

COCONUT AND ITS RELATED WORDS IN HINDU SOCIETY:
ECOLINGUISTIC APPROACH

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Abstract

Many people thought that the sustainability of a language very much depends on whether or not there were speakers speaking the language. This idea was not entirely true since language needs reference. There was no word if there was nothing to represent. The experts working on ecolinguistics believe that the ecosystem contributes a lot to the sustainability of a language. This was in line with what was stated by Halliday (1990) saying that there was relationship between ecology and language. Based on the idea that ecology was important to the sustainability of a language, this article was written to show that from one tree, in this case the coconut tree, there were a lot of things that were related to language and culture that could be contributed. The disappearance of this tree would also cause the disappearance of the words and culture related to it. Thus, it was expected that people will understand that if they want to keep the language, they have to maintain the ecosystem, in this case flora and fauna.

Key words: Ecolinguistic Approach, Offering, Appearance

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Introduction

Ecolinguistics is the interdisciplinary study that looks at the interaction between language and environment. What is meant by environment is everything which exists in the world including flora, fauna and human beings. Since Ecolinguistics combines linguistics and ecology, there are a lot of issues that can be discussed in this field of study. As far as the study deals with the relationship between human beings and various objects in the environment, the study belongs to Ecolinguistics. In relation to this statement, it can be said that language will be extinct if the ecology supporting it is no longer in existence.

The function of language is very important; unfortunately, most of the people think that language is merely a mechanical tool used to interact with other machines. They do not realize that linguistics is a life science that should be developed in and through communication. Metaphorically, environment is considered as something that can grow and develop well if the environment is well protected. Ecolinguistics should improve the linguistic qualification of human beings and create the situation in which human beings can use the language to create cultures and forms of healthy life. Using language takes place in various lives including socio-religious cultures and beliefs in Indonesia.

The Hindu society in Bali is also expected to be able to increase the quality and health of the Hindu linguistics through the use of lexicon or phrases which are very much bound to various rituals. In Hindu society the important parts of rituals often take the forms of plants and animals found in the human environment which are cognitively recorded in their repertoire. As long as the rituals still take place and the material represented through the lexicon are still needed, the lexicon will still be available in their repertoire. As long as the plants and animals which are the parts of rituals are protected, the lexicon related to them will always exist. If Ecolinguistics is well understood, there will be no damage done to the language and nature. There will be no destruction done by humans who tend to keep on searching for their own benefit by destroying the ecosystem.

In relation to plants used by the Balinese in their Hindu rituals, coconut, which in Balinese language is called *nyuh*, is one of plants that contributes a lot to Hindu rituals. It is this plant that becomes the topic of discussion in this article. The discussion will be about:

1. The words related to coconut.
2. Metaphors created by parts of the coconut.

3. The Hindu philosophy related to the layers of coconut fruit.

The problems are put forward to make people aware of the fact that the sustainability of a language depends on the sustainability of its ecosystem.

Theoretical Framework

The theory that is used as the baseline of the problems that are going to be discussed is the theory of Ecolinguistic. The issue of how the linguist should consider the relationship between ecology and language came into discussion in the 1990's (Halliday, 1990). Haugen (in Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001) defines Ecolinguistics as the science that studies about the interaction between any language and the environment expressed through lexicon and structure. Fill (1996) states that ecolinguistics can be divided into two parts, namely eco-critical discourse analysis and linguistic ecology. Eco-critical discourse analysis talks about the damaging ideologies as well as how the use of language can prevent the loss of ecology, while linguistic ecology talks about how ecosystems can form metaphors to communicate among various kinds of languages in the world. The discussion of Ecolinguistics stands on three parameters as follows:

- 1) Environment, including the ecology of human beings, language and cultures;
- 2) Variety, including the variety of languages, cultures, biotic and abiotic, and
- 3) Inter-relation and inter-dependency between the elements of human beings and nature in a particular environment (Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001)

The third point above states that there is inter-relation and inter-dependency between the elements of human beings and nature in a particular environment (Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001). This is in line with the fact that the Hindu people have a close relationship with and are very much dependent on the coconut since without it a lot of Hindu rituals cannot take place. The Hindu people cannot live without their religion and religious life, things that they consider very important as the knowledge to differentiate between good and bad. This idea is in line with Sapir's idea (in Fill and Mühlhäusler, 2001) that the most important things in a social environment are religion, standardized ethics, the form of political and artistic organization.

The discussion above implies that linguistics has a very close relation with environment, that is, what can be found in the environment will certainly have names. Linguistics and environment has a strong inter-dependency which means that there will be a healthy language in a healthy environment. Thus, keeping the environment healthy is one way to preserve the

language. To keep the environment healthy is actually the duty of human beings, the ones who can preserve the environment by using one of their abilities, namely linguistic ability.

Although the theory of Ecolinguistics encourages people to preserve the language by preserving the environment, in reality it does not appear that way. Take the example of the coconut in Hindu society. Due to some reasons, some of the words related to coconut in Hindu language are no longer familiar to the young Hindu speaking people. This means that the language is experiencing a degradation which is caused by the attitude of human beings. All the reasons will be discussed in the discussion section.

Discussion

The discussion covers the (1) the words related to coconut that are rarely known by the young generation due to modernization, (2) metaphors created by parts of the coconut, and (3) the Hindu philosophy related to the layers of coconut fruit, (3) the perception of the Balinese towards coconut. The discussion concerns both eco-critical discourse and linguistic ecology. The reason why this article concerns eco-critical discourse is that the discussion contains how the ecosystem, in this case coconut 'nyuh', must be preserved to avoid damage to the Hindu ideology; that is the ultimate goal of human beings is to unite with God (in Hindu 'Ida Sanghyang Widhi Wasa') as well as the idea to keep the tree sustainable to preserve the richness of the Balinese ecological lexicon. The reason why this article is considered to belong to linguistic ecology is that it demonstrates how the lexicon taken from parts of the coconut tree can be used to form metaphors that can be used to communicate something meaningful.

Words related to coconut

The discussion of the words related to coconut 'nyuh' starts with the classification of the types of coconuts in Hindu society (Taman Gumi Banten, 2002)

Table 1

No.	Types of Nyuh	Appearance
1.	<i>Nyuh Surya</i>	The colour of the fruit is white with an oval shape.
2.	<i>Nyuh Cenik</i>	The fruit is small.
3.	<i>Nyuh Bulan</i>	The fruit is small with yellowish colour.

4.	<i>Nyuh Gading</i>	The fruit is small and the colour is orange.
5.	<i>Nyuh Ranga</i>	All the leaves are downward.
6.	<i>Nyuh Gadang</i>	The colour of the fruit is green.
7.	<i>Nyuh Bejulit</i>	The leaves stick and weave one to another.
8.	<i>Nyuh Udang</i>	The colour of the fruit is red.
9.	<i>Nyuh Kapas</i>	The coconut fiber is like cotton.
10.	<i>Nyuh Bebed</i>	The colour of the bark is white.
11.	<i>Nyuh Sudamala</i>	The colour of the fruit is red like fried prawn.
12.	<i>Nyuh Mulung</i> (<i>Nyuh Nyambulung</i>)	The colour of the fruit skin is green and blackish red
13.	<i>Nyuh Naga</i>	The skin of the tree is like the skin of asnake.
14.	<i>Nyuh Kebat</i>	The leaves are opened up.
15.	<i>Nyuh Bojog</i>	The inside fiber of the fruit is grey like the skin of a monkey.
16.	<i>Nyuh Anggalan</i>	In one stem there is only one fruit.
17.	<i>Nyuh Beruk/Nyuh Gede</i>	The fruit is very big.
18.	<i>Nyuh Macan/Nyuh Pelet/</i> <i>Nyuh Rengreng</i>	The skin of the fruit is spotted.
19.	<i>Nyuh Empas</i>	The stalks of the leaves are very close to the tree trunk.
20.	<i>Nyuh Sangket</i>	The leaves are like hook.
21.	<i>Nyuh Bingin</i>	The leaves are short and the fruits are small and many in one cluster.
22.	<i>Nyuh Ancak</i>	The stem of the fruits and the stalks of the leaves are far from the tree trunk.
23.	<i>Nyuh Puuh</i>	The fruits are small with whitish green skin

The table above shows that *nyuh* collocates with the twenty three names of the coconut. The Balinese people believe that it is important for them to know about those kinds of coconuts since

since different kinds of coconuts are required for distinct ceremonies. Even though they are used in different offerings, basically all those kinds of coconuts have similar functions;(which are) they are used for purification, strengthening the mind, completion of a set of certain offerings. Coconuts are amazing fruits since some of their types can be used for medicine and neutralizing poison. The names of the coconuts are mostly familiar only to the offering makers. Common people do not care, they do not even know how to differentiate one type of coconut from the others from their appearance. From the colour point of view, there are some types that can be easily differentiated such as *nyuh bulan* whose colour is yellowish and *nyuh gading* whose colour is orange, *nyuh udang* which is red, *nyuh Sudamala* which is red like fried prawn, *nyuh mulung* which is green and blackish red, *nyuh* whose skin looks like the skin of a snake, *nyuh bojog*, as the name implies, the colour is just like the colour of a monkey (*bojog* = monkey), *nyuh macan* whose skin has spots like a tiger (*macan* = tiger), and *nyuh puuh* the colour of the fruit is whitish green.

The following table will present what kind of coconut is used in particular offerings of the Hindus.

Table 2

No.	Types of <i>Nyuh</i>	Name of <i>Banten</i> (Offerings)
1.	<i>Nyuh Surya</i>	<i>Penglukatan</i> and medicine
2.	<i>Nyuh Cenik</i>	<i>Penyegjeg, Sorohan</i> and <i>Santun</i>
3.	<i>Nyuh Bulan</i>	<i>Padudusan, Pangenteg</i> and medicine
4.	<i>Nyuh Gading</i>	<i>Prayascita, Pangenteg</i> and medicine
5.	<i>Nyuh Rangda</i>	<i>Caru</i> and medicine for diabetes
6.	<i>Nyuh Gadang</i>	<i>Durmenggala</i> and medicine for stomach ache
7.	<i>Nyuh Bejulit</i>	<i>Pedudusan Agung</i> , and the oil can be used to neutralize poison
8.	<i>Nyuh Udang</i>	<i>Caru</i> and medicine
9.	<i>Nyuh Kapas</i>	<i>Pedudusan</i> and medicine
10.	<i>Nyuh Bebed</i>	<i>Caru</i> and poison neutralizer
11.	<i>Nyuh Sudamala</i>	<i>Padudusan, Caru</i> and can be used to wash

		hair for those who suffer from chronic head ache
12.	<i>Nyuh Mulung</i> (<i>Nyuh Nyambulung</i>)	<i>Pedudusan alit, caru</i> , medicine for fever and stomach ache
13.	<i>Nyuh Naga</i>	<i>Caru</i>
14.	<i>Nyuh Kebat</i>	<i>Caru</i>
15.	<i>Nyuh Bojog</i>	<i>Panyegjeg</i>
16.	<i>Nyuh Anggalan</i>	<i>Penyucian</i>
17.	<i>Nyuh Beruk/Nyuh Gede</i>	<i>Sesayut, Santun</i>
18.	<i>Nyuh Macan/Nyuh Pelet/</i> <i>Nyuh Rengreng</i>	<i>Catur</i>
19.	<i>Nyuh Empas</i>	-
20.	<i>Nyuh Sangket</i>	-
21.	<i>Nyuh Bingin</i>	-
22.	<i>Nyuh Ancak</i>	-
23.	<i>Nyuh Puuh</i>	-

Although trying to trace from various sources, the functions of the last five kinds of coconut are not known. There is the possibility that those types of coconuts cannot easily be found so that they are replaced by different types of coconuts of the same kind/value.

To complete the discussion, the explanation of the offerings is presented below.

a. *Banten Penglukatan*

The function is to purify the body and soul of a human being from invisible impurities.

b. *Banten Panyegjeg*

This offering is made for the cremation of someone where the location of the dead body is unknown or the grave cannot be found due to being buried a long time ago. This offering is presented in front of a *Pura Dalem* (The temple for worshipping Siwa) or in across road to complete *Banten Pengulapa*, the offering to summon the spirit of the dead person.

c. *Banten Sorohan*

This is the offering to celebrate the family tempel ceremony that recurs every six months according to the Balinese Calender. The level is *madya* (middle). The Hindu ceremonies have three levels namely *nista* (lowest), *madya* (middle), and *utama* (highest).

d. *Banten Pangenteg*

This is the offering that can make the mind of human beings focus on praying to God.

e. *Banten Prayascita*

This is the offering to purify human beings mentally and physically.

f. *Banten Caru*

This is the offering (that is) used to clear the environment from evil spirits before performing a ceremony.

g. *Banten pedudusan*

This is the offering that functions to revitalise a temple so that it is appropriate for the dwelling place of *Ida Sanghyang Widhi Wasa* (God of the Hindus) in His manifestation as God Brahma, the Creator, God Wisnu, the keeper, and God Siwa, as the destroyer of evil. *Padudusan Agung* means that this is a big ceremony. *Agung* means grand while *Alit* means small.

h. *Santun*

This is not a kind of offering but a kind of present given to a priest after conducting a ceremony; *Santun* contains rice, eggs, coconuts and a duck.

The explanation above shows that some different offerings have similar functions. The use of each offering depends on the level of ceremony and where the offering is presented. In relation to the fact that part of coconut tree can be used for medicine, the Balinese people name the tree "Tree of Heaven". This name was given because this tree is tall and the root that goes deep down into the earth can be used as medicine for fever, diarrhea, dysentery and the milk can be used to neutralize poison. According to Nala (2011) in *Ayurweda* 'Knowledge of Healing' it is stated that coconut meat and coconut milk have the characteristic of being cold. The coconut milk can be used to clean the bladder even though it can also cause gastritis; coconut milk can be used as a laxative; the meat of young coconut mixed with rock candy can be used to cure hepatitis; *Nyuh Gadang* mixed with lime to be drunk can be used to eliminate the difficulty to urinate with pain in the lower part of the belly. The coconut oil from *nyuh Sudamala*, *nyuh bulan*, *nyuh udang* can be used as an ingredient for medicine as well as for massage.

The Balinese people make use of the coconut tree to produce the materials for offerings, food, as well as other materials for different purposes. Those things are:

- (1) *Busung*. Young yellow leaves of the coconut tree used for making offerings.
- (2) *Slepahan*. Old coconut leaves whose colour is green, used for making offerings.
- (3) *Nyuh*. The fruit can be used in offerings. It can also refer to the old and hard meat of the fruit.
- (4) *Kuud*. The young soft meat of the fruit.
- (5) *Sambuk*. The fiber of the fruit. It is usually burned to produce heat for baking chicken or ducks to eat.
- (6) *Kau*. The hard shell of the fruit.
- (7) *Tombong*. The soft nucleus of the fruit.
- (8) *Yeh kuud*. Coconut milk.
- (9) *Santen*. Coconut cream.
- (10) *Nanusin*. The process of making coconut oil by grating old coconut, pressed after mixing with warm water to produce liquid, and boiled. Later this process will result in three layers.
- (11) *Lengis*. The coconut oil which is the first layer product of *nanusin*.
- (12) *Roroban*. The second layer product of *nanusin*. Its liquid can be usually used for feeding animals.
- (13) *Telengis*. The third layer product of *nanusin*. It is a kind of pulp that can be eaten.
- (14) *Degdeg(-an)*. This verb is used in the process of *nanusin*. When the boiling has reached a certain degree, the fire is put out and the pan is left for *degdegan* which means to be left alone to allow the three products mentioned to separate.
- (15) *Sampat*. Broom made of the palm leaf ribs tied together.

There are fifteen words related to coconut that have been mentioned. Unfortunately, some of those are not known by young Balinese people. Those unknown words are *tombong*, *roroban* classified as nouns, *nanusin* and *degdegan* classified as verbs. Those words are going to disappear if the older people do not pass them down to the next generation. It is realized that it is not an easy job since as it is mentioned by the Ecological theories, only things that exist in our environment have names. Nowadays, coconut oil can be readily bought in shops, so there are only a few people who make it by themselves. Only older people in villages still do *nanusin* so only those people can still see and use those words. What happens when they are gone without having

had any chance to introduce those words to the next generation? It can be concluded then that the disappearing of lexicon can be caused by modernization, the situation in which people seek for efficiency and saving time. Why should they work hard, grate coconut, hurt their hands while they can buy the product in the shop? Why should the young people break the hard shell of coconut just to be able to eat the soft and sweet *tombong* while they can buy snacks? These words are going to disappear followed by (the) others. This is only in the case of one tree called coconut tree.

Some of the words mentioned above are used in *nanusin*. *Nanusin* is the traditional and manual way of making coconut oil. The process is described as follows. First, the meat of the old coconut is grated (grate 'kikih') and then sprinkled (sprinkle 'siam') with warm water. The grated coconut is mixed with hot water and then pressed resulting in the thick coconut cream. The thick coconut cream is then heated, boiled, stirred thoroughly. This step must be carefully done since if it is not, instead of having the coconut oil, there will be *roroban*. Then, no oil can be produced, and the process fails. When the well stirred thick coconut cream is done, it is (then) put aside from the fire/stove to make it cool and undergo the process of separating the oil (which will be in the upper layer and the *telengis* in the lower layer. Someone doing the *nanusin* has to wait until the residue settles at the bottom and the oil is floating above, easy to skim. The complete separation between the oil and the residue is called *degdeg*. At present, *nanusin* is hardly made at home due to the fact that there are a lot of factories producing coconut oil by machine that makes the process easier, faster, and the product is cheaper. The consequence of this modernisation is that some words like *nanusin* (V), *siam* (V), *kikih* (V), *degdeg* (V) *roroban* (N), *telengis* (N) are no longer understood by younger Balinese people. This proves that the reduction of the lexicon of a language depends on the flora and fauna, in this case coconut. If there is no activity of *nanusin* those lexicon mentioned above might disappear.

Besides, those lexicon mentioned above, the Balinese society also produced some foods made of coconut. Those foods, among others, are *saur* (grated coconut meat with spices), *sagon* (cookies made of grated coconut meat mixed with sugar and flour), *lawar klungah* chopped baby coconut meat mixed with spices), *es kuud* (ice mixed with sugar and young coconut milk and meat), *unti* (grated coconut milk, mixed with red sugar, usually put inside cookies), *tuak nyuh* (fermented coconut milk), *gula nyuh* (sugar made of coconut), *sambal nyuh* (hot chilly sauce made of chopped or grated coconut mixed with chilly and shrimp paste).

Parts of *Nyuh* Used to Form Metaphor

Knowing parts of *nyuh* is considered to be very important to be able to understand some implicit utterances. These implicit utterances are commonly used to express something in a subtle way. The following are some expressions conveying special meanings using parts of *nyuh*.

a. *Susu-ne sekadi bungkak nyuh gading kembar.*

Breast-poss like very young coconut coconut gading twin

Gading means light yellow and this is one kind of *nyuh*. *-ne* is a possessive marker and since the expression refers to the breast of a woman, *-ne* which is actually attached to the noun means 'her'. Expression (a) means that "Her breasts are like yellow baby coconut. This is an expression used to describe the breast of young girls who are in good shape and colour. *Bungkak* is a part of a coconut tree and it is impossible for someone who does not know what *bungkak* is to understand the expression.

b. *Mataluh nyuh.*

Laying egg coconut

The egg of the coconut fruit in Balinese is called *tombong*. This is the very inner part of the fruit. It is soft and sweet and consumable. Children used to like to eat it but nowadays *tombong* are seldom found since almost all the coconut fruits are immediately sent to factories to be made into coconut oil and other products made of coconut. This situation leads to the fact that very rarely the Balinese young people know what *tombong* is. If it is so, then how can they understand the meaning of that expression? The expression says *mataluh nyuh*, which actually refers to *tombong*. *Tombong* has almost a similar sound to *sombong*, in fact those words are a minimal pair. *Sombong* means "arrogant", thus for those who avoid to use the word *sombong* explicitly, they will use the expression of *mataluh nyuh*.

c. *Dawa papah-ne liu slepan-ne.*

Long stem-poss many green coconut leaf-possessive

The expression (c) uses two lexicon from the coconut tree namely *papah* 'stem' and *slepan* 'green coconut leaf'. Actually the word *papah* is not specific to coconut trees, it can be used for different trees. *Slepan* is specific to coconut tree and that kind of leaves are very much used in ritual ceremonies. The expression (c) says that the longer the stem the more it contains leaves, which means the longer someone lives, the more experiences she/he can have.

d. *Mabungsil nyuh.*

Ma- is the suffix showing possessive. Thus *mabungsil* means ‘having *bungsil*’. *Bungsil* is the smallest form of coconut fruit, appearing from the flower. *Bungsil* grows into *bungkak*, and then to *kuud* ‘young coconut’ and finally to *nyuh* ‘coconut’. *Mabungsil nyuh* means *ngesil* which means ‘to be alone’. There is a rhyme between *bungsil* and *ngesil*.

e. *Bungsil malunan ulung teken nyuhe.*

bungsil –e ahead fall than coconut –e

-e is the prefix showing determination which have similar meaning with article ‘the’. The expression in (e) says that *bungsil* fall ahead the coconut, meaning that ‘the young passes away before the older one’. This expression is usually said by old people when a very young relative passes away.

The five examples above show that expressions can be made using the parts of a coconut tree which are used to express something in a subtle way. These expressions can only be understood if someone understands what those words related to coconut refer to.

Hindu Myths and Philosophy in Coconut-Related Lexicon

The coconut tree is named tree of heaven due to the fact that all parts, from the root up to the top of the tree, are useful. However, in this part, the discussion is limited to the layers of the coconut fruit which are related to the Hindu myths and philosophy. Again, this teaching can only be understood if people understand what the names of the parts refer to.

Prabaswara (2011) discusses the spiritual layers of coconut. To begin with, he mentions that coconut derives from the head of Brahma, one of the gods in Hindu belief who acts as the creator of the world and everything in it. Due to this belief, the Hindu treat the coconut in a very special way by making it important in any ritual ceremony. No ritual and offerings mentioned above are complete without the presence of parts of coconut tree like the leaves, the fruit or the coconut milk.

The philosophy of the Hindus says that the layers of the coconut skin symbolizes the body of a human being. The layers consist of *sambuk* ‘fiber’, *kau* ‘coconut shell’ and *isi* ‘flesh of the fruit’. Those layers are the representation of the layers of the human body that cover the *paramasukma* ‘the highest spirit which is the smallest part of God that exists in the human mind’. To be able to unite with *paramasukma*, people have to do a lot of meditation, do good things to purify themselves. Through meditation human beings are able to get rid of all the layers

that bring darkness to the highest spirit in their bodies to reach the *Yeh nyuh* 'coconut milk' which is the symbol of the unity between the human soul and God. The highest goal of the Hindhus is to unite with God. Another philosophy of coconut says that the hard shell of the coconut is symbolizes the ego of human beings that must be broken to be able to enhance the coconut milk symbolizing the unity between the human soul and God.

In big ritual ceremonies, coconut milk is used as *tirta* 'holy water'. The coconut milk is treated as sacred water to purify human beings physically and spiritually and it is proper to treat it that way since coconut milk is clear and is found in the middle of the fruit covered with layers of skin. This philosophy will sustain as long as people process the coconut fruit instead of sending it to a factory.

The discussion above has proved that the ritual function of the coconut (tree) is very powerful. However, its occurrence in rituals as well as being an integral component of medicine are not the only functions of a coconut (tree). It also has the function of protecting the land from erosion since it usually grows on the sea shore; it also has economic functions; for instance the roots can be used for medicine, the stalk can be used to build houses, the ribs of the leaves can be put together to make a *sampat* 'broom' and the wood from the trunk can be used to create furniture. These specific economic values help people to earn their living. The coconut is so useful that its manifoldness reflects human beings. They are expected to be as useful as the tree. All this usefulness can help people to earn their living; that people can have their procreate is in line with the purpose of God Brahma as the creator of the world and anything in it.

Conclusion

Based on the discussion above, it can be concluded that language will not become extinct as long as the environment in which the language exists can preserve its flora and fauna, and as long as the language has its speakers who keep the flora and fauna intact and transfer it to the others or to the next generation. The lexicon of a language shows the richness of the environment, its culture, flora and fauna that must be preserved so that the next generation is acquainted with it. This also applies to the coconut tree. It must be preserved since it is very important for the Hindu rituals and the lexicon can be used to bridge the philosophy of the religion. Then, the statement that a language will become extinct if there is no one who speaks it is not quite true since the sustainability of a language also depends on the existence of its flora and

fauna. It can be imagined how many more words are going to be forgotten when the flora and fauna represented by the lexicon do not exist anymore. In the case of the coconut tree, which is still available, there are numbers of lexicon related to it which are not known any longer by the young generation due to modernization and the desire to lead an easy and comfortable life.

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