

# FOLK ART AND CULTURE CHANGE AS OBSERVED IN A KHALING VILLAGE<sup>1</sup>

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## INTRODUCTION

Living in a rural community secluded from through-traffic and markets requires people who are self-sufficient and independent of the conveniences of shops for the supply of essentials in daily living and working. When we started living in the Khaling village of Khastap, the self-sufficiency of the people was one of the things which I noticed and appreciated most. I sensed a harmony of supply and demand. People were accustomed to make their own utensils, for there was plenty of raw material just for the getting out in the jungle surrounding the village, and they would take time to make the item in question.

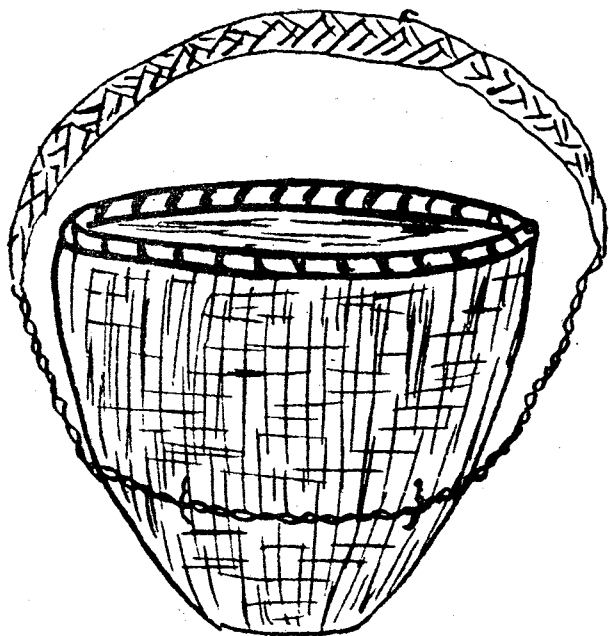
The situation of self-sufficiency and independence of the market has since noticeably changed. Less than ten years ago, a market was established only one day's walk away from Khastap. The variety of merchandise has increased considerably. With this of course, the number of Khaling customers has increased, as well as the variety of things they buy in the market.

The purpose of this paper is to describe items of daily living distinctive to Khaling culture and made by the people themselves, for there is good reason to suppose that before long the Khalings will have stopped making their own tools and utensils. This will also result in some linguistic change. Not only will Nepali words come into Khaling vocabulary with the new and bought items, but also Khaling terms for particular hand-made items will disappear, or, instead of original terms for certain items, derived words will be used. One example is the word for 'ladle': the original Khaling word is used for the hand-made bamboo-carved utensil (*lophe*), but for a market-bought aluminum

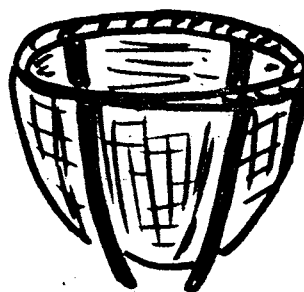
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<sup>1</sup> Khaling are a group of Tibeto-Burman language stock. They live on both sides of the Dudh Kosi, and on the west side of the Inku Khola in the Solu-Khumbu district of Sagarmatha Zone of Nepal. The village of Khastap comprises about 75 houses of Khalings and altogether 5 houses of blacksmiths and one house of the village tailor.

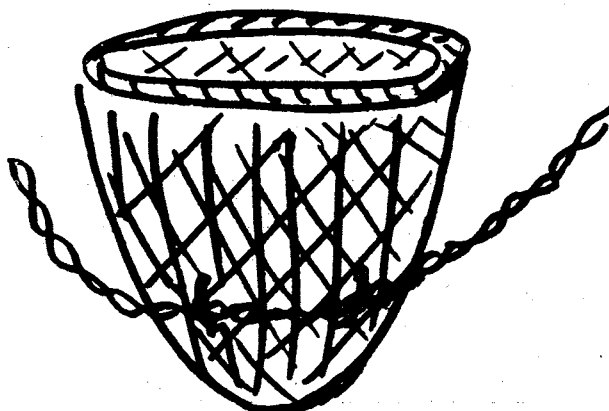
Field work in Khastap was undertaken in 1970 under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies of Tribhuvan University, Kirtipur, Nepal.



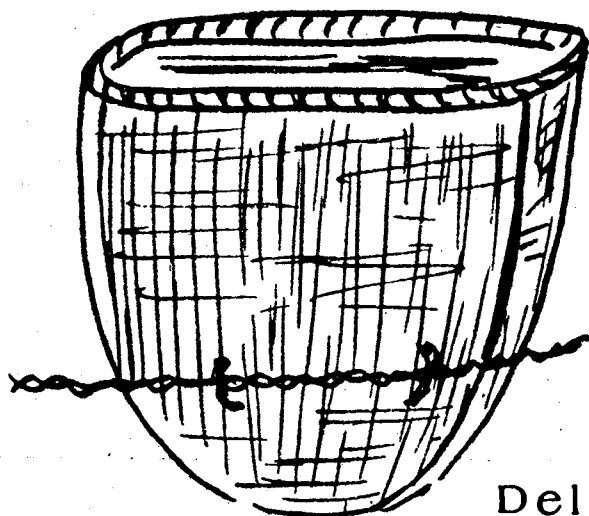
Polu



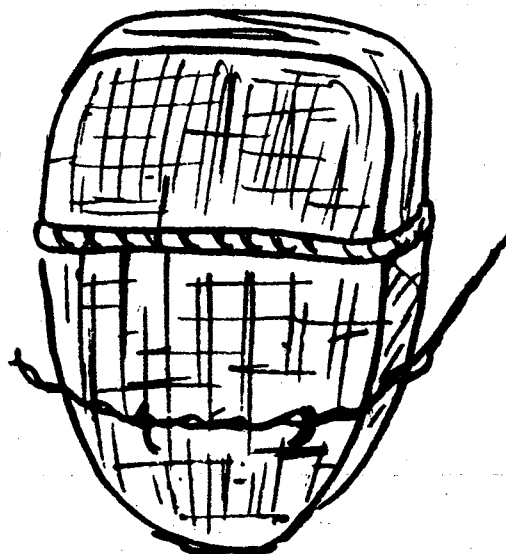
Kheng



Lang



Deli

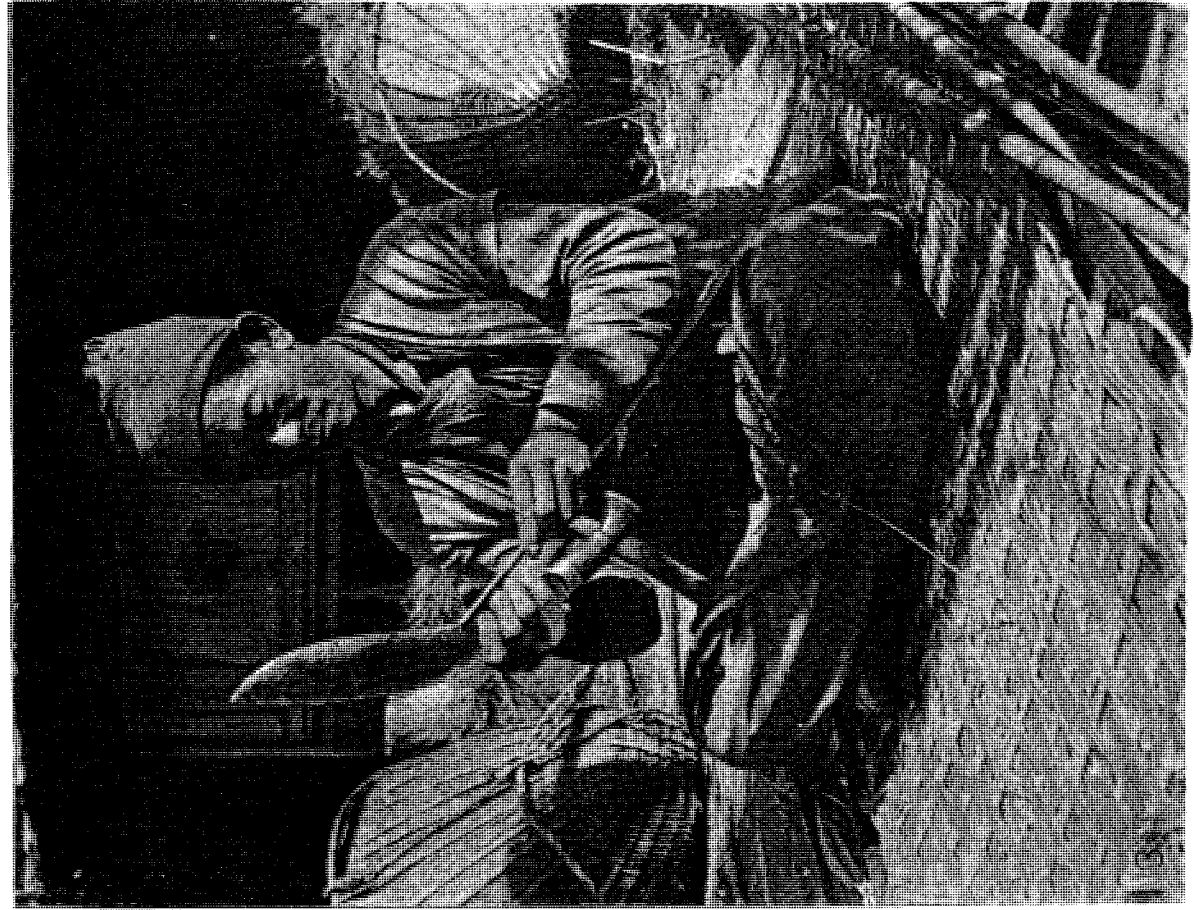


Gogro



1. Khastap, a Khaling village in Solu-Khumbu District.





3. Khaling man preparing for bamboo-weaving.



4. Khaling Rai couple.

ladle, a derived word (*pheyde*) is used which actually is composed of a verb stem meaning 'to spread' and an ending which denotes an instrument. The same is true for 'comb', to name but two.

## 1. ARTICLES OF HOUSEHOLD USE

It is the job of the men to see that household articles are in good shape, repaired or replaced. This includes weaving of bamboo into baskets and mats as well as cutting or carving of bamboo into various tools and vessels. There are also a few things in every household which are made out of wood.

### *1.1 Bamboo weaving*

Bamboo is a very versatile material and the different varieties are suitable for different kinds of baskets which serve various purposes. Usually, there is one male member of a household who is able to supply the need for baskets around the house and in the cattle-shed. But there are different techniques of weaving these baskets and some are more difficult to make than others. As a consequence, there are some men who are especially skilful in making certain kinds of baskets and who may have a reputation as professional basketmakers. Nevertheless, in a Khaling's opinion, anyone can and should learn to make all types of baskets, and it is considered a virtue of if one is able to make any kind as the need arises.

A *polu* is a funnel-shaped basket used for transporting grain. It stands about three to four feet high with a top diameter of about 2 1/2'. It is carried with a headband which is attached with loops woven into the lower end of the basket. The technique of weaving a *polu* is called "twilling" which allows for the necessary change in width from bottom to top. The material may be any kind of bamboo except the thick kinds which are not suitable.

A *deli* is also a funnel-shaped basket woven in the same technique as a *polu* and about the same height, but it is not round like the *polu*. In accordance with its use, the *deli* is shaped in a rectangle with rounded corners so that it can be leaned against the wall in the cattle shed where it is used as a storage place for clothing and other items needed. The *deli* also has a lid which is about half the height of the basket proper. The lid not only keeps animals from the contents of the *deli*, but it also makes it possible to pile things up high when the cattle shed is moved to another place and the *deli* is used to transport things.

A *kheng* is a small basket with legs used to keep small supplies of grain or flour. The *kheng* frequently is made by Tamangs who sell it to Khalings in exchange for grain. The fixed price for one *kheng* is three *kheng* full of any grain.

A *lang* is used for many purposes, such as carrying wood, stones, or fodder. It is funnel-shaped and carried with a headband. But compared with the above-mentioned

baskets, it is quite coarse and is supposed to be the simplest basket to make. The strips of bamboo from which it is woven are quite thick, and they need to be soaked in water while the basket is being made. The weaving technique is loose hexagonal and it takes only a few hours to make a lang.

A *gogro*<sup>2</sup> is the rectangular basket in which babies and even small children are commonly carried by use of a headband. It is woven fine bamboo, twined with narrow slates of wood stuck through horizontally on the outside the full length of all four sides to give the basket stability. The cutting of the bamboo rods must be done on certain auspicious days. The measurements for a *gogro* are surprisingly small, 10" x 20", and often the children have to dangle their legs out when they are put to sleep in their *gogros*.

A *dhæmyongme* is a large 2½' by 2½' basket with low sides woven in loose check. It is kept above the fireplace (supported by the cornerposts) and is used to dry grains or to keep cooking utensils. A special basket of similar shape called *khemu* is exclusively used for drying millet before grinding. It is not put above the stove or fireplace, but outside in the sunshine.

A *ræykhim* is a basket-sieve of rectangular shape, about 18" long and 9" wide. The bottom is woven in checked manner, with very small spaces at the crossing points of the rods. Sides are double, the inside being twilled, the outside loose hexagonal. Around the rim, a stronger rod is inserted, and at the same time the sides are bent down to the bottom level where again a stronger rod is inserted to give stability and steady stand. For material, only completely straight bamboo rods of the fine kind are usable because the bottom needs to be evenly woven with regular holes at regular intervals. The *ræykhim* is rather difficult to make, so not everybody can make it.

A *thep* is a small, about 10" high, funnel basket which is used in making beer. The weave is twill, and like the *raykhim*, it is made of fine bamboo rods which need to be perfectly straight and regular.

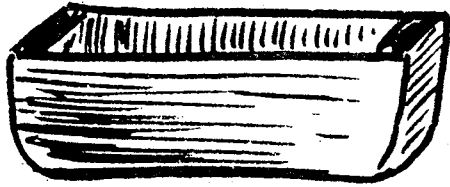
A *cüringgi* is a small hand basket.

A *phocel* is a small rectangular basket, used for all kinds of foods which are either ready to cook or to be eaten.

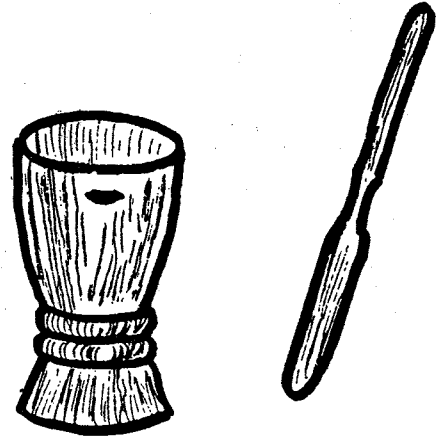
The carrying band, *lenwaam*, which is attached to the lower end of the basket and worn across the forehead is also woven of bamboo. Its center, that is, the part that stretches across the forehead, is braided of flat and straight strips. The ends are left unbraided and wound with string to prevent undoing of the braided part.

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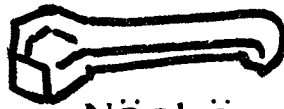
<sup>2</sup> This basket, though not unique or limited to Khaling culture, is included here because it nevertheless is typical and in common use. Sometimes a professional basket maker of the blacksmith caste is given an order for such a basket rather than the father making it himself.



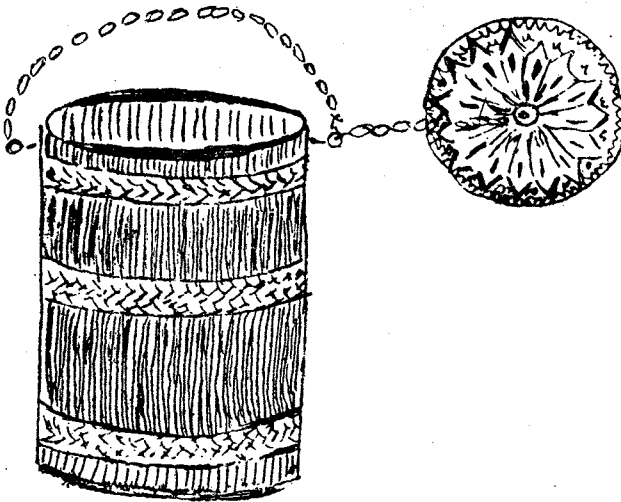
Pokam



Saamkraa Thalam



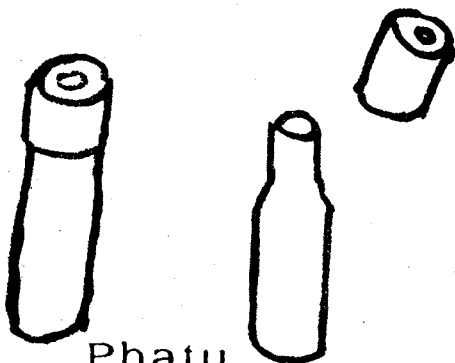
Näsbä



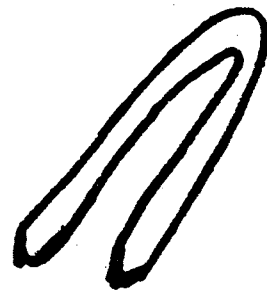
Thöklaa



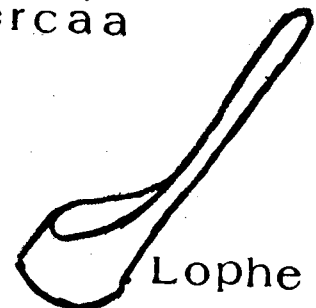
Wäwäm



Phatu



Pepercaa



Lophe

Mats are used for various purposes. Those made by the Khaling people themselves are all made out of split bamboo. For the roof of the cattle sheds, large mats called *chelme* are used. The weave is twilled, the strands of bamboo being quite coarse. It takes about a day to weave a *chelme*, once the bamboo is prepared. As it is quite simple, anybody is expected to be able to weave a *chelme*.

A *gharme* is used to dry grain and also as walls or partitions in the cattle shed. It is woven in twilled fashion, but the strands are much finer than those of the *chelme*. Any kind of fine bamboo is suitable for making it.

### 1.2 *Bamboo carving*

Bamboo is not only used split up for weaving baskets and mats; it is also used with the whole stem cut in half lengthwise. In this way it makes efficient water-pipes to irrigate fields or to bring water to a housebuilding site. Even for drinking-water supply bamboo pipes are used. For this purpose, the stems are first split into half lengthwise and the knots removed; then the halves are tied together again.

Bamboo stems with carved-in steps are used as ladders across fences which are also made of bamboo stems.

A dipper to dish out soup is called *lophe*. It is made of the large bamboo, using the knot as the base while the handle is a strip which is left. This is scarce to find as it is being replaced by cheap aluminum dippers bought in the market. So far, Khaling have not considered that the change may not be altogether for the better, because however cheap market-bought items may be, they do require cash. And cash is rare in Khaling households which are geared to be self sustaining rather than depending on buying things of daily need. Moreover, the hand carved bamboo dipper lasts much longer than an aluminum one.

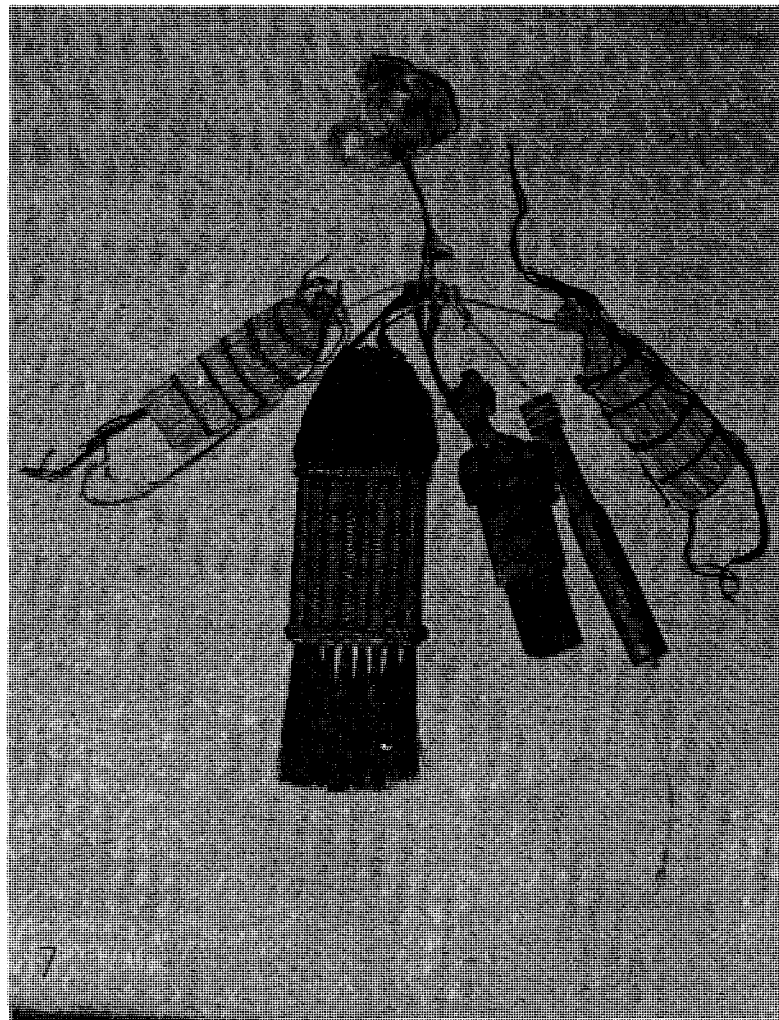
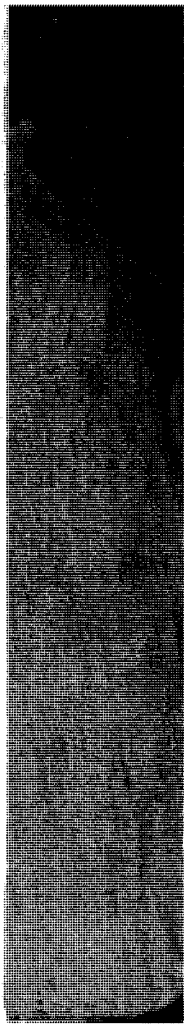
A handy container for tea leaves, salt, spices, tobacco, etc. is a bamboo tube with a lid, *phatu*. In the same pattern, it is made in various sizes to fit the purpose.

A cup to dip out beer from a large container on occasions like weddings is called *wawam*.

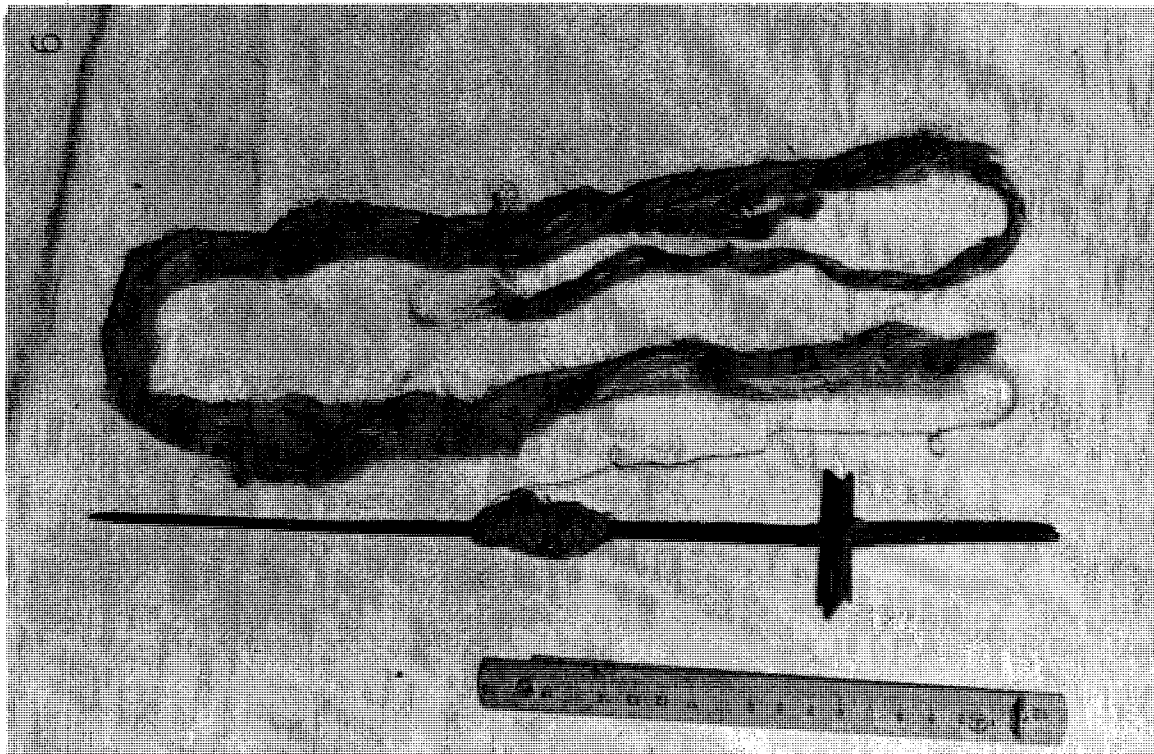
Tongs to pick up pieces of charcoal or to pick nettles are called *pepercaa*. They are made of narrow band of the large bamboo which is soaked first and then bent. It is sometimes decorated with a scorched-in design. Like all the other items mentioned, the tongs also are rapidly replaced by items bought in the market. The original Khaling term is also being replaced by the Nepali word.

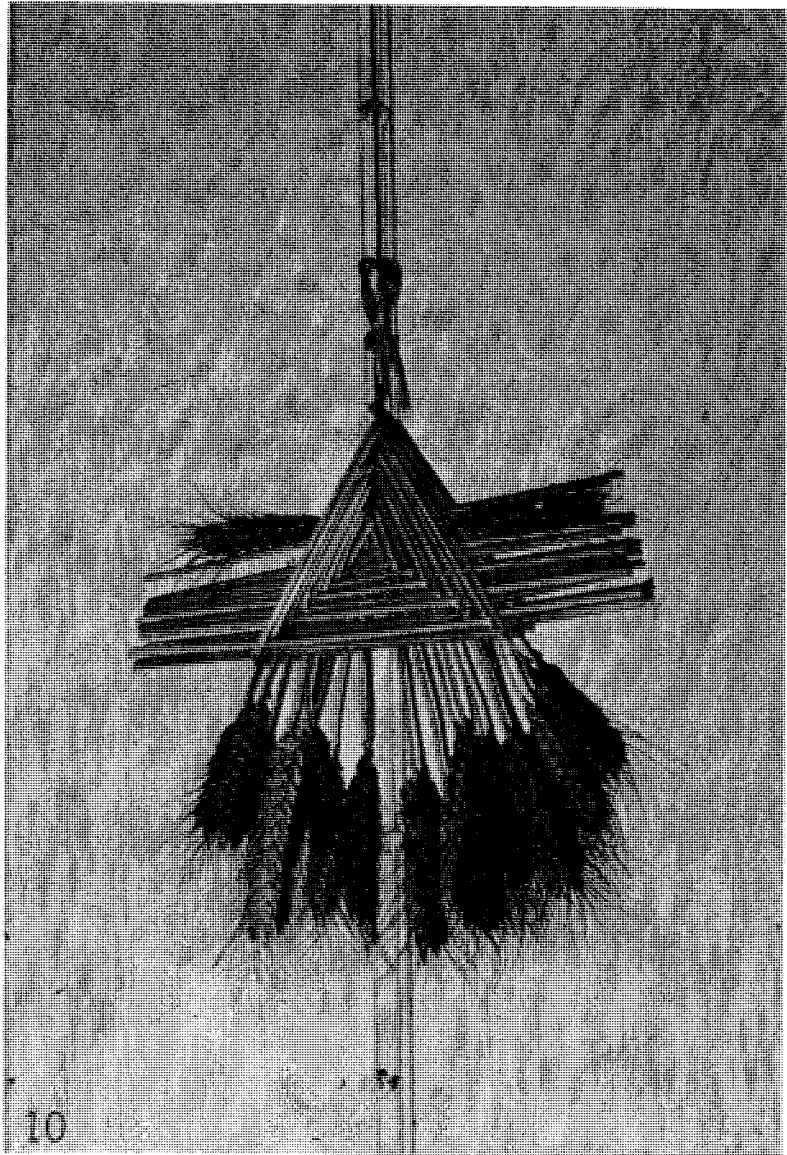
The ceremonial beer container called *thöklaa*, which is used by men only, is also made of a bamboo stem, the knot providing a natural bottom. The sides of this beer container, which holds about two pints, are decorated with strips of braided bamboo consisting of very narrow strands. Notches are carved out of the bamboo surface in order to keep the braided strips in place. Actually, the purpose of these braids



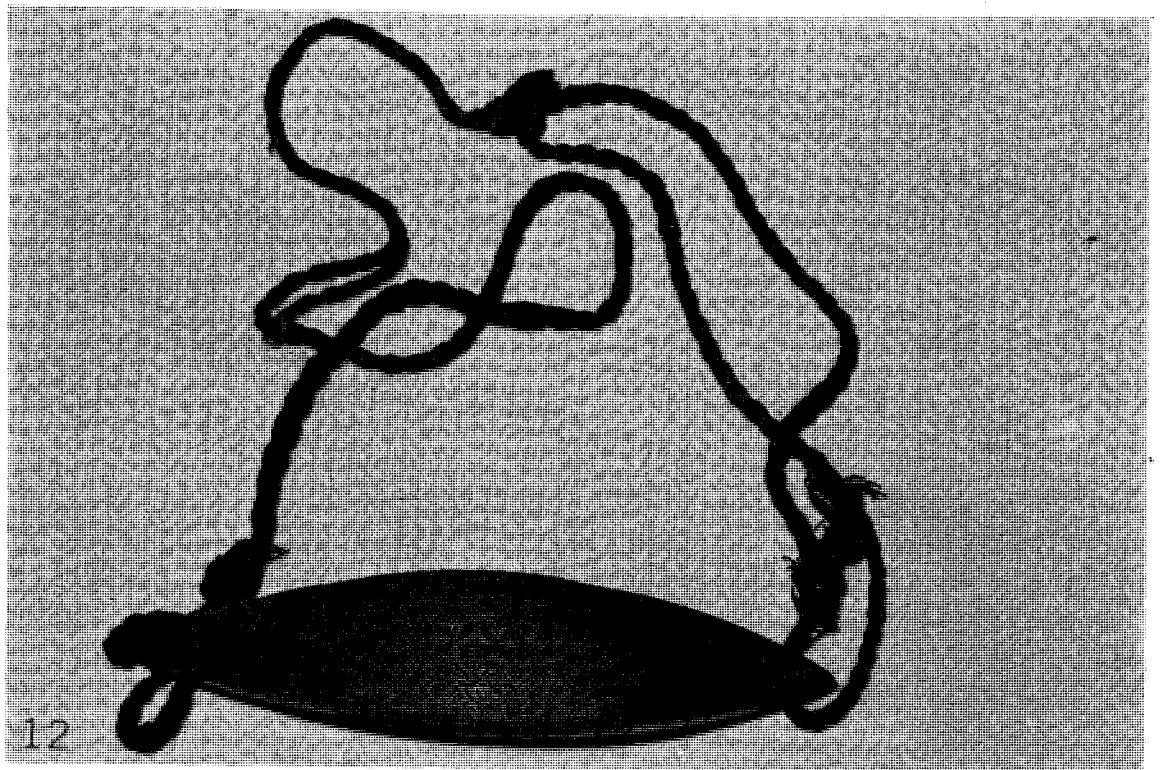


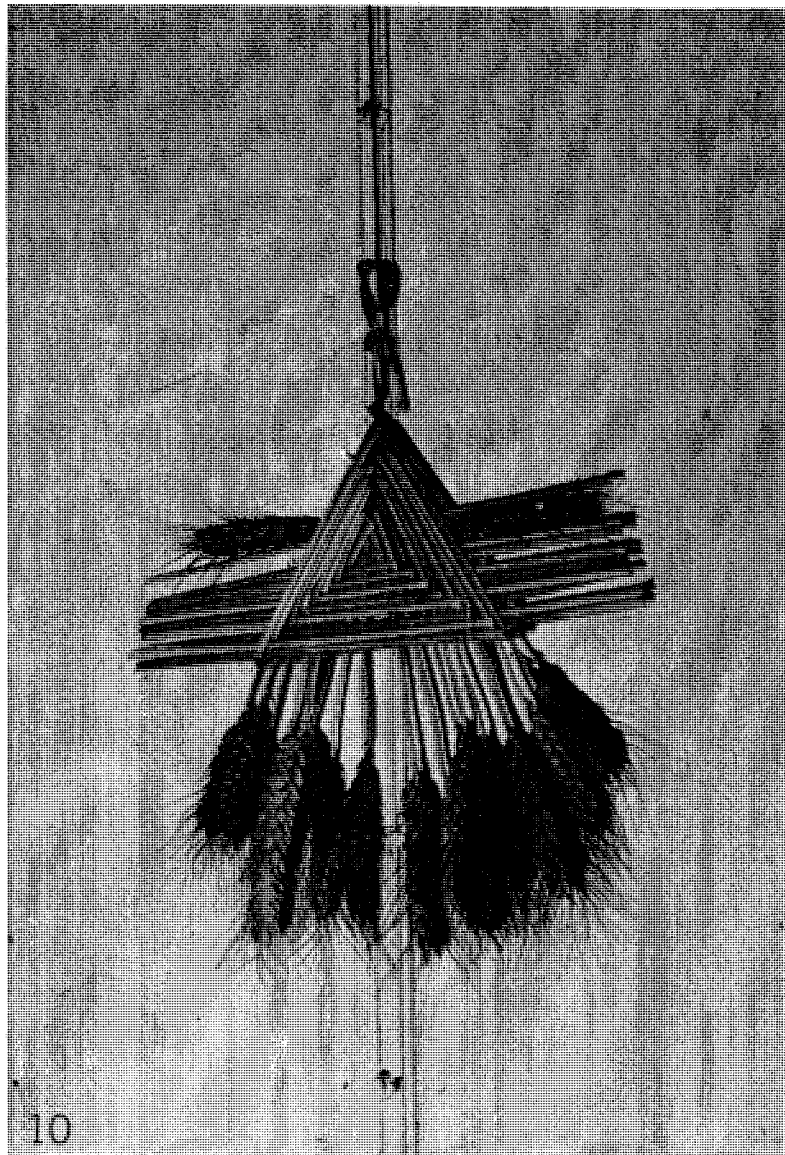
7. Decorations on vest.





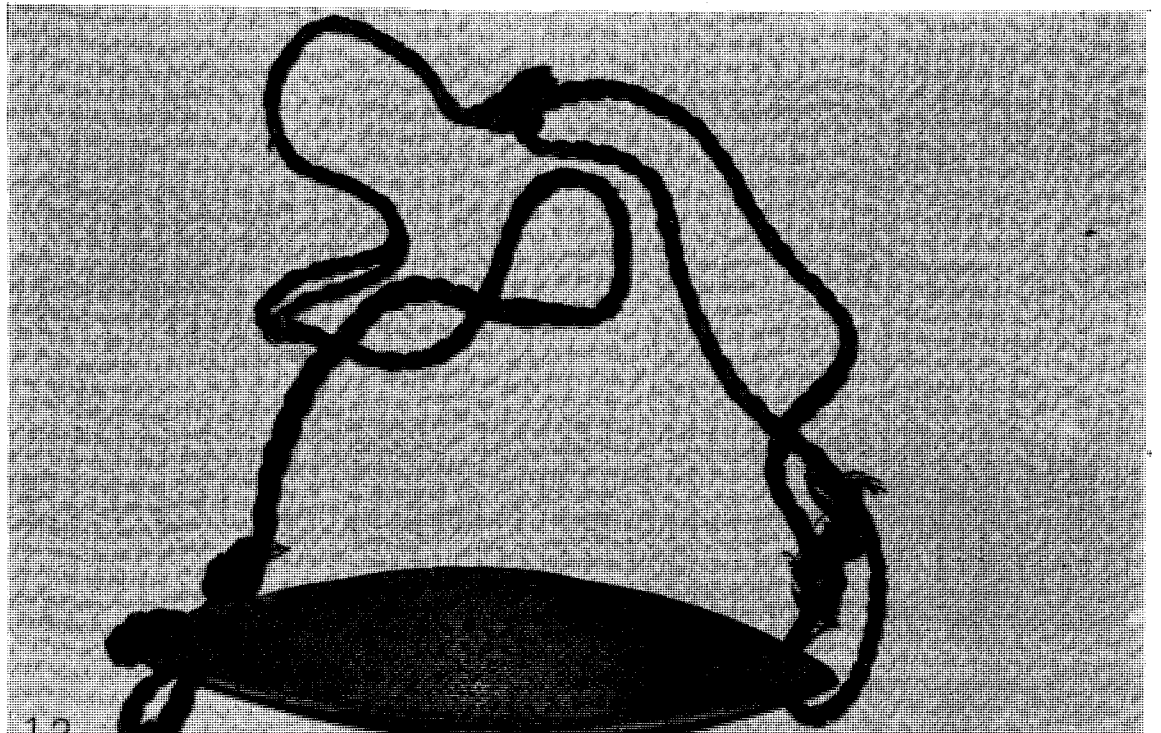
10. Wall decoration.





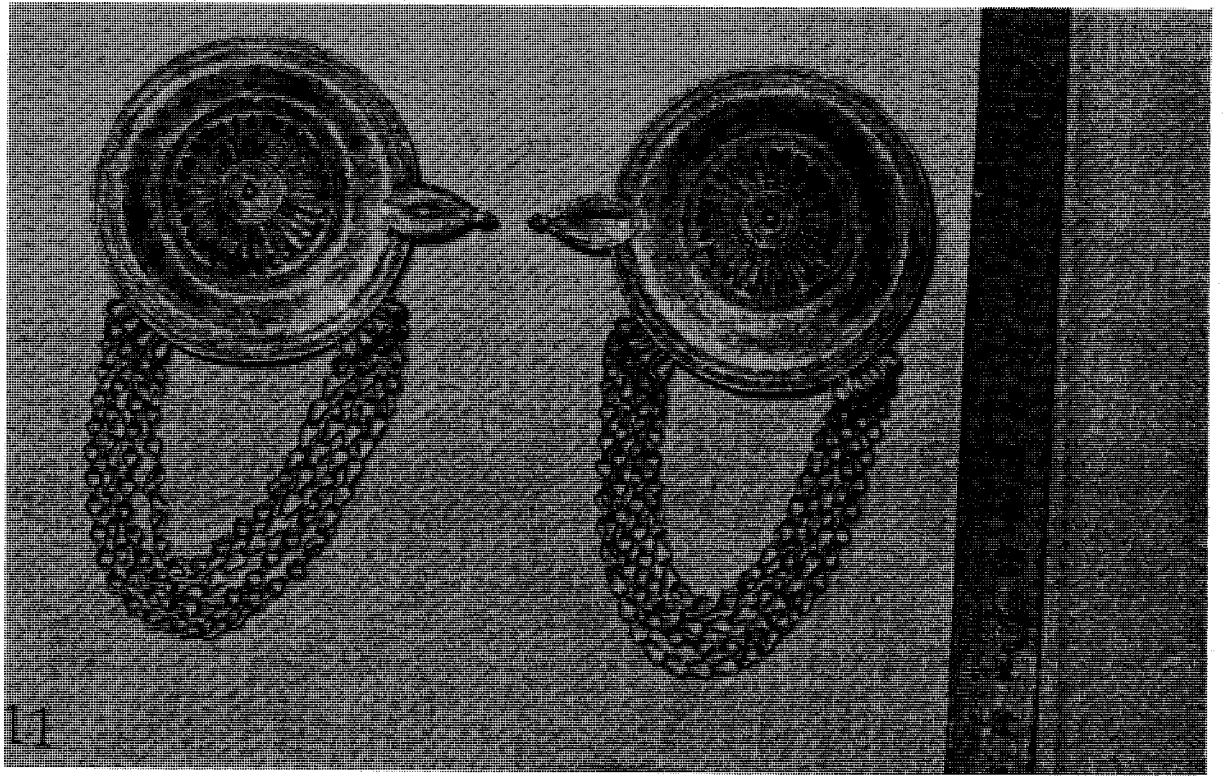
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10. Wall decoration.

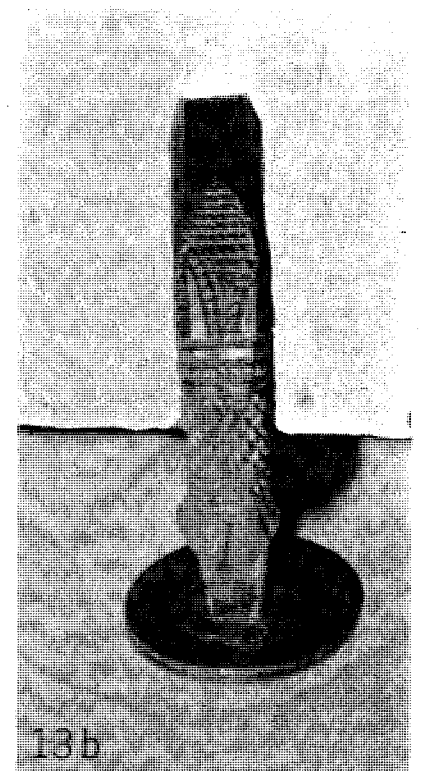
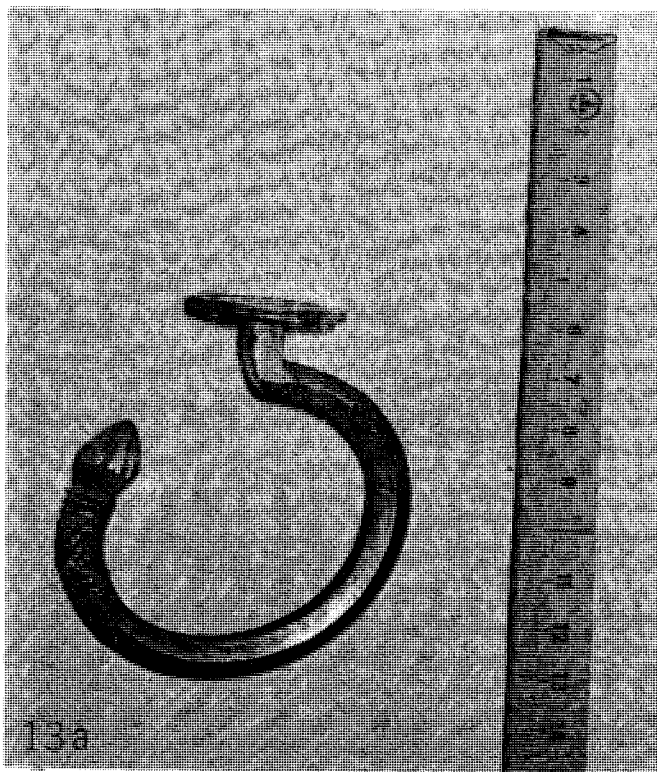


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TUD



11. Ear-ring (tariun)



13 a & b. Bracelet or bangle.

is double: they are decorative as well as practical for they prevent the bamboo from splitting. The thöklāa is usually handed down from father to son, and with age it turns into a beautiful redish-brown colour. The lid of the thöklāa consists of a carved wooden disk with a cooper or iron chain fastened in the center and fastened also at the side of the thöklāa with a peg. The thöklāa also has a chain handle so that it can be carried easily. There are very few men nowadays who can make a thöklāa, and they make them only to order.

### *1.3 Wood*

Other items made by the men of each Khaling household are carved from wood. Some of these are made very simply; that is, the raw material is only crudely worked e.g. for the threshing stick or the laundry beater. Others are more sophisticated and include ploughs, troughs, pestle and mortar, and, of course, handles for hoes, axes, and hammers. *Næsbæ*, a sort of dipper, is used to sprinkle beer at religious ceremonies.

For ploughs, only certain trees provide suitable wood (S. Toba 1975). Ploughs need to be carved long before they are actually needed in order to let the wood dry out before the metal tip is attached. Ploughs carved from a piece of wood which bends naturally the way the plough should bend are best. Therefore, it takes some searching to find a suitable piece of wood. The plough is one of the standard items made by Khaling men, but strangely, it does not have a Khaling name and is always called by the Nepali word for plough. This may indicate that originally Khaling people did not know the plough and used only a stick. Yet once they become acquainted with this useful tool, they incorporated it into their stock of agricultural tools.

The *pokam* is a trough in which leftover food is kept and mixed with water. Every evening, some of this mixture is dipped out and heated up as food for the pig. The *pokam* may be made of any kind of wood provided the diameter is big enough. The piece of wood is hollowed out and flattened at the bottom so that it stands firmly on the ground. A smaller container of the same type is made for the chickens' water.

The *saamkraa* (mortar) and *thalam* (pestle) are also necessities in each Khaling household. The mortar resembles the shape of an oversize eggcup, standing almost 2' high with a diameter of almost 1'. Although all mortars are basically the same shape, there are some which appear to be especially well proportioned, even some with simple decorations carved on the outside, usually the foot. The pestle is a stick of heavy wood, about 3' long with rounded ends and an indentation in the center to provide a place for holding it.

## 2. CLOTHING

### *2.1 Weaving*

While it is the task of the men to do all the bamboo weaving, it is the domain

of the women to do all other weaving. But while the men do their weaving usually whenever an item is needed, the women weave only during the dry winter months when there is not too much field work to be done. Before the time of markets in their immediate neighborhood, Khaling women got all their raw material from the jungle. Wild hemp (sisal hemp, *Girardinia palmata*) used to grow abundantly there, but now, since the number of people has increased steadily and no efforts have been made to cultivate the plant, it is rather scarce. However, the thread gained from wild hemp is very durable, and in more far-away places, good housewives still find their supply. The preparation of hemp is quite a lengthy process. In fall, the new shoots are cut. They are then peeled and left to dry, resulting in stiff dark brown strips. These strips have to be soaked overnight—usually just held in place in the creek by some heavy stones. Then they are boiled in water until the individual fibres are separated from the strips. After boiling, the fibres are bleached by kneading them with lime earth and leaving them for a few days. The lime dust has to be beaten out and the fibres are hung up to dry completely. Then the spinning can begin. The spindle, called *wasen* in Khaling, is a very simple instrument consisting of a smooth stick about 1' long and 1/8" thick which is somewhat thinner on the one end. On the thicker end it is stuck through a square disk. The spindle is then twirled between the thumb and index finger of one hand while the fibres are arranged with the other hand, a process which looks amazingly simple and yet requires a lot of practice from childhood on. The result is a strong thread of beige color. It is woven into a rather coarse material which is used to make bags, sacks, and especially clothing. Of clothing items, the most outstanding is a characteristic vest called *bhangaaraa*. This is actually a Nepali word, *bhangro*, meaning 'hessian, sackcloth, a mantle of this cloth'. In Khaling, only the last meaning is used and that even for *bhangaaraa* woven of cotton thread.

For such weaving, a simple loom is used which is common throughout Nepal (Taylor 1969) and which consists of only a single beam supported horizontally by its ends. The person operating the loom sits on the ground. A piece of rope or headband attached to the sides of the cloth beam forms a loop behind the operator's back; thus the weave is kept stretched during working time. The loom is rolled up when not used.

The material for the *bhangaaraa* is plain weave, with a border of colored thread forming part of the warp on either side. At one end, there is also a border of colored thread worked into the weft which is later elaborately embroidered.

The skill of weaving cloth is passed on from mother to daughter. There are very few women who do not possess this skill. Even little girls make mats and blankets for their "dolls" (usually small sticks dressed in scraps of cloth). In their teens, girls are taught more formally the art of weaving. At first they sit just watching, but then they are given opportunity to work on their own.

For other material, such as men's clothing or women's skirts (these are traditionally blue with fine white stripes), a more complicated loom is used where the raising and lowering of the heddles is done with the feet. The bobbins in this type of loom are weighted down with loom weights.

A kind of net or bag is made of hemp or cotton by Khaling men. It is called *phaji* and has become very rare as the *jhola* or common Nepali bag is rapidly replacing it.

### *2.2 Knitting and crocheting*

While weaving is a common skill of women (in fact, before there was a market within short distance, it was the task of the women to weave all the cloth needed to clothe all the members of their household) knitting and crocheting are recent introductions and rather luxurious skills. The British Army to which many Khaling men are recruited allows a man to bring his wife on a second term of duty. It was during such stays with their husbands in the Army that Khaling women learned knitting and crocheting. Oftentimes the patterns are quite elaborate and are remembered only by memory. However, though very useful, knitting and crocheting have not become necessary skills like weaving. The main reason for this is not the lack of material—almost every Khaling household keeps a few sheep for wool—but the pattern already set, in two respects. For one thing, the women who learned how to knit while away from home learned knitting with bought wool which of course is much finer than homespun sheep wool. On the other hand, the wool of the sheep kept by Khalings was already being used, being woven either into blankets or vests. Therefore, women who returned from the Army to their home villages had to convince others of the usefulness of the new skill in order to make it a common practice. Since most of them failed in this and since they were not urged to teach the new skill to others, knitting did not spread. Also, buying wool is virtually impossible as it is only available in larger cities, and it is too expensive.

For crocheting, the situation is somewhat different. Soldiers' wives would crochet mainly "nice" things, such as headscarves or stoles. Like knitted items, these are also done in quite elaborate patterns. The thread used is cotton thread. This is available more widely, even in smaller marketplaces. Also, there is no competition from any existing custom which would hinder the spread of the new skill. However, the women find it difficult to improvise; therefore, if they lose or break their crocheting needle, they do not make a new one out of bamboo which is also suitable material and readily available. (Of course, bamboo knitting needles also are hardly used). But again, it is the fact that the skill is acquired with bought materials, and thus the pattern is set.

### *2.3 Embroidering*

Embroidering is, as mentioned above, the finishing touch for the bhangaaraa. Mainly one border across the waistline in the back (which is beforehand

indicated by a band of colored thread woven into the material) is stitched in red, blue, and green. But if the maker is skilful and artistic, she will stitch flowers of her own design on the back. Some women also embroider flowers of their own design of white material to be worn as a headscarf. Originally, embroidering also was introduced to Khaling women through women returning with their husbands from the army.

### 3. DECORATIONS

#### 3.1 *Personal decoration*

Making clothing, and making it as pretty as possible, is the task of women, but both men and women make little items of decoration which are worn pinned to clothing. The main material for such items is bamboo, but other plants also are used, for instance, threads from splitting the stem of one particular kind of orchid, seeds, or roots.

Almost every young girl has pinned to her blouse or bhangaaraa one or several *yongbem* (jew's harp). This little instrument is about 3"-4" long and half an inch wide. It consists of a split piece of bamboo with a narrow tongue cut in the center. On either end a piece of thread is fastened. The tune is produced by holding the jew's harp at the base end of the tongue and pulling the thread at the other end where the tongue swings free. When playing the jew's harp, it is held between the open lips and the open mouth provides for resonance. Glottal stops (saying inaudible "k" sound) add rhythm to the tune which swings back and forth in a quint. Some jew's harps have tiny carved designs which are filled in with red color.

A metal variety of the jew's harp is called *mucungaa*. It is not made by the Khaling people themselves but bought from the blacksmiths. What the Khaling do make is a little sheath or container for the *mucungaa*, as it is quite delicate, having the tongue curved up in a right angle so it can be pricked in order to produce the tune. The little sheath is called by a Nepali name, *khol*. It is made of bamboo and is just a tube with both ends open. At the upper end, holes are pierced into it and a slit made into the sides where draw strings are fastened to hold the *mucungaa* in place. The *khol* shows elaborate minute design usually filled in with red color.

An item rather peculiar to Rais is a little brush called *kuci*. (It seems strange that this item which is declared a specialty of Rais has a Nepali name.) The bristles are of pig's hair (pigs are kept by Rais and are killed only on rare occasions for religious feasts, weddings, or burial feasts). The handle is made out of rhododendron wood or of bamboo. If wood is used, this is made by the men who carve designs into it. The girls make the bamboo handles. They use the very thin kind of bamboo reeds, four to eight pieces, and tie them together in a row. At the lower end the bristles are stuck in; at the upper end it is hung up or rather pinned up. The individual bamboo pieces



are covered with a weave of red thread and the thread gained by splitting the stem of a particular orchid (*waarme, Dendrobium Pierardi*).

*Daajuraa* or *phurkhaa* are an other kind of decoration. They may be worn at the end of the braid of hair or pinned to clothing. In the latter case, they may consist of small pieces of the root of Spikenard (*ngoroci, Nardostachys jatamansi*) which are used like beads. At the lower end are several tassels; at the upper end a loop to hang it from. This is made by women.

Rice straw provides material for little “flower” pendants worn on blouse or vest. For this, regular pieces of straw are woven together by bands of different strands of colored yarn. The upper end is gathered, the lower end is flat, so that the shape roughly resembles a flower pressed flat. This is also made by the women.

In addition to these homemade and handmade items of decoration, of course, women also wear market-bought beads of various sizes and colors. To top these off, and oftentimes as a sign that the husband has been in the Gurkha army, one or several necklaces made of coins are worn, sometimes reaching down to the waist. Nowadays, however not only the handmade things are held in low regard but also the coin necklaces. More and more the particular taste of Khaling women—e. g. for large red beads and long coin necklaces—gives way to a uniform or rather urban taste or fashion in accessories. This trend would not be deplorable in itself. But, since women do want to decorate themselves, added cash is needed for this purpose which is not easily available in the average Khaling household. Thus, the discontinuing of making items of decoration by hand, with a cost of almost nil, contributes to the overall observed change of a once self-sustained culture to one that relies more and more heavily on markets and cash.

### 3.2 House decoration

Originally, old Khaling people told us, all the Khaling built were temporary houses made of mats and branches. Nowadays, these sheds are only used as the shelter for those who work with the cattle. By their very nature, these shelters are not apt for decoration. But nowadays Khaling houses are built of stone and whitewashed. On some houses we find not only the usual band of red from the ground up for about 1', but also geometrical flower designs on the walls between the windows. Window frames and veranda pillars may be carved if the builder is a gifted craftsman. We were told, however, that for some reason it is a dying art to decorate one's house.

## 4. MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Some Khaling musical instruments were mentioned above as decorations pinned to clothing. There are more to mention now. A little flute called *bibilim* made of the

stem of a small reed grass is carried in the pocket by girls as well as boys. The tune it makes is similar to that of an oboe. The range is a quint. Tunes are very rhythmical.

A very important instrument is the horn, *bham*. It is made from buffalo horn and is played on the days of the most important Khaling festival, the "dance". Its range is only one tone which is quite hard to produce.

Made of bamboo is the *tungmaa*, a bamboo string instrument with two tones. It is made by boys who watch the cattle. The *tungmaa* consists of a piece of the large bamboo (*pæb*, *Dendrocalamus sikkimensis*) with the natural knot providing a closed body for resonance. On the long side, it has a hole about an inch in size. The two strings consist of strips of bamboo which are vertically separated from the body but left attached at either end. They are supported above the center hole with a flat piece of bamboo. Again it is the rhythm which makes the tunes played on this instrument.

#### 5. STONE MONUMENTS

Stone monuments in memory of a deceased relative, usually an army soldier, are characteristically found in the Khaling area. These consist of carvings on the back walls of the chautaras along the trails. Invariably, they show a stick man in the center and sun and moon to the left and right. The inscription tells about the person to whom the stone is dedicated.

#### 6. DANCE AND DRAMA

One of the highlights in the course of each year is the *wass*, a kind of dance festival connected with earth worship which takes place in the month of May. It is usually the women who do the dancing, while the men make the music by clapping cymbals. The cymbalist stands in the center of a circle which is formed by the women who face sometimes the inside, sometimes the outside of the circle. As they step around in the circle, they go one step, then pull the other foot along, then do another step. With their hands, they make various gestures, such as planting rice, making bread, arranging flowers, gathering up grain at harvesting time. There is one leader whose gestures are followed by the others. Unfortunately, there are not too many women these days, we were told, who really know what the gestures of the leader mean. As a consequence, their gestures are no more than a vague moving up and down of arms and hands. Nevertheless, they dance with enthusiasm and endurance.

While the *wass* is a genuine Khaling dance, there is also several times a year a *nadak*. This is kind of rustic drama or opera which is done in the Nepali language. Performers of the play are only young men, even for female characters. There are

stage, curtain, accessories, etc. This is done with great enthusiasm, but it is definitely a very recent introduction.

## 7. CONCLUSIONS

We have tried to enumerate and describe those items of Khaling material culture which are to date made by hand of materials provided by the natural surroundings of Khaling villages. As we mentioned above, the number of these items is rapidly decreasing. Khaling preference is increasingly for those manufactured items available at a nearby market. Plastic combs, cigarette lighters and aluminum ladles are valued greatly. Khaling women desire the plastic beads and other purchased decorations for personal adornment rather than the traditional handmade items. This is true even though such items may be inferior in quality and require cash which is not yet easily available in most Khaling households. Such a relation of a folk society in contact with a more technological culture is of course, commonly observed. Yet apart from this contact centered on the nearby market, there is another, and possibly more serious, reason for the decline in handmade items. Some of the raw materials needed, especially hemp but bamboo and wood as well, are getting very scarce. This is due to lack of cultivation and a general threat of severe deforestation.

Khaling culture is beginning to change in such a way that field work no longer is the only source of income. As visits to the market become a more established and more and more frequent habit, other sources of earning cash income must be found. This is a real problem for Khaling people who do not live as many of the Sherpas do, in recently opened areas of tourism. Therefore, finding work, e.g. as porters, is very difficult. Thus, some Khalings are trying to get involved in trade. They usually begin by selling small quantities of their own surplus grain. The next step then is to buy grains such as rice, corn, even millet at markets where the prices are lower than in other markets. Suntala, salt, sugar are also profit-making trade objects when these are sold at the market in Namche Bazar. As yet, Khalings are quite naive in their trading, as success is often considered to be a mere coverage of expenses and as much real gain as needed to cover immediate needs. Though this is a general philosophy, we have met a few individuals who seemed to be gifted traders and actually advanced through their trading activities, even to the point of being able to buy land.

There is one more thought that comes to mind when we consider the change from making utensils and decorations as well as clothing from natural resources to buying these items. As indicated above, there is also a linguistic change that goes with this. And with the linguistic change, there is a change deeper down in peoples thinking and in their attitude which increasingly puts a high value on market-bought items. It seems that in

comparison with such items, the traditional homemade counterparts are given no value at all. This in my observation leads to a real loss of their identity, as together with the language the original material items are now changing. It is for this last reason that we found it necessary and profitable to study Khaling material culture, especially with respect to handicrafts.

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