

Trobrianders of Papua New Guinea

Things added after hand:

Ordinary Trobrianders live patrilocally but with matrilineal descent.

Trobrianders speak jerky → not like we do with a flow

Define reciprocity = p. 65 Weiner and quote.

Chapter 4,5 Weiner compares to Malinowsky

Soft wealth = women's wealth = symbolises the collective unity of the matrilineage

Introduction:

Fieldwork: Listening

watching

learning a new language of speech and actions

Letting go of one's own cultural assumptions in order to understand the meanings others give to work, power, death, etc. (Be neutral with no preconceptions)

THE CARDINAL FIELDWORK RULE: **See reality from the natives point of view.**

Trobriand Islands = Anthropologist's Mecca

Malinowski revolutionised Fieldwork with his 3 year study

Consanguineal kin = relatives by birth (blood relatives)

Cognatic kin = relative by blood

Affinal kin = relatives by marriage

Conjugal bond = bond between married couple

Conjugal family = 1 or more men married to 1 or more women

Malinowski's rules of Fieldwork:

1. Real scientific aim

2. Place oneself among the natives

3. Apply a number of special methods to obtain data.

(final goal should be to understand his culture through his eyes)

A, Use a *holistic* approach : Look at everything.

Be objective = no preconceptions

B, Do not be a disturbing element

Most important = Investigate and record happenings IMMEDIATELY

C, Use charts and tables to record data

CHRONOLOGY = Diary, order of time. 12:00 had lunch 12:05 finished

GENEALOGY = Family structure, family tree

FIELDWORK IS CALLED = Participant observation (use in essay about Malinowsky)

CHAPTER 1

Trobrianders chew Betel as we drink coffee

(mixed with pepper plant and slaked lime.)

Taboo to eat food in front of others.

Chewing Betel is however a very sociable activity.

Adultery is a crime but not pre-marital love affairs

Earn money through: Selling wooden carvings

Fishing

Children studying somewhere else in PNG send money to their family.

Different kind of yams: *Discorea alata*

Discorea esculenta

taytu ---- in Kiriwina which Heider speaks about.

Malinowski and other anthropologists have missed women's economic role and power in society.

Women control their own wealth: Banana skirts (doba)

Bundles of banana leaves. (nununiga)

CHAPTER 2

p.42-43 = many important taboos

After a death no joyful activities can take place

Tro브리anders, Navaho and Hopi Indians of N. Am. Have matrilineal descent.

(trace their descent through women)

Matrilineal minuses : through adultery and murders matrilineages loose part of their ancestral land. Leads to competition and distrust between matrilineages.

Matrilineal clans : a person belongs to 1 of 4 clans.

1)Malasi

2)Lukuba

3)Lukwasisiga

4)Lukulabuta

Unlike matrilineages they have no chiefs nor share property (land, spells or decorations.)

But share Plant totem, Animal, bird which attach them to a common past.

A line in your hand shows your clan.

Clans have little economic importance

Marriage within the same clan is not accepted. If you do, no one must know

You can only ask the clan you belong to for food.

If a man dies someone is deliberately trying to weaken the matrilineage's chief, taking away supporters and heirs.

If a "fertile" woman dies someone is trying to destroy the entire matrilineage.

Each death brings fear into focus.

After a death the members of that matrilineage **shave off their hair** and **paint themselves black with coal.**

Men mourn through singing ancestral songs. (each village group tries to show their best) → A competition.

Sing to stay awake

relieve tension

respect & innocence

(as they did not cause the death)

Not to mourn correct shows that you caused the death.

Women are not suspected of sorcery. They are do not walk about at night.

Some are believed to be flying witches : Have the ability to leave their body while asleep.

A flying witch can be good or evil. Evil destroy a vital organ. Only a Good witch can heal it.

Each death is caused by someone else's control.

Sorcery is the ultimate threat.

When a chief dies:

Workers (50-many100) attend the body while other workers dig the grave.

(Owners are not allowed to do anything. (de som ärver))

1st his shell decorations are removed. (too valuable to bury)

Wrapped in a woven mat.

Some of his fingernails were removed + some hair. → put into shells around daughters necks.
Carry this for years.

When a chief dies something is buried with him. Nothing with an ordinary person.

If the diseased knew magic his face is put downwards so his spirit can't escape from the grave.

KOSI = the evil spirit

BALOMA = the good spirit which travels to Tuma. (an island where spirits live.)

Cannot eat good food such as yams, fish or pigs during the next days after the burial.

Widow/-er is not allowed to talk to anyone, smoke or chew Betel nuts.

All work is taboo. Must be handfed by sbd else = mustn't touch food.

Spouse and father wear black necklaces. (used to be made of dead's hair. Now plant fibres) When these are cut they are free from all connections with the dead person.

-----"----- + father's sisters are major public mourners and must stay shaved and blackened.

Before taking on a mourning symbol or taboo such as not eating good food, wearing a black cloth tied around the arm. The person must be paid for his part in the burial proceedings. (by the owners)

If the person doesn't ask for enough money the owners think that he had sth to do with the death.

After 5-10 years the body is dug up and its skull and bones are cleaned and carried to the house. (now illegal)

The accomplishments by the diseased are measured through the nbr of workers who help with the burial.

Yams are held in front of a dying man to inspire with life and at same time prepare for death.

CHAPTER 3

When you die you go to the island **Tuma**.

Babies also come from Tuma.

Death is more special than birth.

A woman goes back to live in her mother's house just before birth and stay for a few months.

She is put on strict food taboos.

Must stay on a high bed for 2 months under which a fire is burning.

Mourners do to but with no fire.

Mum covers her body with banana leaves.

A name is given, by the father's sister, that has occurred in the matrilineage since it actually is an old spirit.

Kopoi = waking for the dead person

When a spirit goes to Tuma it doesn't stop ageing. When it's skin gets wrinkled it bathes in sea water and the wrinkled skin is peeled off. Then a new spirit child is born.

Men's role with children:

Men care very much for their children.

There is always sbd around to take care of the child.

Babies are decorated by the father to make them socially beautiful.

Village divided into **hamlets**, each hamlet = one matrilineage.

Exogamous within the hamlet but not village.

1st child gets earrings and rings are added as he/she grows. Value = rings attached.

Then the Child carries a necklace with red tiny shell discs (1st important political step in a child's life)
the more the wealthier.

Sometimes plastic shells are used.

Taken off at marriage.

The necklaces and earrings are signs of a man's wealth.

If his/her ears are not pierced = fatherless

Pierced with no earrings = people think he/she is poor.

CHAPTER 4

Influence and try to control someone = difficult Still is a major pre-occupation among Trobriand life.

Each gift shows caring for a person and making him owe you sth.

Giving doesn't just mean caring but also intention.

Expect to get sth. back. Can't ask for it. Just give and wait.

If the receiver doesn't want to return sth. he doesn't.

Gifts **not words express feelings for sbd.**

Small boy/girl till in their thirties (only when married + have children + economic- + political control are they considered adults.)

Can I ride your bicycle?) = Will you sleep with me?

Do you want some coconut drink.) (metaphors)

Must be modest, otherwise one is considered too proud and therefore disliked.

When a woman spends the night at a boy no one must see her enter or leave.

Sensuous part in lovemaking = bite off eyelashes

Put scratches on each others' backs.

Lovers must never eat food together but smoking is all right.

Who the son/daughter should marry is greatly determined by the father.

It has great political influence to him.

In a cricket match whatever the score the host team always wins.

Giving and flirting is not enough → Magic must also be used.

Magic spells are taught by the old people.

Young give gifts in order to get the formula.

The Old gives one piece at a time. = can take years.

If the old dies before having given the whole formula the spell is weakened.

(Passed on orally)

spells can be bought on **Kula trips.**

Spells are a commodity & property → can be bought

(clans see chap. 2)

Taboo = sex between woman and her father and brother
 eating good food when mourning or after birth
 to eat food in front of others
 for father or brother to speak about daughter about sex.
 To eat a food not belonging to your rank

SEE p.42-43 Weiner (taboos)

If daughter marries sbd. from her father's lineage. Father and man = *keyawa*

= share things/expenses for marriages and deaths e.g.

Marry outside of clan

keyawa = ca: like same matrilineage.

CHAPTER 5

The reason for a man to give a woman yams = Women's wealth.
 Yam plot is given the woman's name for which it is meant.
 After harvest = show everyone how many yams you have.

In September after the new moon - finding a new garden begins
 Use slash and burn technique. → Nitrogen rich earth.
 Magic spells = to get a good crop.

Yams are important in marriages: cooked yam's on porch then raw yams by wife's parents later.

Marriages take place during May-September = yam season (most marriages)
 When married they get stone axe blades or kula shell
 AXE BLADES =)
 KULA SHELLS =) Dearest things.
 If too expensive = get money or clay pots instead.

Money has no historical association with individuals → Little value.
 Pots have gone from generation to generation → more valuable

Woman doesn't cook for the 1st year but when she gets heard stones (3X) she must cook.
 (provided by mother of the groom)

"Fuck your mother/father is an acceptable bad word."
 "Fuck your wife" = might as well go dig your own grave if you say this.

Never show affection in public. (not even married couple.)

Wife's brother or father will make her a yam garden. With hard work this → yam house.

CHAPTER 6

When a man grows yams for another man e.g. Brother/Father growing for wife.
 It is about political control.

Because they get yams from wife's matrilineage they must help make bundles when a person of wife's matrilineage dies. (for the big women gathering after a death to exchange bundles (women wealth))

Men make yam gardens for their father.

Yams :	Purchase things	Rights to land
	Rights to property	Protection
	Allies	Secure a place to live
	Mark transition from adolescence to marriage	Beauty of their bodies = replaced by yams
	cross-clan co-operation (long term relationship.	Multivocal symbol
	As weapons in dominance fight	

Beauty and power of yams express: Desire
 Intention
 Political seduction

A married couple's political career begins by displaying the yams they've got from other men.
 And when wife's brother builds them a yam house.

Certain ranks are/are not allowed to eat certain foods.
 e.g. A chief Mustn't eat certain fish nor drink swamp water nor eat wild pigs.
 Food taboo

Those with low or no rank = commoners (don't belong to the first ancestors that settled.)

HAMLETS: 2-8 hamlets per village

each Hamlet = 6-20 households

each hamlet has a leader: decides over land, and marriage for his matrilineage.

If the village has no chief they should keep alliances with the other hamlets

A chief's power is determined by how many yams he gets for his wives.

A man can show dislike for a chief and not grow yams for him.

A chief's wife can divorce him at any time.

CHAPTER 7

Months of the year = determined by yam-growth periods.

Because of their political and social importance.

July-Sept. = time for "play"

after yam season

Chief gives money or stone-axe blades to the best yam garden.

Yam competitions = make friends from other clans

"Show who you are"

The harvest months are most common for village fighting.

(sometimes associated with cricket matches.)

Yam measuring competitions: "Show who you are"

Very important to the Trobrianders and can often lead to fights.

When a woman "shows who she is" it shows where everyone belong.

e.g. keyawa relationships because they help collect and make banana bundles.

→ shows how an individual action can represent group-strength.

Yams give debt but bundles repay debts.

The underlying purpose of all work and display of yam production

= "Yams given by a man to his sister create a return of bundles and skirts"

Yams are not as important in themselves as objects but the debt they produce.

The economic role of women enforces the productivity among men.

CHAPTER 8 "The regeneration of matrilineality"

doba = skirts & bundles

Lisaladabu = the women's mortuary distribution

The women **Owners** = dead person's matrilineal kin

The women **Workers** = related to the dead person through *affinal, patrilateral, keyawa kin, cross-clan friends*

Owners pay bundles and skirts to the workers in the women's lisaladabu,

Because they attended to the dead person

Men workers also receive bundles and skirts for their work e.g. carrying the dead person to the grave

digging the grave + caring for it

shaving their heads + blackening their bodies

wearing black clothes or armbands

Work to get paid for: Carrying the dead person to the grave
 Digging the grave + preparing it + caring for it
 Shave one's head + paint body black
 Wear black clothes or black armbands
 Cooked food for the spouse and father (secluded since the death occurred → burial)
 Brought yams to earlier distributions

There are 17 different mourning categories to be paid for.

Men sit on the veranda and watch the distribution

Women take care of the distribution

Women dominate the day's events

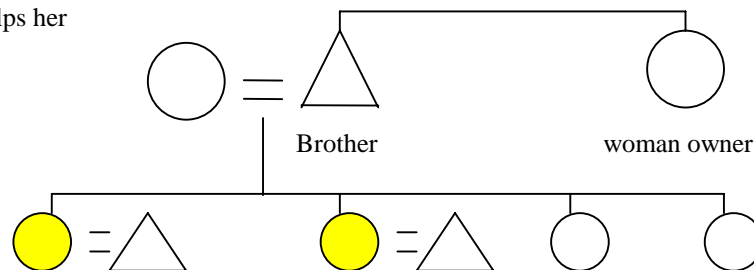
Men get their gifts/payment through their wife or sisters

Some women come to buy bundles for coming distributions where they have to attend.

The women owners (dead person's matrilineage) get help to gather bundles and give by their BROTHERS' MARRIED DAUGHTERS, who are members of other clans

Give away their wealth as owners

■ = helps her



■ → Make the matrilineage look strong

Obvious that they are not "true owners" = heads are shaved and bodies blackened

Not true owners → must do the mourning taboos of the workers

Give their wealth as owners and receive as workers.

Very shameful to remark that they are not "true owners" = marks that the matrilineage is dependant on outsiders

Men have deep bond to their daughters e.g. The daughters' presence as owners

He or a brother grows her a yam garden

A yam garden made for a woman obligates her + her daughters to assist the women of their father's matrilineage when they are organisers of a distribution. (not true owners)

FATHER:

1st + most important through which a child gains resources controlled by other matrilineages in other clans.

SPOUSE:

2nd most important relationship concerning resources in another matrilineage in another clan.

Significance of these 2 relationships = Shown especially during lusaladabu.

Father and Spouse of the dead person receive the major payments = thousands (1000's) of NEW ones

Every person associated with the dead person and member of another lineage is given bundles.

The distribution shows the very complex network of the dead person's connections

such as: friends
 affines
 keyawa
 patrilineal kin

When a man dies even his Kula-friends are given bundles. (do they mourn? E.g. shave heads black body?)

Nowadays notebooks are used to keep track of the above mentioned.

When children die the distribution is much smaller because they have not got such a vast network of connections. (and as only the father and his kin are primary receivers of the skirts and bundles.)

WOMEN:

"Wealthy woman" or "Big woman" of the day = leader of the distribution
 has received the most bundles
 could be shared if two maybe have the same amount

Women get this leadership through their husbands wealth (they compete amongst eachother)
 The "leader" has a longer skirt.
 This skirt is woven a few weeks in advance when they know who will have the most wealth.

A wealthy woman and leader knows how to distribute her wealth generously to everyone whose name is called.
 This is what makes her wealthy.

Important women and wealthy women are those who receive the most bundles.

People who just shave their heads or something are only given old or dirty bundles.

Some payments require clean bundles = they are for yams

Men who work hard to grow yams and have many "sisters" = thousand or more bundles and 10 or so skirts.
 Their names are also called in the centre and picked up by their wife or sisters.

The women distribution of bundles and skirts represents the stability of the matrilineage.

The EXCHANGE takes 5-8 hours. (lisaladabu continues a while longer)
 Now the owners cut off the black fibre cord each woman wears + remove the 2 black mourning necklaces of dried seeds also worn by all worker women. AND OWNERS?
 Still carry the shells with dead person's things.
 This mourning "outfit" (garb = klädedräkt, skrud) = Removal from sexual activity.

When the owners return to their places they then rush out and scream "Give some bundles for my husband"
 The workers now throw them a few bundles as thanks to the men who made it possible for them to receive so much.

Lisaladabu is not yet finished.

Now the women walk in a single-file to the house veranda where the spouse is secluded. Here they deposit the skirts.

Form a similar line and now walk to the house where the father is. Giving equally fine skirts or cloth.

MEN:

When the women have done all this the men OWNERS enter into the proceedings.
 The men owners = dead person's matrilineal kinsmen + their sons and keyawa kin

Now the men give their valuables such as axe-blades, a kula shell, or less valuable Large clay pots or money.
 Give it to the Father and the Spouse.

Now the men sort out yams for each hamlet represented by its women in the distribution.
 The men also stand in the middle of the plaza and call out who gets what. (like women leaders do)
 When all yams have been received the men leave the plaza. This marks the end of lisaladabu.

6 months - 1 year before Spouse and Father is completely freed from seclusion and mourning.
 Then the women take them down to the beach where they wash the black paint off.
 The finale is when they cut off the "necklace" of dead person's hair around their necks. (kuwa)

Kuwa = Blackened necklace trad. Made from the dead's hair. Nowadays use fibres = end of marriage for spouse & end of father's role in the life of his child.

Name is also used for the red necklace removed when young people marry. = end of adolescence.

The ties to the dead person's kin are still not lost. Annual distributions continues for 5-10 years.
 Now food in large amounts is given to the father from the owners.
IF spouse is not yet remarried he is given food to.
 + those of the kin who carry the dead person's things or take care of the grave.

When a chief died. Trad. His skull was brought to the top of the limestone ridge overlooking the sea.
 1st however the new chief would have to be equally or even stronger than the dead chief. (15-20 years sometimes)
 Not allowed anymore.

For the chief. The ancestors are his strength.

Each death shows the complex relationships to the dead person
 + the matrilineage's strength.

Always a necessity to have people know where they belong. (A person can refuse to eat certain bony fish to try
 and trick people into believing they are a high rank)
 Matrilineal identity is thought to be inalienable. ????????????????

To show where you stand politically and ancestrally you must gain control over others outside the matrilineage.
 Control is hard to sustain, even for chiefs.
 For men yams are the way to gain this control.

Must always try and show your fame and matrilineal identity. The two are tied together.
 By building a name for the matrilineage you build a name for yourself.

Women do this by bundles. Point out political position of those they reward + point out where villagers belong in
 kinship + affinal connections.

Through the bundle distribution the diseased is freed from all debt.
 For a short while the matrilineage is independent. Won't last in the long run so dependence on others is necessary
 but no-one wants to speak about their dependence.

Death is not good due to the lost connections the diseased has built up during his/her lifetime.

Sister and Brother relationships constitute the core of the matrilineage.

A new red skirt = the ultimate women's valuable. - symbolises sexuality and fertility.

Valuables are recognised by the history of its circulation.
 Money = little value because no history.

Hard valuables = Stone-axes, clay pots, yam (men's valuables)
Soft valuables = Skirts, bundles (women's valuables)

Hard valuables = connections between one person and others. Make men politically dominant.
 Men's wealth is given away without any material return at the march to Father and Spouse.
 Soft valuables = inalienability of matrilineal identity.

Death is the only occasion when women's and men's valuables are presented at the same time.
 (lusaladabu) Here both M's and W's valuables show the strength of the matrilineage.

The women distribution of bundles and skirts represents the stability of the matrilineage.

CHAPTER 9 (Kula and the search for fame)

Kula men can travel for weeks or months to islands where they set camp and then trade
 using powers of PERSUASION and MAGIC = "turn the minds" of their kula partners to get the valued shells.

Simply:

Kula = exchange of an armshell for an equally valued necklace.

(The armshell: cowrie pendants, beads and string attached to it + goldcoloured oyster-shells and other *trinkets* hang from both ends)

"Argonauts of the western pacific" (Malinowski):

Said that kula was **system of exchanges**. (GQ 1) Surrounded by magic, myths and rituals and operated with specific rules and obligations between different people with different languages and traditions.

→ No other research had a more lasting impact on the thoughts and ideas that primitive economics (people)

→ No longer could they classify these societies as having no economic principles.

Primitive exchange could no longer be associated with people with "primitive" mentalities.

Keda = Path between certain partners which kula shells travel.

(GQ2) Kula's main idea is to

Point with KULA: Match the size of a value exactly

Make one's name known to other people

Individual fame not for a group (certain "friends" = partners)

Build up a man's fame = difficult, only old men with much magic and skill can achieve
great fame

Man's fame = butura = circulation of his name

Armshells = move counter-clockwise



Necklaces = move clockwise



Kula men sail with empty hands to bring the shells back.

Eventually their partners from other islands come to fetch the shells.

6 months to 1 year later the ones who were hosts go to their "friends" and get the necklaces

=The Necklaces move along the same path as the armshells.

For a shell to travel a whole "lap" = at least 2 - 5 years often longer.

Some villages = almost everyone joins in the kula

N. Kiriwina = Traditionally only the men from high ranking lineages are allowed to participate.

(GQ.3) Colonisation → pearling industry increased = more wealth to the local economy

→ democratisation

→ nowadays even commoners participate (those with most political power disregard to lineage power)

Colonisation also brought motordriven boats that made kula easier.

Through the colonisation more people could join the kula if they worked for the colonisers as pearl-fishermen they were paid with shells.

S. Kiriwina = most men participate

Only few women participate. Not many kula on their own. (long sea voyages are done by a middle-hand)

butura = a man's fame through circulation of his name (through kula) related to the largest and most valuable shells he has owned

Armshells and necklaces: ranked by 1) size

2) colour

3) fineness of its polishing

With these criteria it's categorised into named rankings.

Massim = Term for the "island ring" consisting of Papua New Guinea mainland and islands around.

Shells gain value from being with certain men with high butura.

Men get high butura through having certain shells.

A kula man often gives pork, taro, yams, mats, clay pots or woven baskets to his partner.

Not given to claim fame but to seduce him to part with his shell. (like tobacco and betel nuts among lovers)

A person may divert the shell to another path or delay giving it to his partner for several years. (Can lose a path if you are not powerful enough.)

To give these other things expresses good will and intention to continue to be trustworthy in passing to the appropriate partner.

(GQ6)

These gifts along with kula were thought to be a "ceremonial umbrella" under which "utilitarian" (practical) trading of scarce goods took place. That's how dogs, pigs and axe-blade material was transferred to islands where it was not enough to go around. = WRONG idea about kula.

Malinowski argued the opposite:

The "ceremonial" exchange of the shells is so important and produces emotional feelings in itself that the exchange of other goods (bartering) is not necessary.

It is almost non-existent today so Malinowski was right..

Archaeologists report that armshells and necklaces have been in the region for 2000 years
kula has taken place for 500 years.

Kula is very adaptive to change: Barter not very popular any longer
Places where shells are made differ
Some islands, villages cease to be part of the exchange and new join.
Colonisation → more people could join the kula = shells as payment for fishing pearls etc.

1964 = 1st national election: Lepani Watson, candidate for a position.

Lepani won due to his father's kula fame over 5 other competitors.

Big chiefs around the islands recognised him. He had been with his father.

(GQ7) A man's son or sister's son often joins him on his kula voyages to learn.

When this man dies his "apprentice" (lärling) will take over his paths.

If the son has too little power and political influence the shells might be put on detours and so he will lose the path and kula partners.

Son inherits paths from his father or he gets new ones but this is very hard.

Kula is very hard work and one must look after his partners all the time.

If you buy a nice necklace and hope to make fame for yourself you will not succeed if you have not been wholly taught and understand the hard work that must be put into it.

Kitomu = A shell or necklace which is private and is not "alive" on a kula path.

Can be used to pay services or goods with.

Can be put in circulation by announcing that he wants a partner for it and then he gets a gift form of a necklace or something. If he accepts the proposition after having considered the man's other partners and power and is sure that he will get an equally valued necklace back then he sends him the shell.

If he doesn't accept an offer he sends the one who showed interest an armshell in return.

A partner may keep a shell for a very long time.

(GQ8) If many partners hold theirs too long → a weak path.

Strong path = has many shells moving on it.

A strong partner moves the shells slowly

Younger villagers tend to move more rapidly and too fast.

(GQ9) Sexual metaphors are used to explain the different meanings of different shells:

Vaga shells : courting, want someone to "turn his minds" towards you. Like tobacco and Betel among lovers.

Basi shells : "now sleeping together but not yet married" To keep the path alive while trying to find a necklace to match the armshell.

Kudu shells : "like marriage" Only sends this if eager to keep the path. Now path is "truly strong."

"Give birth" : Start a new path (a big kitomu shell and get vaga shells back as "courtship")

"death" : When he who started the path receives a **kunivilevila** shell the path ceases.

Same goal in kula and romance: "give birth" many times
have many "friends"
"sleep with" many lovers
to "marry" many times

When the final debt of a kitumo is repaid, nothing else flows along the path.
Unless only to keep it alive for future exchanges. "to wake up"

The goal is not to give 2 shells and get 3 back.
You want to give and eventually get profit from it without having to pay anything back.

For someone to profit another has had to loose.
Men loose their shells because other kula men are strong.

The meaning of kula is to win but it requires losing.

"The financial expert" (1952)

Novel Written by R. K. Narayan

Margayya dreams of being a famous financier. He begins his career by telling everyone that he will pay enormously high interest rates if they choose his "bank" for their savings. He gets more rich and famous than he ever imagined until someone starts a rumour that money is not safe with him.

He can not meet the outraged villagers demands and so looses everything.

Kula is the same. If someone suddenly stopped all kula activities so that all debts had to be paid immediately then the losses of many would be wholly exposed.

The real kula work lies in seeking out the best shells and having access to many other shells to support one's long-term intentions.

CHAPTER 10 (Conclusion)

Yams, bundles and banana-leaves = connect one villager to another
socially
and
politically

Yams = cross clan boundaries → long-term relationships

Yams = weapons in a dominance fight.

"Yams express the basic dynamics of what it means to reach out to others"
= yams function as a multivocal symbol

A person's social self develops as a child through earrings, magic, beauty
As an adult = making friends from other matrilineages (Marriage, kula, yam gardens)

