouting at  
1369 him and biju was silent.  
1370  
1371 “Ethu ninakku kannan padille, edukkumbol nanayituu illaki eduthu kodukkanam”  
1372 Biju removed the excess oil from the cury and came back.  
1373

1374 The customer left, biju closed the back door and took his bike from back and came through front door.  
1375 Lawrence chettan took one bottle of charayam from his room. Charayam was kept in a water bottle. It was  
1376 half filled.  
1377  
1378 Lawrence asked them where is the cool drink which he kept in the fridge. Unni said that chechi drank that.  
1379 Unni said he will go and bring one cool drink.  
1380  
1381 Lawrence asked me "Ninakku enthilla vende?". I didn't asked him for a drink and he thought that I need a  
1382 drink. Maybe because I was waiting there. I was actually waiting because I need to observe them. I had never  
1383 tried charayam before.  
1384  
1385 I said "Njan pinne kazhichollam, bike odicha vannekkane, car ill varumbo kazhikkam"  
1386  
1387 "Ichiri taste cheythu nokkiko, kuzhappom onnum undavilla" he said  
1388  
1389 "Pinne irchiri adichu ennu orthu onnumsambavikkan ponilla" biju said confidently  
1390 "evide 4 5 um adichattu onnumavanilla, appola"  
1391  
1392 Lawrence chettan added "Ethu njan fruits okke medichu koduthu vattikkanath"  
1393 "20 yarsham ayittu parichayam ullavara annu"  
1394 "Super sadhnam annu"  
1395  
1396 "Nammede packetum enthu compare cheyan pattilla, ethu adippan annu" Biju said  
1397  
1398 Unni brought one glass bottle of pepsi.  
1399  
1400 Lawrence had mixed pepsi with charayam and gave it to me "Kazhichu nokke".  
1401 I had a sip and it was nice I had one more sip and gave it to him.  
1402  
1403 "etherm kazhichollo" he asked  
1404  
1405 "Bike odichu povan ullathalle, ethu mathi?" I replied  
1406  
1407 Lawrence drank 2 glasses and given one one glass to biju and unni. They mixed it with water and drank.  
1408 That bottle was over and he took one more bottle from the room. They all had one more round. Biju asked  
1409 for one more glass but lawrence chettan didn't gave.  
1410  
1411 Lawrence chettan knows that if he drinks more then he won't come next day and he said that to him.  
1412  
1413 Even there we can see the hierarchy. Lawrence having it with cool drink and others were having it with  
1414 water.

1415

1416 I thought I would leave, time was around 11:30 PM. I told lawrence and biju that I'm leaving.

1417

1418 I asked him "Enni lawrence chettan eppo varum?"

1419 "Njan ravile 5mmani ke varum"

1420 "Motor adikkanm, pinne ravile cheriya morning walk undu"

1421

1422 I left KFC.

1423

1424

1425

1426

1427

1428 **Participant Observation 6**

1429

1430 Date & Time: 10:30 AM to 12:30 PM | 12th April, Thursday

1431 Actors: Anand, Lawrence Chettan, Unni, Cook, Customers, Cleaning lady

1432 Place: Kerala Food Corner

1433 Time of Transcription: 3:56 PM

1434

1435 That day I wanted to reach at 9 AM, but I didn't woke up. Because during 9 to 11 both Lawrence chettan and  
1436 cook would be there for sure. After 11 Lawrence might not be there. There were no customers. I went inside  
1437 the kitchen. I was unni chettan peeling mangos, Biju was frying fish and I saw a new lady, she was washing  
1438 utensils. As I expected Lawrence chettan was not there.

1439 I asked biju "Lawrence chettan evidaya?"

1440 Biju said "purathu poyekkuva "

1441

1442 Unni suddenly said " biju'te nizhal kanda pulli povum"

1443

1444 Biju told me "Annan raville enne villicharnu"

1445 "Ennu njan kurachu vaikkarynu, Appolekkum enikku thonni, annan villikum ennu"

1446

1447 There was a lady in the kitchen, I'm seeing her for first time. She was washing the plates. I could hear the  
1448 sound of utensils hitting each other.

1449

1450 Unni said "Njan oru divsam vannillakilum kuzhapm illa, pakshe evan vannile avarkku pattilla"

1451 "Biju illathe divasam radanathitem montha onnu kannam"

1452 Even I noticed that, once I went there biju was not there. That time they were very busy and angry at him.  
1453 Because they need to cook everything.

1454

1455 "Njan adhyam vanna divasam biju chettan undayilla"

1456 "Easter kazhinju" I said.

1457 Unni said jokingly "Evanu aids pidichekkuvarnu"

1458 "Annu njanym annanumthannill oru cheriya issue undayi, atha onnu [pause thinking] alla randu divasam  
1459 varathe]". I remembered that he was not there for 2 days after easter.

1460

1461 Unni added " Nee ennale full vellathill arnu ennu njan annan ode paranjarnu"

1462 Unni looking at me and said" Evan innale full vellathill arnu, evidanu poyittu pinne kure kudichu" Pulli kallu  
1463 muthal thallavare vellam arnu ennu kaikondu kanichu thannu.

1464

1465 Biju said "veruthe alla ennu annan enne raville thanne villiche"

1466 "Eyal enthina athu annan ode paryan poyath, koppe"

1467

1468



1469 Biju looking at me and said” Njan sadarana edakku nanayittu adikkarollu, agane adicha pinne adutha divasm  
1470 varilla”  
1471  
1472 I asked smilingly “Appo nigal ennum adikkarundale?”  
1473 They both were smiling, unni biju”Athu illathe egane aa jeevikkane”  
1474  
1475 I asked”Nigal charayam alle adikkane, evide ellarum charyam adikkuvo?”  
1476 Biju said” Pinne evide full atha” showing his hand towards the colony.  
1477 “Ee annan nall apara annu, njan eviadnnu irangi kazhijal appo ente vettill villichu parayum”  
1478 “Appo pennumpullaku ariyallo njan eppo ethum, njan pathukke oru 5-6 okke adichattu povuvollu”  
1479 “Evidannu 11 ne erangiyalum 1 manni okke avum vettill ethan” biju said  
1480  
1481  
1482 Unni was sitting in a small stool and peeling potatoes, I was standing near him and biju came to us and said  
1483 “ Unni bhai parayuva urullakizhagu kuravannu, pulli ku randu kizhangu ille adthu eduthu arijidatte” Laughing,  
1484 both were laughing and I also laughed with them.  
1485  
1486 While both unni and biju are speaking they use lot of adult content if chechi is not there.  
1487  
1488 Unni bhai asked me “Vishu te annu evide kanille?”  
1489 “Pinne njan undavum” I replied  
1490 “Annu evide nalla panni ayirikkum, 2 manni vare panithattu njena ethakkilum vandiyude adiyill poyi  
1491 kedakkum, pinne arkkum enne kandupidikkan pattilalo” Unni said laughingly.  
1492 I also laughed.  
1493  
1494 Biju took one of the cooking utensils and said it is not properly washed. He shouted at the lady and asked to  
1495 wash it again properly. And he was laughing, even the lady was also smiling.  
1496  
1497 Avarude oppm involve avan avare polle thanne avide work cheyanam. Njan cheriya oro jolikal mathram annu  
1498 cheyarullu, athukondu njan paranju enikku evide ninnu nigade oppam panni cheythu padikkanam enittu  
1499 report undakknam. Athukond avar enikku kure panni tharan thudangi. EE plan work cheythu enna thonnane.  
1500 Eppol avar ellam parayand, njan avide undannu pollum alojikkannilla.  
1501  
1502 Biju asked me to cut onions for chicken curry, Onions were already peeled and kept in a basin. He asked me  
1503 to cut as nice as possible. I started cutting onions. He was watching at me and said if your are doing like this  
1504 it would take hours. He showed me how to cut, he was cutting so fastly. You could hear the rhythm of cutting.  
1505 When I was doing the sound was “tak tak”. It took me around 45 minutes to complete that.  
1506 Coal stove was near the cutting table and it door was open. While firing coal some of them cracked and hit  
1507 me. I suddenly changed the place. Biju saw that and closed the shutter. The coal stove was making a cracking  
1508 sound. He was frying fish in that stove.  
1509

1510 Unni said that cleaning lady that its 11 O'clock and still didn't finished washing. He asked her when is she  
1511 going to finish that.

1512

1513 I asked biju "Ethu puthiya all anno?"

1514 "Aa, Eppo aa vllima vanillalo, vallima ude molekku sugham illa"

1515 [she was singing some gujarati song]

1516 "Ethu backill ullatha, motham parayunath etha" biju said and showed me a hand gesture. I didn't understood  
1517 clearly what he was mentioning about. But I had some clues.

1518 They were always teasing her in malayalam.

1519

1520 Biju said that he also couldn't understand gujarati and if someone speak gujarati he will call unni bhai.

1521

1522 The cleaning lady said the water got over, biju turned on the motor. Unni was saying something, since he is  
1523 always drunk he even don't know what he was speaking. He narrated some incident which the cleaning lady  
1524 forget to clean one kinni[small vessel]. And they shouted at her.

1525

1526 We were talking about his family. The motor was turned ON, so it was very noisy inside the kitchen and  
1527 couldn't hear properly. He said that he had a restaurant near ONGC before and he got some issue with his  
1528 brother[cousin brother, but he was always mentioning him as brother]. The shop was owned by his brother  
1529 and he had to close that. There he had items like idli, vada, masala dosa, mysore dosa ect.. He and his wife  
1530 managed that shop. He also said that he couldn't manage that restaurant. But he didn't mention the issue  
1531 between his brother. Last time he said that he was looking after a plywood shop. He also said the his brother  
1532 is a big shot here he had many shops and his wife is having 3 schools. His kids are studying there in little  
1533 flower school, which belong to his brother. He said that it is a big school. He also said that all his relatives are  
1534 rich. "Njan mathram egane ayi poyi". He regrets for his current situation.

1535

1536 I asked "Athu entha agane paranje?"

1537

1538 "Onnumila" he said silence for some time.

1539

1540 "Njan ullathu okke nashipichu klanjittullu"

1541 "Ente kayll paisa irikkilla, enikku paisa kaikaryam cheyan arayilla"

1542 Biju said "Paisa illathe jeevichattu enthina"

1543

1544 After that he didn't tell anything. I told him " Athu eppo ente karyam um agane aa, achan kurachu paisa  
1545 ayachu tharum, 2 azhyicha nikkilla, pinne chodikkan pattuvo, pullikaran 2 masathekku onnum chodikkaruth  
1546 ennu paranja ayachuthanne". I told like that to make him comfortable.

1547

1548 "Appo nalla valliyum kudiyum ayirikkum alle" He was smiling.

1549

1550 "ey, agane onnum illa, chillavayi povum" I said

1551  
1552 After sometime I asked him “Biju chettan ne vere enthu okke panni ariyam?”  
1553  
1554 “Enikku akke ariyana panni ethu annu, athu alle njan evide pettu kidakkane”  
1555  
1556 “Appo hotel nirthiyittu loading unloading panni cheythille?”  
1557  
1558 “aa, athu sheriyaill, kurachu adi pidi scene ayi” he said  
1559  
1560 Many times he mentioned his mother. He father died when he was 5 year old. His mother brought up him.  
1561 Many times I felt he is speaking like that he is a loser. Mom used to say that “ ee kannan thadi mathram  
1562 ullu”  
1563  
1564 Unni said “ 10-15 kadda ulla alle annu, piller evide padikkanathu kondu mathram annu avan evide nikkane,  
1565 allanki avanu evide nikkanda vallakaryam undo?”. Many time I noticed they were exaggerating the numbers.  
1566 And those shpos belongs to his relative.  
1567 If he had these many shops why should he work there as a cook.  
1568  
1569 While the lady was washing, biju said unni “eyal vayill vechu kodukke” looking at her. She is not understanding  
1570 what they are speaking. Unni replied “poo mayre”. ‘Mayrre’ is very common word inside the kitchen. Even  
1571 Lawrence chettan uses this word.  
1572  
1573 Even unni kind of assistant to biju, he was not like that. Both were of same level, even their salaries are  
1574 different. Even lawrence treats them equally. Biju used to call him unni bhai, but lawrence calls him unni.  
1575  
1576 Biju narrated me the story of unni chettan. When Unni was working as a driver in ONGC and he got into a  
1577 relationship with a gujarati girl and then he flew to kerala with her. He stayed in kerala with her for 2-3  
1578 years and came back to Gujarat. He lost his job and everything in Gujarat. Even that lady left him due to  
1579 drinking. Biju said that the lady was from a good family. He lost everything and travelled to gulf in search of  
1580 job. But he couldn’t find anything there and came back to gujarat.  
1581 Biju paranju premam karanam jeevitham kondu poyi thullacha all annu eyal. Masam oru laksham rupa salary  
1582 kittanda all annu. Ee oru laksham karyam pulli kure thavana paranju. Enikku arayilla oru driver ne oru laksham  
1583 rupa salary kittuvo njan orthu. Evar enthakkilum pranjallum kuttiye parayu.  
1584  
1585 After biju narrating the story unni said “Njan jeevithathill othiri kallichum sugichum nadanattund , athinte okke  
1586 annu eppo anubhavikkane”  
1587  
1588 Lawrence chettan evide vannu tyre panni okke cheythukondu erunappo unni chettan ne nalla joli undarnu,  
1589 eppo nokkiye. Pulli lawrence te kadayille oru cheriya staff mathram.  
1590

1591 The lady said her hand got hurt with the fish bones. She showed that to Biju chettan. He said that you need  
1592 to take operation for that. He was laughing.  
1593  
1594 We talked about the availability of charayam in that place. He said that everyday after duty he would have 5-  
1595 6 packets of charayam. One packet of charayam cost 20 rs. When we were talking about charayam unni  
1596 chettan wants to have it. He said he would go and buy now. I noticed the change in unni face when we  
1597 mentioned charayam. He desperately need it. And biju scolded him for that and said we would go after 4.  
1598 He asked me "4 mannik e ente oppam pore, namakku radannam adikkam".  
1599 I said "ennu venda vere oru divsam pokkam"  
1600  
1601 Biju added "Enikku eppo kazhikkanthe irikkanam ennu vecha pattum 3-4 divasam okke kazhikkathe irikkan  
1602 pattum. But kazhikknam ennu thonniyal pidichal kittulla.  
1603  
1604 The cleaning lady asked unni where is the brush, he said he don't know and only chechi knows it. Biju said  
1605 "Unni bhai, eyalde mayrre eduthu kodukke"  
1606 After being there for these many days, that day only I found them talking like that. Maybe because lawrence  
1607 chettan was not there.  
1608  
1609 Unni couldn't resist, he puts a shirt and asked biju 40 rs and tried putting hands in this pants pocket. Biju said  
1610 "ente kayill illa paisa". Somehow he managed to make 20 rs and he left.  
1611  
1612 Soon after he left Lawrence chettan came. The first question he asked was "Unni evide?"  
1613 Biju said "Unni bhai eppo poye ullu, annan vannenu thottu munbu" He was trying to convince him.  
1614  
1615 I heard the sound for water flowing. I thought the tap would be open and I checked at the tap, but it was not.  
1616 I couldn't find the source after few time I saw the tank leaking. There was a small hole in the tank from where  
1617 water was leaking.  
1618  
1619 Biju had asked me to stir the onions for chicken curry. He asked me to stir every 5 minutes. So every 5  
1620 minutes I went there and stirred it.  
1621  
1622 Now he involving me in very activities. I was like a assistant for him. I did everything he asked for.  
1623  
1624 Lawrence chettan came after some time. He went to wash room directly. From there he was asking the dates  
1625 for vishu. He Thought that that day was friday. I knew it was thursday and to confirm i checked my mobile  
1626 and said it was thursday and vishu is on sunday.  
1627  
1628 He came out from the wash room and asked biju everything is ready. Biju said everything was ready. That  
1629 day i saw them having a good conversation. Both were happy.  
1630  
1631 Lawrence told me "Vishu ne evide gambhira sadhya undu, friends onde okke ellam paranjere"

1632  
1633 "Pinne, njan paranjattund", They had already told me about that.  
1634 "Njan adhyam ayitta vishu ayittu nattill illathe irikkane" i said  
1635  
1636 "Engottu pore ethavana vishu evide agoshikkam" lawrence said  
1637  
1638 "Oru 100 customer enkkilum kannum" said biju  
1639  
1640 Biju said " Namkku oru vallikka okke eduthu vechu unni bhai ne kanni kannam " He was laughing loud.  
1641  
1642 "Rathi ayittu vanna mathi, annu full night panni undavum" Biju said.  
1643  
1644 They started liking my presence there.  
1645  
1646  
1647  
1648  
1649  
1650  
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1673 **Participant Observation 7**

1674

1675 Date & Time: 11:00 AM to 1:00 PM | 14th April, Saturday

1676 Actors: Anand, Lawrence Chettan, Unni, Cook, Customers

1677 Place: Kerala Food Corner

1678 Time of Transcription: 6:56 PM

1679

1680 I reached KFC around 11 and as usual the sun was bright and roads were dusty, but now I used to it. I was  
1681 only thinking about how to finish ethnography. Now I can predict what is happening inside the kitchen. I saw  
1682 lawrence chettan scooter keys. I went inside the kitchen. Unni was peeling onions, biju was frying fish,  
1683 Lawrence chettan was preparing curry. I didn't understand what he was preparing, because he never used  
1684 to cook anything when biju is there. I was looking curious so he asked me.

1685 "Ethu enthanu ariyuvu?"

1686 I said "manassil ayillalo"

1687 "Ethu entha kadalla polle undu"

1688 Lawrence laughed

1689

1690 He said "Aachar annu, vishnu ne special"

1691 Unni was near me he said "Lallolickka....."

1692 "Nellikka pollathe sadhnam annu"

1693

1694 The next day was vishu, that aachar was prepared as vishu special. That day they need to start preparing  
1695 for making vishu sadhya. They had told me earlier about that. They asked me to come in night, because at  
1696 night there are lot of work. They were considering me as one of the worker there. Lawrence chettan said that  
1697 I could stay in the room if needed. They liked my presence there.

1698

1699 That day everyone was more busy. You can feel the energy and laziness by observing the sounds of  
1700 footsteps in kitchen. Usually in the morning everyone will be busy inside the kitchen and evening everyone  
1701 will be lazy inside the kitchen.

1702

1703 Unni bhai was still peeling onions, biju asked him to cut the the onions, but he was not listening. Multiple  
1704 things are working parallely in the kitchen. Everyone should work on time, otherwise everything will get  
1705 messed up.

1706 After sometime Lawrence told unni "Unni bhai polyi ullu aringe" in a commanding sound. After few minutes  
1707 he took all the onions and started cutting. Usually when I'm there I used to cut onions. Since they are running  
1708 out of time there didn't asked to to do that.

1709 Unni bhai asked me time, I told him it was around 11:15. One guy came with chicken and handed it over to  
1710 lawrence. They did even had a conversation. Lawrence chettan started cutting chicken. He asked me to take  
1711 some beef kept in a plastic cover inside the fridge. I did that. While taking the beef some fish kept in a plate  
1712 in the fridge got slipped and got outside the plate. I took that and kept it back.

1713

1714 At the bottom of the fridge there were some water and it was not clean. I never saw them cleaning the fridge.  
1715 Day by day after working inside the kitchen I started disliking the food there. Nothing is clean there. Maybe  
1716 every hotel will be like that only.

1717  
1718 Lawrence chettan told me that he brought fish from fish market, otherwise they won't get fresh ones. Everyday  
1719 morning he will go to market to buy fish. In between he was asking biju whether biryani rice is ready. It was  
1720 ready and he replied yes. Everytime when lawrence ask him about something, in most case it would be ready.  
1721 The cook and lawrence don't talk much. I never heard them talking personal stuff. They only talked about the  
1722 work in kitchen, like whether its done or not, buying things to kitchen. But biju used to have personal  
1723 conversation chechi, unni and even me. Maybe there will be some hierarchy in kitchen.

1724  
1725 The hierarchy is like this lawrence is the most powerful then comes his wife, then comes cook, unni and  
1726 cleaning lady. There is no much difference between unni and biju. My position in the group will be above unni  
1727 and below biju.

1728  
1729 Lawrence asked biju to take prawns from fridge and he started cleaning that. Lawrence would be always  
1730 doing these kinds of job. When biju is there he never cooks, if biju is there.

1731  
1732 During weekends there will be some special items like prawns, crabs etc..

1733  
1734 I saw unni bhai having pass pass.

1735  
1736 That day I was observing everything, I thought if I do some work then I won't get time to observe them. They  
1737 were asking me to do small tasks. By the time I got familiar with the kitchen and where the things are  
1738 kept.

1739  
1740 Lawrence after dressing fish he took some chicken and started cutting. The chickens where already in pieces,  
1741 he was taking some pieces and cutting it to half, so that he will get more pieces. Lawrence was always trying  
1742 to increase the profit as much as he can.

1743  
1744 That day all stoves were occupied I and the coal stove was replaced by a gas stove. They had started  
1745 preparing for vishu sadhya. The coal stove was kept side in the path. I heard the sound of pressure cooker.

1746  
1747 One of the gas cylinder got over, biju asked me to help him changing the cylinder. Meanwhile lawrence was  
1748 scolding him for changing cylinder that time. I was wondering who could biju know it earlier and we could  
1749 only change cylinder only when it gets over.

1750 Everyone was busy working. Since it was saturday and next day was vishu they had a lot of work. They  
1751 asked me to come at night. They said me that you can learn a lot at that vishu night. They liked my presence  
1752 and for them i'm a helping hand.

1753

1754 There was no stock room, only few items like rice, maida were kept in sacks near the paratha making table.  
1755 They usually buy everything from outside when they needs it. There are two grocery shops outside the shop.  
1756 Unni usually goes to buy these items.  
1757  
1758 The water cooler lid was open, I went near and had a look at that, I noticed the sound of cooler. It was not  
1759 cleaned. There were some yellow particles inside the cooler. I also noticed that there was no water connection  
1760 for that cooler. Usually Unni used to fill the water. That day Lawrence was cleaning fish near the washing  
1761 area. Unni took water from bathroom tap to fill the cooler. That was shocking for me. After I never drank water  
1762 from KFC.  
1763  
1764 One customer came and asked me “Unnu Kittuvo?” . He was confused because there was no one sitting in  
1765 the dining area.  
1766  
1767 I asked biju chettan “Customer vanittund, unnu chodikkunnu”.  
1768  
1769 He said me “Pulliode oru 5 min erikkan para”  
1770  
1771 I went outside the kitchen and said “Chetta, oru 5 min wait cheyanne, curry ellam avunne ullu”  
1772 Usually by 11:30 unnu would be ready. Due to parallel working for vishu sadhya, it got delayed.  
1773  
1774 Unni after finishing the job inside kitchen, started cleaning the tables. All tables were dusty due to the  
1775 construction of metro. Lawrence once told that the metro construction barriers will be removed in two months.  
1776 Or else he will change that. Metro construction was making lot of troubles form them.  
1777  
1778 Lawrence was shouting at biju “ Nigal entha ee cheyanne, ethu vare entha onnum thayarvathe?”  
1779 “ Customer vannu nikkvalle, nigal enthu mayru annu kanikkane?”  
1780  
1781 Biju didn’t replied “ Moru curry mathram avathe ullu, bhakki ellam ayi”  
1782  
1783 Biju told me “ Moru ozhichu bhakki ella undu, ethu kondu poyi kodukke, moru ippo tharam ennu para”  
1784  
1785 I took that plate and went to dining area and served it and told him “Moru ippo konduvaram”, then I turned on  
1786 the fan. After that I served him water.  
1787  
1788 Unni was putting his shirt, biju teased him “ steel body alle, arekkilum kanda nokkukitti povum”. In kitchen  
1789 unni won’t wear shirt, only while going outside he used to wear his shirt.  
1790 I thought he was going to but charayam, but he came back soon. He was having some chicken masala  
1791 packet. Lawrence must have asked him to buy that. I must had missed that conversation.  
1792  
1793 Lawrence was still dressing fish, usually he would finish cutting and cleaning fish in the morning. Lawrence  
1794 had given me a packet of fish and asked me to keep that in fridge. That was for his home. They usually won’t



1795 take food from hotel. They cook in their home. Lissy chechi will make the breakfast in the morning and his  
1796 elder daughter also cooks. If her daughter is having exam, then they will take food from hotel.

1797  
1798 The motor was on, the vibrating sound of motor added with the sound of fridge and water cooler made it  
1799 difficult to hear conversation inside the kitchen.

1800  
1801 Lawrence chettan asked me to turn off the motor. I became familiar with everything in kitchen and I know  
1802 where things are kept. Biju asked me to put 'thavi' on top of everything. Thavi for all curry are different. I knew  
1803 which thavi should I use.

1804  
1805 Then four college students came, I went to take order, they asked me to take two unnu and two biryani, but  
1806 biryani was not ready. I told them that. So they asked to take full meals. [full meal includes fish curry and fish  
1807 fry]. I went back to kitchen and told biju the order.

1808  
1809 Then I went to serve water and they asked me to change two meals to biryani and asked me whether they  
1810 will get cool drinks. I told them we only had this, showing the jug in my hand. But I went back to kitchen and  
1811 told them those students are asking for cool drinks. Biju told unni to ask them what they want and buy that  
1812 and they are regular customers. Lawrence ordered biju to finish it soon and "Ucha ayittum hotel food  
1813 ayittillankki, enthina nigale okke pannik nirthiyekkanne", he was still dressing fishing. Unni went outside and  
1814 brought some sambaram and served it to them.

1815  
1816 Biryani was ready, there salad was not ready. I saw biju adding some liquid in biriyani. I asked him about that  
1817 and he said it was essence. I checked those bottles. It was pineapple essence. Biju asked me to serve the  
1818 food. I served that and told them salad will be served soon. Unni again went outside to buy thaire for salad  
1819 and made the salad. I chopped onions for salad. Biju mixed everything and forget to serve that. Lawrence  
1820 job got over and he went outside the kitchen. Those students asked him salad. Lawrence was angry that  
1821 day, he came to kitchen and asked in a loud voice "Enthu entha salad ethu vare ayille". Biju then only  
1822 remembered about that. He ran to the place where salad was kept and went to serve them.

1823  
1824 Lawrence was stouting "Nigal enthu mairu annu kanikkanne".

1825  
1826 I was standing in the passage and unni came i didn't saw him, he asked me irritatedly "Onnu mari nikkumo?,  
1827 evide odikkondu nikkuva". I felt very bad. This is the first time they are scolding me for some reason. That  
1828 day every one was angry. I don't know something something happened in the morning. Maybe biju got late  
1829 that day and that made delay in preparation of foods.

1830  
1831 Biju replied "Thairu undayilla, unni bhai eppo poyi vangi ullu" with frustration. That frustration could be seen  
1832 on his actions, while taking utensils and putting it hard which were making loud noise.

1833  
1834 Lawrence chettan said "ellam konachu kondu nadakkuvalle"  
1835 "Evide onnum nadakanillalo"

1836  
1837 Lawrence was shouting at him and biju said " Enikku ellam kudi cheyan pattillato"  
1838 " njan enni customer ne nokkillato"  
1839  
1840 Lawrence got a call, he took that. It was regarding the opening of hotel, he said the hotel is open from 11:30  
1841 in morning to 10:30 at night. He was speaking in hindi, So the customer must be a non malayali. I noticed  
1842 him saying "Pure south indian thali, non vegetarian items...."  
1843  
1844 Lawrence was shouting again " Ethu ara ethu evide vechekkane, kazhukkan all varumbol onnum kanilla"  
1845 throwing some plates to washing counter.  
1846  
1847 When unni was transferring the moru some of it got spilled. Lawrence chettan asked " Ethu entha evide virthi  
1848 keduayittu kedakkane?" "Nee ethu ellam virthiyakkittu panitha mathi"  
1849 "Ethu okke virthikedu akkittu mayru panni edukkuva, mayru panikkarana"  
1850  
1851 Biju didn't replied anything.  
1852  
1853 "Pani cheyuvannel virthiyayittu cheytha mathi"  
1854  
1855 "Annan parayana ketta ethu ellam cheythathannu, unni bhai ode chodikke"  
1856 "Enne mathram entha cheetha parayane" biju said.  
1857  
1858 Both were arguing each other. I moved away from there.  
1859  
1860 "Annan chumma avshyam illathe thammithallu kudalle"  
1861  
1862 "Ninte samsaram enikku manassil avand, ninte montha kutti njan adichu pottikum" lawrence said  
1863  
1864 "8 manniku vannu panni thudangiyatha oru mayrum undayilla evide" He said throwing some plates.  
1865 Then I understood why he was shouting. The noise of plates hitting each other was very loud. Everyone was  
1866 looking towards the kitchen.  
1867  
1868 "Njan 8 mannike vannathalle,annan thurakkathathu ente kuzhappam anno?" biju asked.  
1869 "Ninakku kurachu neran nikkan pattille, njan appo thanne vanarnu"  
1870  
1871 One of the students who were having food came to kitchen and asked for a unnu parcel. Lawrence reduced  
1872 sound seeing that boy and he was smiling. In front of customers he is always smiling.  
1873  
1874 He asked biju to take the parcel.  
1875  
1876 "Veduppum virthi illathe oru sadhnam nee kodukkanda evide"

1877 "Ethu oru hotel annu"  
1878 "Nite okke vettill enthu vennakkilum cheytho"  
1879  
1880 Lawrence was using lots of offensive words.  
1881  
1882 After some time biju said " Anna othikki parukki vannathe ullu...."  
1883  
1884 Lawrence interrupted his conversation. "Nee oru othukki parakkum cheyand"  
1885 "Arekkilum keru vannal ethu oru hotel alle"  
1886 "Evidathe bathroom ne ethinum virthi undu"  
1887 "Oru customer vannu nokiya ente mannam povullo"  
1888  
1889 Biju was looking sharply at lawrence . Lawrence chettan said " Nee enne thuruchu nokkuvonnum venda"  
1890  
1891 "Nee kannuritti kanikku onnum venda, enikku manssil avand ellam"  
1892 "Ninakku pattilankki vettill pokko"  
1893  
1894 After some time lawrence left. Biju was talking to me.  
1895 "Ethilum bedham thedan povanathu annu"  
1896 "Njan eavile vannatha, pulli evide undayilla, appo njan poyittu kurachu kazhinju vannu"  
1897  
1898 Biju doesn't like to stay there. He got a job in a gujarati restaurant. But the salary was not good and they have  
1899 strict timings. The reasons for him to stay there are money and flexibility. He also don't know gujarati.  
1900  
1901 I didn't reply anything and I thought I will leave.  
1902 I left KFC  
1903  
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- 1918 Additional notes from incomplete PO
- 1919
- 1920 When I asked biju about his marriage, he said " Njan ente mura pennine aa kalayalam kazhiche"
- 1921 "Kure pennukandu nadannu onnum angu set avandayilla"
- 1922 "Annu prithekkichu panni onnum undavathond pennu kittandayilla"
- 1923 "oru divasam njan amma de aduthu poyi paranju, nammak nammade maman te mole nokkiyalo?"
- 1924 "Pitte divasam chechimar ellam vannu chodichu, nee karyam ayittu thanne paranjathanno"
- 1925 "enittu nagal ellarum poyi maman aduthu paranju, agane avale ketti"
- 1926
- 1927
- 1928 Biju once left KFC due to some issues and thought that he wont be going there again, but he couldn't find a
- 1929 new job and after some days lawrence called him and said "ninakku vennaki thirichu varam"
- 1930 "Enikku ariyam njan illathe avarkkum avide kolla panni ayirikkum"
- 1931 "Pinne njan poyi"
- 1932
- 1933
- 1934 At night before vishu, they wanted some special drinks for over night duty. Lawrence chettan gave unni 100
- 1935 rs and said that he will cut it from both of their account and thay didn't allow that. Some arguments had
- 1936 happened and finally lawrence said that he wont cut it from their salaries
- 1937
- 1938
- 1939 Lawrence said "Ninakku ennu pakkuthi cash ullu"
- 1940
- 1941 I dropped him(Lawrence chettan younger son) Near his school school gate. That was a big school.
- 1942
- 1943 Lawrence said "Makkalke ellam prayam ayi varuva, avare kettikkan ulla paisa undakkanam"
- 1944
- 1945 Lawrence took some money from pocket and he was counting that. There were four hundred notes and gave
- 1946 it to Biju. Biju also counted the notes again.
- 1947
- 1948 Biju said "Anna vellichanna therarayi", looking at the container in which coconut oil is kept.
- 1949
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1959 **Categories**

1960

1961

1962       ▪ MAANAM

1963

1964       ▪ CHOODU

1965

1966       ▪ KAZHIVU

1967

1968       ▪ PAISA

1969

1970       ▪ AAGRAHAM

1971

1972       ▪ HIERARCHY/DOMINANCE

1973

1974       ▪ CHARAYAM

1975

1976

1977

1978

1979 MAANAM

1980 -How they are being judged in the society

1981 -Idea of being a man of them

1982 -Things which make them fear

1983 -maintaining their social image

1984

1985

1986 (Line 1534)

1987 Biju said "Paisa illathe jeevichattu enthina"

1988

1989 (Line 636)

1990 Lawrence chettan " Njan Pinne nattill chellane 8 varsaham kazhinja "

1991 "Avide motham maripoyi road okke valluthayi enikku vettill ekku ulla vazhi onnum manassill avanilla"

1992 "Evide panni eduthu kurachu paisa okke undakkiyatta ponne, "

1993 "Shirtum pantum okke ettu"[ He was laughing]

1994 "Vettill ethi, ellarkkum appo valiya karyam arnu"

1995

1996 (Line 1885)

1997 "Arekkilum keru vannal ethu oru hotel alle"

1998 "Evidathe bathroom ne ethinum virthi undu"

1999 "Oru customer vannu nokiya ente maanam povullo"

2000

2001 (Line 653)  
2002 Even though I didn't asked about the call he said "Kurachu shtlam medikkan nokkand, nadakkuvo ennu  
2003 arayilla"  
2004 "Eppo thamasikkane sthlam oru sugham illa".  
2005  
2006 (Line 1312)  
2007 lawrence chettan talked about he brought the room from Antony bhai for 16 lakhs 4 year before. He said  
2008 "Akkathekku othiri sthlam undu, 3, 4 muru undu"  
2009 During that conversation he also said that he need to renovate the hotel but some financial issues.  
2010  
2011 (Line 581)  
2012 I asked him "Njan eppo vanallum nigal nalla thirakkill aayirikkum, nigal rest onnum edukkile?"  
2013 Lawrence chettan said " ee thozhil oru panna thozhill annu"  
2014 Unni chettan replaied "10 tyre panniyathum oru choru vekkanathum thulayam annu"  
2015  
2016 (Line 1895)  
2017 "Ethilum bedham thedan povanathu annu" Biju said  
2018  
2019 (Line 1532)  
2020 His[biju] kids are studying there in little flower school, which belong to his brother. He said that it is a big  
2021 school.He also said that all his relatives are rich. "Njan mathram egane ayi poyi". He regrets for his current  
2022 situation.  
2023  
2024 (Line 207)  
2025 They[Lawrence & wife] have 3 children - 2 daughters and a son. The elder daughter is in her final year in  
2026 B.Com and wishes to do an MBA afterwards. The younger daughter is in the 12 standard, and suffers from  
2027 certain growth issues as she was born premature - a matter of serious concern for Lawrence chettan. The  
2028 youngest son has just completed his 10th std and is awaiting the result. The children are rarely seen in the  
2029 hotel - the son had come over during Vishu. Lawrence chettan wants his children to study well, get good jobs  
2030 and not be like him.  
2031  
2032 (Line 614)  
2033 His children used to book flight ticket early so they get it cheaper.  
2034  
2035 (Line 1250)  
2036 Lawrence was counting money in cash counter and asked questioningly Lissy " Ennu arkku enkkilum paisa  
2037 kodutharno?".  
2038 She said "Chicken karan vannarnu, 1200 rs kodathu"  
2039 "Enode chodichattu koduthaporarno" He asked in a rude way.  
2040 "Njan villichattu kittiyilla" she said and he checked his phone. There was a missed call.  
2041 He didn't say anything.

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(Line 1868)

“Njan 8 mannikke vannathalle,annan thurakkathathu ente kuzhappam anno?” biju asked.

“Ninakku kurachu neran nikkan pattille”

(Line 1871)

One of the students who were having food came to kitchen and asked for a unnu parcel. Lawrence reduced sound seeing that boy and he was smiling. In front of customers he will be always smiling.

(Line 2088)

Chechi was talking about unni chettan, that he was drunk and made some issues in the morning.

“Othiri virthi kedukkal paranju pulli”

“Enikku athu okke kettappo tholli uringu poyi”

“Annan avide undayirunel, unni bhai de montha adichu pollichene “

(Line 720)

“Ethill kashta paddu mathram ullu” he said.

He wanted to have a factory like Antony had, but it needs lots of money and he didn't had. He also never wants his childrens to come into hotel business.

(Line 866)

“Kazhija janmathill entho papam cheythathu kondu njan evide ethi”

(Line 623)

He replied “Enikku nattill patilla”

(Line 674 )

Sometimes biju used to call him “edo unni nair ee”

(Line 680)

Lawrence said “ evide othiri malayalikal undu, Tyre nte pannike lokham motham malayalikal matharm ullu”

“Pinne, eppo kurachu bihari kal tyre panni thudangiyattund”

“Malayalikal kranju thudangi”

(Line 829)

Everytime when I asked about the job they were not interested. All of them didn't like the job they were doing, only thing they need is the money to support their family.

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(Line 921)

I saw the rat inside the dough mixer. I wanted to do something, but I didn't do anything and pretended to be normal. After sometime the rat escaped from there. After that I confirmed I won't be eating porotha from their in the future. The place is very unhygienic.

(Line 921)

Chechi gave some money to them. Chechi tried calling Lawrence, but he was not picking up the phone.

(Line 1365)

"Nee entha ee koduthekkane, ethu motham enna annlo?"

"Evide enna veruthe kattanathanno"[ He was shouting]

(Line 707)

"Kandavante pathram kazhikki maduthu" He add after some time.

(Line 1569)

While the lady was washing, Biju said unni "eyal vayill vechu kodukke" looking at her. She is not understanding what they are speaking. Unni replied "poo mayre". 'Mayrre' is very common word inside the kitchen. Even Lawrence chettan uses this word.

(Line 1776)

Lawrence was shouting at Biju "Nigal entha ee cheyanne, ethu vare entha onnum thayarvathe?"

"Customer vannu nikkvalle, nigal enthu mayru annu kanikkane?"

(Line 2123)

Chechi was discussing something about salary with Biju chettan, their tone were not so good. Both were arguing each other.

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'Maanam'

For Lawrence chettan and Biju, 'Maanam' is all about their status in the society, which is closely tied to standard of living and hence, money. Neither of them like this job and are forcing themselves to continue purely for a livelihood. They do not want their children to follow them, and try their best to ensure that they have access to best quality of education and life as possible - sending them to good English medium schools in the city, and choosing flights over trains whenever they travel long distances. It may be because they don't want them to follow their paths that they rarely encourage the children to even come to the hotel. Their aspirations of life revolve solely around money and they strive to ensure that the next generation is raised in conditions that could potentially provide them a better standard of living. They even aspire to move to a better residential area, from the dalit-majority community that they now live in.

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2126 CHOODE

2127

2128 It is having multiple dimensions

2129 -The heat inside kitchen

2130 -Heat inside them

2131 -Heating food from fridge

2132

2133 (Line 912 )

2134 Porothas were yesterday's, need to heat it and even the poth was in freezer. He heated both and gave it to  
2135 me.

2136

2137 (Line 1895)

2138 "Ethilum bedham thedan povanathu annu" Biju said

2139

2140 (Line 925)

2141 Chechi was discussing something about salary with Biju chettan, their tone were not so good. Both were  
2142 arguing each other. So I stayed away from their conversation. For the last few days the cook was not there  
2143 and Lawrence chettan and chechi need to manage everything. She must be showing her frustrations.

2144

2145

2146 (Line 1040)

2147 Then Biju chettan said that it really hot there and he was drinking lots of water. And he don't want to do  
2148 anything.

2149

2150 (Line 1060)

2151 "Avide town ke okke nalla choode aa, ente bhagathu coode illa"

2152 "Beachum theeradesham annu, kadalum kayalilum nadukkan"

2153

2154 (Line 115)

2155 He said "ravile ellam undkki vekkum , rathiri distribution mathram ullu"

2156 "Krachu ullu okke aringittu choode akki kodukkum, atherm ullu"

2157 They will prepare everything in the morning and night they will distribute it. The main sales in during night.

2158 They don't serve breakfast. They will start the service from 11:30 am with lunch, till 10:30 the shop is open.

2159 There are only very few varieties of food.

2160

2161 (Line 1134 )

2162 He then sat in a chair under one fan. He also mentioned the heat inside the kitchen. Whenever there is no  
2163 customer is there and if he is free then will will go to the dining area and sit under the fan.

2164

2165 (Line 1208 )

2166 I asked biju chettan "Rathiri adikkam panni ellale?"

2167 "Rathiri distribution mathram ullu "  
2168 "Kurachu ulli okke arrijittu choodakki kodukkum"  
2169  
2170  
2171 (Line 1355 )  
2172 I went to kitchen biju was transferring everything to containers so that they could be kept in the fridge. There  
2173 is a large fridge in the kitchen where all the remaining food items are kept.  
2174  
2175 (Line 1822)  
2176 Lawrence was angry that day, he came to kitchen and asked in a loud voice " Enthu entha salad ethu vare  
2177 ayille" . Biju then only remembered about that. He ran to the place where salad was kept and went to serve  
2178 them.  
2179 Lawrence was stouting " Nigal enthu mairu annu kanikkanne".  
2180  
2181 (Line 1826)  
2182 I was standing in the passage and unni came i didn't saw him, he asked me irritatedly " Onnu mari nikkumo?,  
2183 evide odikkondu nikkuva". I felt very bad. This is the first time they are scolding me for some reason. That  
2184 day every one was angry. I don't know something something happened in the morning. Maybe biju got late  
2185 that day and that made delay in preparation of foods.  
2186  
2187 (Line 1831)  
2188 Biju replied " Thairu undayilla, unni bhai eppo poyi vangi ullu" with frustration. That frustration could be seen  
2189 on his actions, while taking utensils and putting it hard which were making loud noise  
2190  
2191 (Line 1840)  
2192 Lawrence was shouting at him and biju said " Enikku ellam kudi cheyan pattillato"  
2193 " njan enni customer ne nokkillato"  
2194  
2195 -----  
2196 'Choodu'  
2197  
2198 'Choodu' is an aspect of the hotel that has multiple connotations in their day to day life. It symbolises the heat  
2199 inside the kitchen, the food that is heated before being served, and the heat inside the members in the social  
2200 group arising out of their frustration and struggle in life.  
2201 'Choodu' also refers to the heated arguments between Lawrence chettan and Biju, which keeps surfacing  
2202 every now and then - tiffs and issues in day to day life in the hotel to Lawrence chettan's disapproval of Biju's  
2203 drinking habits, though he doesn't discourage it himself. In the hotel, food is only cooked once a day, and for  
2204 the rest of the day, the only process that runs in the kitchen is the heating - thus 'choodu', meaning 'heat'.  
2205  
2206 -----  
2207  
2208

2209 KAZHIVU

2210 -literally means their capabilities and in capeabilities

2211 -how others see them as capable

2212 -what is their idea od success

2213 -how it affecting their social life

2214

2215 (Line 625)

2216 Unni said "45 varsham ayittu njan kannuva enikku thanne 62 vayasayi"

2217 "Ee kannanath motham pulli thanne kashttapettu undakkiyatha" [Lawrence chettan feeling proud]

2218

2219 (Line 1540)

2220 "Njan ullathu okke nashipichu klanjittullu"

2221 "Ente kayll paisa irikkilla, enikku paisa kaikaryam cheyan arayilla"

2222 Biju said "Paisa illathe jeevichattu enthina"

2223

2224 (Line 638)

2225 "Evide panni eduthu kurachu paisa okke undakkiyatta ponne, "

2226 "Shirtum pantum okke ettu"[ He was laughing]

2227 "Vettill ethi, ellarkkum appo valiya karyam arnu"

2228

2229 (Line 1898)

2230 Biju doesn't like to stay there. He got a job in a gujarati restaurant. But the salary was not good and they have

2231 strict timings. The reasons form him to stay there are money and flexibility. He also don't know gujarati.

2232

2233

2234 (Line 2051)

2235 He also said that all his relatives are rich. "Njan mathram egane ayi poyi". He regrets for his current situation.

2236

2237 (Line 1554)

2238 "Enikku akke ariyana panni ethu annu, athu alle njan evide pettu kidakkane"

2239

2240

2241 (Line 1920)

2242 When I asked biju about his marriage, he said " Njan ente mura pennine aa kalayalam kazhiche"

2243 "Kure pennukandu nadannu onnum angu set avandayilla"

2244 "Annu prithekkichu panni onnum undavathond pennu kittandayilla"

2245 "oru divasam njan amma de aduthu poyi paranju, nammak nammade maman te mole nokkiyalo?"

2246 "Pitte divasam chechimar ellam vannu chodichu, nee karyam ayittu thanne paranjathanno"

2247 "enittu nagal ellarum poyi maman aduthu paranju, agane avale ketti"

2248

2249

2250 (Line 1520)  
2251 Biju said that he also couldn't understand gujarati and if someone speak gujarati he will call unni bhai.

2252  
2253

2254 (Line 1560)  
2255 Many times he mentioned his mother. He father died when he was 5 year old. His mother brought up him.  
2256 Many times I felt that he is speaking like that he is a loser. His Mom used to say that "ee kannan thadi  
2257 mathram ullu"

2258  
2259 (Line 1588)

2260 Lawrence chettan evide vannu tyre panni okke cheythukondu erunappo unni chettan ne nalla joli undarnu,  
2261 eppo nokkiye. Pulli lawrence te kadayille oru cheriya staff mathram.

2262  
2263 (Line 1776)

2264 Lawrence was shouting at biju " Nigal entha ee cheyanne, ethu vare entha onnum thayaravathe?"  
2265 " Customer vannu nikkvalle, nigal enthu mayru annu kanikkane?"

2266  
2267 -----

2268  
2269 Kazhivu

2270  
2271 Kazhivu' refers to a man's potential (to succeed) in life, and is thus an indirect measure of how much money  
2272 you could make. Being recognised as someone with 'kzhivu' is a guarantee that you'd be respected in the  
2273 society. In this social group where there are clearly defined work level hierarchies, the measure of one's  
2274 'kzhivu' directly translates to their ability to command to others working for him. 'Kzhivu' or potential is one  
2275 of those criteria that the society uses to judge people - and being labelled as a 'kzhivu kettavan' would mean  
2276 that one might even find it very hard to get a match for marriage, an insult to male identity.

2277  
2278 -----

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2284 PAISA  
2285  
2286 (Line 1250)  
2287 Lawrence was counting money in cash counter and asked questioningly Lissy “ Ennu arkkum enkkilum paisa  
2288 koduthamo?”.  
2289  
2290 She said “Chicken karan vannaru, 1200 rs kodathu”  
2291  
2292 “Enode chodichattu koduthaparano” He asked in a rude way.  
2293  
2294 (Line 695 )  
2295  
2296 He said “Minjannu easter allanu, annu 250 appam okke undakkanaru, annu night full panni undayi”  
2297 “Thirakkum karyangal okke undayi”  
2298 “Athu kondu vannilla”  
2299 “Randu divasam ayi” He said with some frustration.  
2300  
2301  
2302 (Line 1954-1957)  
2303 Biju once left KFC due to some issues and thought that he wont be going there again, but he couldn't find a  
2304 new job and after some days lawrence called him and said “ninakku vennaki thirichu varam”  
2305 “Enikku ariyam njan illathe avarkkum avide kolla panni ayirikkum”  
2306 “Pinne njan poyi”  
2307  
2308  
2309 (Line 1960-1962 )  
2310 At night before vishu, they wanted some special drinks for over night duty.Lawrence chettan gave unni 100  
2311 rs and said that he will deduce it from both of their account and they didn't allow that. Some arguments had  
2312 happened in that case.  
2313  
2314 (Line 1965)  
2315 Lawrence said “Ninakku ennu pakkuthi cash ullu”  
2316  
2317 (Line 700)  
2318 His friend said “Thirakkum karyangal okke undayittu paisa undavanille?”  
2319  
2320 (Line 700)  
2321 He said no and asked us to keep that gave him change next time. He asked him whether he needs an extra  
2322 cover. He said No, he is having a car and showed us the key. He also mentioned his car name while speaking.  
2323  
2324 (Line 946)

2325 He was very happy and if I buys food daily they would be very happy.  
2326 Everytime I noticed that he was very happy while collecting the money. Compared to Akbar[Mallu hotel like  
2327 KFC] the price is high and food is not so tasty.

2328  
2329

2330 (Line 421)

2331 "Nagalkku evide waiter ne avshyam undu, nee vennaki eppo muthal thudangikko" he replied [laughing]. I felt  
2332 more comfortable since I can participate in their daily activities. KFC didn't have enough people to do all the  
2333 work. Only 4 people are managing the hotel.

2334

2335 (Line 614)

2336 His children used to book flight ticket early so they get it cheaper.

2337

2338 Lawrence chettan asked unni questioningly " Urulla kizhangu medicha bhakki paisa evidaya?"

2339

2340 Unni replied "Kayill Undu" without looking into his face.

2341

2342 (Line 816)

2343 Lawrence took unni's shirt and took money from his pocket. He was counting the money and asked unni  
2344 what all things he had brought. He said he brought 2.5 kgs of potatoes.

2345

2346 (Line 829 )

2347 Everytime when I asked about the job they were not interested. All of them didn't like the job they were doing,  
2348 only thing they need is the money to support their family.

2349

2350 (Line 979)

2351 In the table I saw one daily collection book and In the wall there was a certificate from some chit fund based  
2352 in kerala.

2353

2354 (Line 1014 )

2355 "Avide college ill konduvannu tharum"

2356 He asked "ethu ENGLISH aa?, nalla villa ayirikum alle"

2357

2358 (Line 1047)

2359 She was counting the porothas and said gloomily "Randu porotha poyollu".

2360 Bjue added"ennu thinkkalaazhacha alle, atha". Even I thought there were only few customers and I had a  
2361 feeling whether they would think that the sales is less because of me going there.

2362

2363 (Line 1098)

2364 He checked the cash drawer and he was counting some money. He was not so happy. Might be because of  
2365 less sales. Monday the sales are usually less biju chettan had mentioned about that.

2366

2367 (Line 1127)

2368 In KFC I noticed there is no stockroom, one storage space is there but they are not using it. They always buy  
2369 things from outside when need. They usually buy from the nearby two stores. One is a gujarati grocery shop  
2370 and other belongs to Achyan, where all kerala items are available. They mostly buy from the gujarati shop.  
2371 But some items like rice, maida etc are stored in sacks in kitchen.

2372

2373 (Line 1350)

2374 She was asking for increasing the wage. Her current wage is 100 rs per day. But Lawrence chettan was not  
2375 going to increase the wage. Even his tone got louder. He said that the lady is doing nothing and the utensils  
2376 were also not properly cleaned. Finally she agreed with him.

2377

2378 (Line 1581)

2379

2380 Biju paranju premam karanam jeevitham kondu poyi thullacha all annu eyal. Masam oru laksham rupa salary  
2381 kittanda all annu. Ee oru laksham karyam pulli kure thavana paranju. Enikku arayilla oru driver ne oru laksham  
2382 rupa salary kittuvo njan orthu. Evar enthakkilum pranjallum kuttiye parayu.

2383

2384 (Line 1738)

2385 The chickens where already in pieces, he was taking some pieces and cutting it to half, so that he will get  
2386 more pieces. Lawrence was always trying to increase the profit as much as he can.

2387

2388 (Line 1638)

2389 "Oru 100 customer enkkilum kannum" said biju

2390

2391 (Line 1312)

2392 lawrence chettan talked about he brought the room from Antony bhai for 16 lakhs 4 year before. He said  
2393 "Akkathekku othiri sthlam undu, 3, 4 muru undu"

2394 During that conversation he also said that he need to renovate the hotel but some financial issues.

2395

2396

2397 'Paisa'

2398

2399 'Paisa' is undoubtedly what drives the social group, at their center of their daily life, struggle and aspirations.  
2400 'Paisa' is more than just a means to livelihood, it is proportional to one's 'kazhivu', and it is what determines  
2401 one's 'maanam'. Biju forces himself to work in the hotel purely for the paisa he gets, and Lawrence chettan  
2402 wants to keep earning more paisa, trying to increase profit by employing less number of people. In the hotel,  
2403 'paisa' is something that is almost entirely handled only by Lawrence chettan, as he doubles up as the cashier  
2404 too. Biju demands on a daily wage agreement, as then he would be free to leave the hotel at any point of  
2405 time.

2406

2407

2408 HIEARCHY / DOMINANCE

2409

2410

2411 (Line 477)

2412 "Lawrence chettan ippo varum" [looking suspicious at me]. He was not understanding what I was saying and  
2413 felt suspicious.

2414

2415 "Njan lawrence chettan ode samsarichatha"

2416

2417 (Line674 )

2418 His name is unni nair. Sometimes biju used to call him "edo unni nair ee"

2419

2420 (Line 1745)

2421 biju asked me to help him changing the cylinder. Meanwhile lawrence was scolding him for changing cylinder  
2422 that time. I was wondering who could biju know it earlier and we can change cylinder only when it gets over.

2423

2424

2425 (Line 770)

2426 Unni was sitting in the floor and every you can see the hierarchy in the kitchen. Lawrence being the owner of  
2427 the restaurant is the king then comes his wife as queen, the cook Biju and unni are just soldiers.

2428

2429 (Line 795 )

2430 Unni chettan was grinding coconut , sitting in floor and he said biju the "Thenga chirandanda panni ninte  
2431 annu". So the tasks in kitchen must have allotted by Lawrence. Everyone hardly talk each other. Even if they  
2432 talk they would talk about buying things from shop. I never heard them talking about family, politics or any  
2433 thing other than kitchen activities.

2434

2435 (Line 720)

2436 Lawrence Interrupted the conversation and said "Pinne, Njan evide 5 mannikе varum avan varumbo 9 manni  
2437 avum"

2438 Biju didn't reply anything and he was not so happy with the question and lawrence replay.

2439

2440 (Line 925)

2441 Chechi was discussing something about salary with Biju chettan, their tone were not so good. Both were  
2442 arguing each other. So I stayed away from their conversation. For the last few days the cook was not there  
2443 and Lawrence chettan and chechi need to manage everything. She must be showing her frustrations.

2444

2445 (Line 1133)

2446 He then sat in a chair under one fan. He also mentioned the heat inside the kitchen. Whenever there is no  
2447 customer is there and if he is free then will will go to the dining area and sit under the fan.

2448



2449

2450 (Line 1350)

2451 She was asking for increasing the wage. Her current wage is 100 rs per day. But Lawrence chettan was not  
2452 going to increase the wage. Even his tone got louder. He said that the lady is doing nothing and the utensils  
2453 were also not properly cleaned. Finally she agreed with him.

2454

2455 (Line 1413)

2456 Even there we can see the hierarchy. Lawrence having it with cool drink and others were having it with water.

2457

2458 (Line 1494)

2459 Biju took one of the cooking utensils and said it is not properly washed. He shouted at the lady and asked to  
2460 wash it again properly. And he was laughing, even the lady was also smiling

2461

2462 (Line 1573)

2463 Even unni kind of assistant to biju, he was not like that. Both were of same level, even their salaries are  
2464 different. Even lawrence treats them equally. Biju used to call him unni bhai, but lawrence calls him unni.

2465

2466 (Line 1612)

2467 Soon after he left Lawrence chettan came. The first question he asked was "Unni evide?"

2468 Biju said "Unni bhai eppo poye ullu, annan vannenu thottu munbu" He was trying to convince him.

2469

2470 (Line 1612)

2471 Now he involving me in very activities. I was like a assistant for him. I did everything he asked for.

2472

2473 (Line 1701)

2474 Unni bhai was still peeling onions, biju asked him to cut the the onions, but he was not listening. Multiple  
2475 things are working parallely in the kitchen. Everyone should work on time, otherwise everything will get  
2476 messed up.

2477 After sometime Lawrence told unni "Unni bhai polyi ullu aringe" in a commanding sound. After few minutes

2478 he took all the onions and started cutting. Usually when I'm there I used to cut onions. Since they are running  
2479 out of time there didn't asked to to do that.

2480

2481 (Line 1723)

2482 The hierarchy is like this lawrence is the most powerful then comes his wife, then comes cook, unni and  
2483 cleaning lady. There is no much difference between unni and biju. My position in the group will be above unni  
2484 and below biju.

2485

2486 (Line 1776)

2487 Lawrence was shouting at biju " Nigal entha ee cheyanne, ethu vare entha onnum thayarvathe?"

2488 " Customer vannu nikkvalle, nigal enthu mayru annu kanikkane?"

2489

2490 (Line 1793)  
2491 Lawrence was still dressing fish, usually he would finish cutting and cleaning fish in the morning. Lawrence  
2492 had given me a packet of fish and asked me to keep that in fridge. That was for his home. They usually won't  
2493 take food from hotel. They cook in their home. Lissy chechi will make the breakfast in the morning and his  
2494 elder daughter also cooks. If her daughter is having exam, then they will take food from hotel.

2495  
2496 (Line 1822)  
2497 Lawrence was angry that day, he came to kitchen and asked in a loud voice " Enthu entha salad ethu vare  
2498 ayille" . Biju then only remembered about that. He ran to the place where salad was kept and went to serve  
2499 them.

2500  
2501 Lawrence was stouting " Nigal enthu mairu annu kanikkanne".

2502  
2503 (Line 1847)  
2504 When unni was transferring the moru some of it got spilled. Lawrence chettan asked " Ethu entha evide virthi  
2505 keduayittu kedakkane?" "Nee ethu ellam virthiyakkittu panitha mathi"  
2506 "Ethu okke virthikedu akkittu mayru panni edukkuva, mayru panikkarana"

2507  
2508 Biju didn't replied anything.

2509  
2510 "Pani cheyuvannel virthiyayittu cheytha mathi"

2511  
2512 "Annan parayana ketta ethu ellam cheythathannu, unni bhai ode chodikke"

2513 "Enne mathram entha cheetha parayane" biju said.

2514  
2515 (Line 1868)  
2516 "Njan 8 mannikke vannathalle,annan thurakkathathu ente kuzhappam anno?" biju asked.

2517 "Ninakku kurachu neran nikkan pattille, njan appo thanne vanarnu"

2518 -----  
2519 Dominance / hierarchy

2520  
2521 Hierarchy at different levels can be clearly seen in the social group. Other than skill, gender, money, caste  
2522 also contribute to the hierarchy. The most obvious form of hierarchy is based on money. For this reason, Biju  
2523 has not option but to listen to Lawrence. Male dominance can also be seen clearly in the group, with ladies  
2524 only performing tasks like washing, cleaning and serving. Biju doesn't really care about Lissy chechi -  
2525 Lawrence chettan's wife, just because of the fact that she is a lady. Though Unni is technically an assistant  
2526 to Biju, both Biju and Unni are treated at the same level and in many situations Biju is even treated badly.  
2527 Unni belongs to the upper caste Nair community, while Biju & Lawrence are considered below his caste.  
2528 However, wages are purely based on skill and work done.

2529  
2530 -----  
2531

2532 AAGRAHAM

2533

2534 (Line 720)

2535 He wanted to have a factory like Antony had, but it needs lots of money and he didn't had. He also never  
2536 wants his children's to come into hotel business.

2537

2538

2539 (Line 577 )

2540 I asked him "Njan eppo vanallum nigal nalla thirakill aayirikkum, nigal rest onnum edukkile?"

2541 Lawrence chettan said " ee thozhil oru panna thozhill annu"

2542

2543

2544 (Line 830 )

2545 Everytime when I asked about the job they were not interested. All of them didn't like the job they were doing,  
2546 only thing they need is the money to support their family.

2547

2548

2549

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2550

2551 Aagraham

2552

2553 'Aagraham' or motivation, is what keeps the social group ticking everyday. Even though the financial gains  
2554 from the hotel do not guarantee them of an immediate improvement in their lifestyles, they stick on to hope,  
2555 doing their bit to ensure that the next generation gets the best of choices to create a better living for  
2556 themselves.

2557

2558 -----

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2570 CHARAYAM

2571

2572 (Line 489)

2573 They were speaking about alcohol. To extend the conversation I said “ aapo evide eagne aa kittane”

2574 “Avide college ill konduvannu tharum”

2575 He asked “ethu ENGLISH aa?, nalla villa ayirikum alle”

2576 I didn't understood what he means, but he understood that I didn't understood.

2577 “Evide packet ill kittum” he said

2578 Now I got it, he was talking about charayam. That is exactly what I wanted to know. Once Sreeraj told me

2579 that Everyday Lawrence chettan drinks charayam. This restaurant and charayam are somehow connected

2580 but I don't know what exactly. Biju silently said that “ Purakill ulla 4 vettukarude main paripadi ethu annu”

2581 Showing 4 fingers. Before I thought they are making charayam in the hotel.

2582

2583

2584 (Line 484 )

2585 Unni said “Njna doctor ne kandittuvarum” [ Smiling ]

2586

2587 “Vegam varanam”[he said interestingly]

2588 “Sadhnam kittile?, [pause] urppalle?”

2589

2590 Then I got some idea what they were talking about. They were talking about alcohol. Unni was drunk. I could

2591 see that is his face. Red coloured eyes and unstable body.

2592

2593 Gujarat being a dry state I wondered how they get alcohol so easily.

2594

2595 (Line 1186 )

2596 While taking water in the glass, his hands were shivering.

2597

2598 (Line 1235 )

2599 “ Njan kallu kudikkum ennu pennumbullaku adhyam arayillarnu”

2600 “Adhyam okke chellumbo pepsi alle ennu chodikkum”

2601 “Pinne pathukke pullikari ke manassil ayi”

2602

2603 (Line 1240)

2604 chechi paranju “ Enikku oonum cheynan undayilla, pullikaran athu paranjitta kettiyath”

2605

2606 (Line 1374)

2607 The customer left, biju closed the back door and took his bike from back and came through front door.

2608 Lawrence chettan took one bottle of charayam from his room. Charayam was kept in a water bottle. It was

2609 half filled.

2610

2611 (Line 1413)  
2612 Even there we can see the hierarchy. Lawrence having it with cool drink and others were having it with water.

2613  
2614 I asked smilingly "Appo nival ennum adikkarundale?"  
2615 They both were smiling, Biju said "Athu illathe egane aa jeevikkane"

2616  
2617 (Line 1594)  
2618 We talked about the availability of charayan in that place. He said that everyday after duty he would have 5-  
2619 6 packets of charayam. One packet of charayam cost 20 rs. When we were talking about charayam unni  
2620 chettan wants to have it. He said he would go and buy now. I noticed the change in unni face when we  
2621 mentioned charayam. He desperately need it. And biju scolded him for that and said we would go after 4.  
2622 He asked me "4 mannikke ente oppam pore, namakku radannam adikkam".  
2623 I said "ennu venda vere oru divsam pokkam"

2624  
2625 -----

2626 Charayam

2627  
2628 Everyday both Lawrence and Biju drinks Charaayam (locally distilled liquor), at night. The local liquor is very  
2629 popular in their locality, being made in the colony behind. Though Biju doesn't mind a drink while  
2630 working, Lawrence doesn't encourage it. Even when it comes to alcohol, they aspire to drink foreign brands,  
2631 considered a mark of status - achieving a higher social status being the main objective of the very existence  
2632 of this group. Even while sharing drinks, there is a hierarchy wherein Lawrence decides the number of pegs  
2633 Biju is entitled to have from the stash in the hotel everyday.

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2636 -----

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2653 **Sounds**

2654

2655

2656

2657

- Kitchen

2658

- Chappels hitting floor like beating some one -382

2659

- Sound of exhaust - 811

2660

- Vibrating sound of motor – 1526, 1798

2661

- Buzzing sound of water cooler -1798,1108,1186

2662

- Cracking sound of coal stove- 711,1508

2663

- Vibrating sound of the compressor of the fridge was constant.- 600

2664

- Tuk tuk sound of cutting onions- 671

2665

- Sound of utensils hitting each other-800,1488

2666

- Clinking sound of metal hitting each other- 1832

2667

- Shouting- 1837,1844,1856,1365

2668

- Contineous sound of fridge - 1028

2669

- Coughing sound-1111

2670

- Sound od flowing water-1615

2671

- Sound of foot steps-1700

2672

2673

2674

- Cooking

2675

- Sizzling sound of frying fish- 383,1437

2676

- Cracking sound of 'Kadukka' in oil- 1210

2677

- Sizzling sound of heating oil- 470

2678

- Cutting of vegetables in a rhythm -1505,801

2679

- Sound of fan broke the silence and laziness in that place- 1701

2680

- Frying 'papadam' creates a sizzling sound.- 1201

2681

- Whistling sound of pressure cooker-1745

2682

2683

2684

- Dinning

2685

- Sound of conversation-1799,926

2686

- Sound of paper scratching each other while counting money.- 1250, 1099

2687

- Sound of fan- 907,934,1024

2688

- Sound of dragging chair -444

2689

- Sound of footsteps-1700

2690

- sound of turning on switches -355

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  - 2695
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- Surrounding
    - Hammering sound form the tyre repairing shop-663
    - Sharp sound of 'cheeved'-1187
    - Sound of horn-1375
    - Loud noise due to the construction -1775

2730 **Analysis of the categories**

2731

2732

2733 'Maanam'

2734

2735 For Lawrence chettan and Biju, 'Maanam' is all about their status in the society, which is closely tied to  
2736 standard of living and hence, money. Neither of them like this job and are forcing themselves to continue  
2737 purely for a livelihood. They do not want their children to follow them, and try their best to ensure that they  
2738 have access to best quality of education and life as possible - sending them to good English medium schools  
2739 in the city, and choosing flights over trains whenever they travel long distances. It may be because they don't  
2740 want them to follow their paths that they rarely encourage the children to even come to the hotel. Their  
2741 aspirations of life revolve solely around money and they strive to ensure that the next generation is raised in  
2742 conditions that could potentially provide them a better standard of living. They even aspire to move to a better  
2743 residential area, from the dalit-majority community that they now live in.

2744

2745 -----

2746

2747 'Choodu'

2748

2749 'Choodu' is an aspect of the hotel that has multiple connotations in their day to day life. It symbolises the heat  
2750 inside the kitchen, the food that is heated before being served, and the heat inside the members in the social  
2751 group arising out of their frustration and struggle in life.

2752 'Choodu' also refers to the heated arguments between Lawrence chettan and Biju, which keeps surfacing  
2753 every now and then - tiffs and issues in day to day life in the hotel to Lawrence chettan's disapproval of Biju's  
2754 drinking habits, though he doesn't discourage it himself. In the hotel, food is only cooked once a day, and for  
2755 the rest of the day, the only process that runs in the kitchen is the heating - thus 'choodu', meaning 'heat'.

2756 -----

2757

2758 Kazhivu

2759

2760 Kazhivu' refers to a man's potential (to succeed) in life, and is thus an indirect measure of how much money  
2761 you could make. Being recognised as someone with 'kazhivu' is a guarantee that you'd be respected in the  
2762 society. In this social group where there are clearly defined work level hierarchies, the measure of one's  
2763 'kazhivu' directly translates to their ability to command to others working for him. 'Kazhivu' or potential is one  
2764 of those criteria that the society uses to judge people - and being labelled as a 'kazhivu kettavan' would mean  
2765 that one might even find it very hard to get a match for marriage, an insult to male identity.

2766

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2771 'Paisa'

2772

2773 'Paisa' is undoubtedly what drives the social group, at their center of their daily life, struggle and aspirations.

2774 'Paisa' is more than just a means to livelihood, it is proportional to one's 'kazhivu', and it is what determines

2775 one's 'maanam'. Biju forces himself to work in the hotel purely for the paisa he gets, and Lawrence chettan

2776 wants to keep earning more paisa, trying to increase profit by employing less number of people. In the hotel,

2777 'paisa' is something that is almost entirely handled only by Lawrence chettan, as he doubles up as the cashier

2778 too. Biju demands on a daily wage agreement, as then he would be free to leave the hotel at any point of

2779 time.

2780

2781

-----  
Aagraham

2783

2784 'Aagraham' or motivation, is what keeps the social group ticking everyday. Even though the financial gains

2785 from the hotel do not guarantee them of an immediate improvement in their lifestyles, they stick on to hope,

2786 doing their bit to ensure that the next generation gets the best of choices to create a better living for

2787 themselves.

2788

2789

2790

-----  
Dominance / hierarchy

2792

2793 Hierarchy at different levels can be clearly seen in the social group. Other than skill, gender, money, caste

2794 also contribute to the hierarchy. The most obvious form of hierarchy is based on money. For this reason, Biju

2795 has not option but to listen to Lawrence. Social group showing dominance over ladies is also clearly visible,

2796 with ladies only performing tasks like washing, cleaning and serving - not cooking. Biju doesn't really care

2797 about Lissy chechi - Lawrence chettan's wife, just because of the fact that she is a lady. Though Unni is

2798 technically an assistant to Biju, both Biju and Unni are treated at the same level and in many situations Biju

2799 is even treated badly. Unni belongs to the upper caste Nair community, while Biju & Lawrence are considered

2800 below his caste. However, wages are purely based on skill and work done.

2801

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2803

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Charayam

2805

2806 Everyday both Lawrence and Biju drinks Charaayam (locally distilled liquor), at night. The local liquor is very

2807 popular in their locality, being made in the colony behind. Though Biju doesn't mind a drink while working,

2808 Lawrence doesn't encourage it. Even when it comes to alcohol, they aspire to drink foreign brands,

2809 considered a mark of status - achieving a higher social status being the main objective of the very existence

2810 of this group. Even while sharing drinks, there is a hierarchy wherein Lawrence decides the number of pegs

2811 Biju is entitled to have from the stash in the hotel everyday.

2812 **How categories are linked ?**

2813

2814 Of the seven categories identified in the study, clearly 'paisa' is the one that drives the life of the social group.  
2815 'Aagraham' (hope) is the motivator for the social group to struggle through the days, in spite of differences  
2816 and hierarchy that exist between them brought in by elements like money and caste. 'Aagraham' becomes  
2817 the direct motivator to work for 'paisa' which translates into 'maanam' and thus can be regarded as the  
2818 category that encompasses all their activities - both short term and long term. 'Aagraham' makes their daily  
2819 struggles worth going through, a relentless quest to earn more 'paisa' and thus, 'maanam', a better way of  
2820 life though purely based on monetary and social status.

2821

2822 'Kazhivu' or potential is what makes a person eligible to work and is a direct measure of his chances to earn  
2823 more 'paisa' and hence, how well he is placed on the quest to achieve a higher 'maanam'. Since 'maanam'  
2824 is a mix of a person's monetary and social status, 'kazhivu' is a significant contributor to a person's 'maanam',  
2825 albeit an indirect one.

2826

2827 How various aspects like caste and money create hierarchies in the social group has been discussed earlier.  
2828 This hierarchy is something that the members of the social group experience everyday, in their daily struggle  
2829 to earn more 'paisa' using their 'kazhivu'. However, 'chaarayam' is that one element that Lawrence chettan  
2830 and Biju share everyday - their escape from the worries of life. However it is interesting to note that the  
2831 existing hierarchy has the final laugh as even in this case, Lawrence chettan decides how much of alcohol  
2832 Biju is allowed to have every night. Thus, 'chaarayam' being the lone element that brings the two members  
2833 together, though the experience isn't free from the existing hierarchy.

2834

2835 Thus, 'Aagraham' makes the social group endure the struggle to make more 'Paisa' to eventually earn more  
2836 'Maanam' and lead a better life. 'Kazhivu' makes this possible everyday. However, they have to go through  
2837 a hierarchical environment everyday, wherein 'chaarayam' being the only noticeable aspect they share  
2838 between themselves.

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2853 **Synthesis**

2854

2855

2856 The metaphor of **counting** has a strong association with the social group, due to obvious reasons. However,  
2857 through the analysis of categories, it has been able to identify an even deeper connection that the metaphor  
2858 has with all the categories to the social group in different levels of their life.

2859

2860 In a literal sense, the main actions related to this metaphor are counting money, plates, customers, porottas,  
2861 quantity of meat, vegetables and supplies etc. The significant sound closely associated with the metaphor is  
2862 that of **counting money**, which comes into play whenever any other parameter is counted.

2863

2864

2865 -----

2866

2867 (Line 1534)

2868 **Biju said "Paisa illathe jeevichattu enthina"**

2869

2870 (Line 1895)

2871 **"Ethilum bedham thedan povanathu annu" Biju said**

2872

2873 (Line 707)

2874 **"Kandavante pathram kazhikki maduthu" He[lawrence] added after some time.**

2875

2876 (Line 625)

2877 **Unni said "45 varsham ayittu njan kannuva enikku thanne 62 vayasayi"**

2878 **"Ee kannanath motham pulli thanne kashhtapettu undakkiyatha" [Lawrence chettan feeling proud]**

2879

2880 Line 1540)

2881 **"Njan ullathu okke nashipichu kllanjittullu"**

2882 **"Ente kayll paisa irikkilla, enikku paisa kaikaryam cheyan arayilla"**

2883 **Biju said "Paisa illathe jeevichattu enthina"**

2884

2885 (Line 638)

2886 **"Evide panni eduthu kurachu paisa okke undakkiyatta ponne, "**

2887 **"Shirtum pantum okke ettu"[ He was laughing]**

2888 **"Vettill ethi, ellarkkum appo valiya karyam arnu"**

2889

2890 (Line 1920)

2891 **When I asked biju about his marriage, he said " Njan ente mura pennine aa kalayalam kazhiche"**

2892 **"Kure pennukandu nadannu onnum angu set avandayilla"**

2893 **"Annu prithekkichu panni onnum undavathond pennu kittandayilla"**

2894 **"oru divasam njan amma de aduthu poyi paranju, nammak nammade maman te mole nokkiyalo?"**

2895 *"Pitte divasam chechimar ellam vannu chodichu, nee karyam ayittu thanne paranjathanno"*

2896 *"enittu nagal ellarum poyi maman aduthu paranju, agane avale ketti"*

2897

2898 Counting can be also interpreted as what leads to judgements, something that the social group is very  
2899 concerned about, 'Maanam'. 'Paisa' is more than just a means to livelihood, it is proportional to one's  
2900 'kazhivu', and it is what determines one's 'maanam'.

2901

2902

2903

2904

2905 *(Line 1948)*

2906 *Biju said "Anna vellichanna therarayi", looking at the container in which coconut oil is kept.*

2907

2908 *(Line 1407)*

2909 *Lawrence drank 2 glasses and given one one glass to biju and unni. They mixed it with water and drank.*

2910 *That bottle was over and he took one more bottle from the room. They all had one more round. Biju asked*  
2911 *for one more glass but lawrence chettan didn't gave.*

2912

2913 *Lawrence chettan knows that if he drinks more then he won't come next day and he said that to him.*

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2916 Counting, which is a form of measurement that happens in everyday life. It comes into play whenever stock  
2917 is purchased just in time, stock is being planned for cooking, number of customers served, etc. Even the  
2918 number of glasses of charayam that Biju is allowed to have, is counted by Lawrence chettan every day.

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2923 *(Line 1103)*

2924 *Chechi came and took all the plates. She had put all the waste in the waste bin near the washing area.*

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2926 *(Line 1250)*

2927 *Lawrence was counting money in cash counter and asked questioningly Lissy "Ennu arkku enkkilum paisa*  
2928 *koduthamo?"*

2929

2930 *She said "Chicken karan vannarnu, 1200 rs kodathu"*

2931

2932 *"Enode chodichattu koduthaporarno" He asked in a rude way.*

2933

2934 *"Njan villichattu kittiyilla" she said and he checked his phone. There was a missed call.*

2935

2936 *He didn't say anything.*

2937

2938 *(Line 925)*

2939 Chechi was discussing something about salary with Biju chettan, their tone were not so good. Both were  
2940 arguing each other. So I stayed away from their conversation. For the last few days the cook was not there  
2941 and Lawrence chettan and chechi need to manage everything. She must be showing her frustrations.  
2942  
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2944 -----  
2945 The social group also has a strong dominance over the ladies, which is a result of an indirect measure of  
2946 their kashivu. Social group showing dominance over ladies is also clearly visible, with ladies only performing  
2947 tasks like washing, cleaning and serving - not cooking. Biju doesn't really care about Lissy chechi - Lawrence  
2948 chettan's wife, just because of the fact that she is a lady.  
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2953 (Line 1532)  
2954 His[biju] kids are studying there in little flower school, which belong to his brother. He said that it is a big  
2955 school. He also said that all his relatives are rich. "Njan mathram egane ayi poyi". He regrets for his current  
2956 situation.

2957 -----

2958 (Line 207)  
2959 They[Lawrence & wife] have 3 children - 2 daughters and a son. The elder daughter is in her final year in  
2960 B.Com and wishes to do an MBA afterwards. The younger daughter is in the 12 standard, and suffers from  
2961 certain growth issues as she was born premature - a matter of serious concern for Lawrence chettan. The  
2962 youngest son has just completed his 10th std and is awaiting the result. The children are rarely seen in the  
2963 hotel - the son had come over during Vishu. Lawrence chettan wants his children to study well, get good jobs  
2964 and not be like him.

2965 -----

2966 (Line 614)  
2967 His children used to book flight ticket early so they get it cheaper.

2968 -----

2969 (Line 1943)  
2970 Lawrence said "Makkalke ellam prayam ayi varuva, avare kettikkan ulla paisa undakkanam"

2971 -----

2972 (Line 234)  
2973 He has two daughters, studying in the 10th and 5th standards in his brothers school, a main reason why he  
2974 chooses to stay in Gujarat, though he doesn't like it.

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2978 Counting can also be seen connected to the future and days to come. As per their 'aagraham' they want to  
2979 educate their children and don't want them to continue what they are doing, which is against their maanam.  
2980 At the same their daughters are growing up and they need to find money for their marriage, all of which  
2981 depends on how much money they count everyday.

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*(Line 1945)*

*Lawrence took some money from pocket and he was counting that. There were four hundred notes and gave it to Biju. Biju also counted the notes again.*

*(Line 1407)*

*Lawrence drank 2 glasses and given one glass each to biju and unni. They mixed it with water and drank. That bottle was over and he took one more bottle from the room. They all had one more round. Biju asked for one more glass but lawrence chettan didn't give him.*

*Lawrence chettan knows that if he drinks more then he won't come next day and he said that to him.*

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The act of counting could also be seen as a means to control/strictly supervise things, which could be due to the lack of trust – whenever Lawrence handed Biju his daily wages, Biju counted it twice just to make sure (the lack of trust here is surprising, as he gets paid everyday), and strictly controlling the number of glasses Biju and Unni can drink whenever they share liquor (as he doesn't trust them to come to work the next day if they get drunk).

Thus, the existence of the social group is based on what is being counted everyday - the most important artifact being money.

3022 **Artifact**

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3025 The existence of the social group is based on what is being counted everyday - the most important artifact  
3026 being money.

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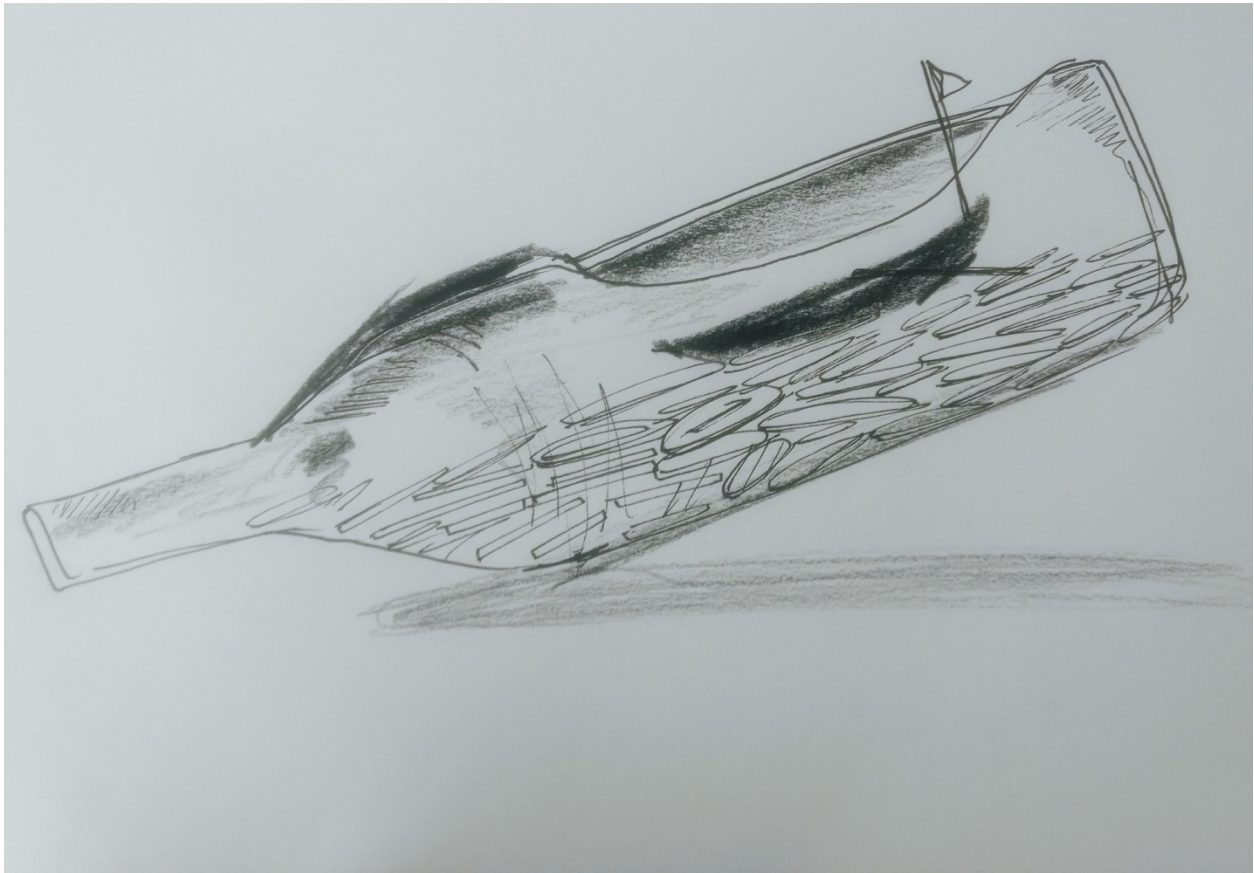
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3063 **Reflexivity**

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3066 The personal attributes from my frame has had an impact on my field research. For example, being shy and  
3067 introverted did affect me a bit during the initial phase as I took time to get comfortable with the research  
3068 group. Soon, I became comfortable with the group, except Lissy chechi. She even doubted my presence  
3069 their, asif I was trying to get secrets out of them or even trying to steal their cook. I had taken special attention  
3070 to be dressed to gel with the group, as I was working at the hotel as a waiter, also helping with cutting. I  
3071 started as a pure observer, and with the passage of time, I started getting involved in their daily activities,  
3072 slowly growing into an observer as a participant.

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