ANTHROPOLOGICA

N.S. Vol. XI. No 2 1969

LE CENTRE CANADIEN
DE RECHERCHES
EN ANTHROPOLOGIE
UNIVERSITÉ SAINT-PAUL

THE CANADIAN RESEARCH
CENTRE
FOR ANTHROPOLOGY
SAINT PAUL UNIVERSITY

COLLABORATEURS — CONTRIBUTORS

William C. King
William B. Rodgers and
Charles H. Wallace
Hari S. Upadhyaya
John H. Hamer
Judith Lynne Hanna and
William John Hanna
C. Gaherty, D. Kettel,
J. Mac Donald, L. Niemann,
B. Von Graeve, E. Arima

La revue ANTHROPOLOGICA est l'organe officiel du Centre canadien de recherches en anthropologie, Université Saint-Paul, Ottawa, Canada.

ANTHROPOLOGICA is the official publication of the Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Saint Paul University, Ottawa, Canada.

RENSEIGNEMENTS

ANTHROPOLOGICA est une revue bi-annuelle qui publie des articles relevant de l'anthropologie, du développement socio-économique et des disciplines connexes.

Les opinions exprimées par les auteurs ne sont pas nécessairement celles du Centre.

Les manuscrits doivent être adressés au:

Centre canadien de recherches
en anthropologie
223, rue Main
Ottawa 1, Canada

Tél.: (613) 235-1421

Les renseignements destinés aux auteurs se trouvent à l'intérieur de la couverture.

Les abonnements et toute autre correspondance doivent être expédiés au:

Centre canadien de recherches
en anthropologie
223, rue Main
Ottawa 1, Canada.

Tél.: (613) 235-1421

Le prix de l'abonnement est de $8.00 par année.

INFORMATION

ANTHROPOLOGICA is published twice a year and accepts articles in Anthropology, Socio-economic Development and other related disciplines.

The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the Centre.

All manuscripts should be addressed to:

The Canadian Research
Centre for Anthropology
223 Main Street
Ottawa 1, Canada

Tel.: (613) 235-1421

Information to authors will be found on the inside of the back cover.

Subscriptions and all other correspondence should be sent to:

The Canadian Research
Centre for Anthropology
223 Main Street
Ottawa 1, Canada

Tel.: (613) 235-1421

The annual subscription fee is $8.00.

ANTHROPOLOGICA

N.S. VOL. XI, NO. 2, 1969

SOMMAIRE — CONTENTS

ANNOUNCEMENT

The 1970 meeting of the North Eastern Anthropological Conference will be held in Ottawa, Ontario from May 7th to 9th. The American Ethnological Society will hold its annual meeting in conjunction with the NEAC. Chief sponsor for the meeting will be the Department of Sociology & Anthropology, Carleton University. Co-sponsors are anthropologists from Ottawa University; the Canadian Research Centre for Anthropology, Saint Paul University; and the National Museums of Canada. Details as to accommodation, program, travel, etc., will be announced shortly. For further information, contact Professor Frank G. Vallee, Chairman, Department of Sociology & Anthropology, Carleton University, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

Marriage and its Dissolution among the Kachins of Burma

by WILLIAM C. KING

RÉSUMÉ

Après avoir fait l'examen des théories courantes sur le mariage et le divorce, l'auteur évalue l'apport spécifique de Leach dans ce domaine.

— There are two problems involved in defining marriage and divorce cross-culturally. First, there are a great variety of *forms* of union of a man and woman, and of dissolution of that union. Second, there is great variability in the *content* of that union — i.e. the kinds of scarce values involved in the formation and dissolution of these kinds of union. Thus, a man and woman may merely live together (domestication), and may or may not have a contract involving the position of the children of that union. A marriage may be ritualized or legalized or both. Other factors may be exchanged by the families involved (e.g. bridewealth). Birth of a child or sexual consummation may be required to validate the marriage. We will find two kinds of union among the Kachins, formal and informal; and while Edmund Leach's analysis (1953, 1954, 1961e) concentrates on the formal type, the existence of the other cannot be ignored in a study of marriage and divorce either among the Kachin or cross-culturally. A verbal typology of marriage types is not sufficient, however; for example, domestication may have different implications in different societies — it might imply the same kind of union that a ritualized marriage implies in some other society. Thus, marriage (and divorce) must be viewed in terms of the scarce values involved — that is, what rights, obligations, goods, etc, are exchanged by the families or individuals involved in the union? Leach lists the following ten kinds of rights which could be involved (1961d:107):

1. To establish the legal father of a woman's children.
2. To establish the legal mother of a man's children.
3. To give the husband a monopoly in the wife's sexuality (or its disposal).
4. To give the wife a monopoly in the husband's sexuality.
5. To give the husband partial or monopolistic rights to the wife's domestic and other labor services.
6. To give the wife partial or monopolistic rights to the husband's labor services.
7. To give the husband partial to total rights over property belonging or potentially accruing to the wife.
8. To give the wife partial or total rights over property belonging or potentially accruing to the husband.
9. To establish a joint fund of property — a partnership — for the benefit of the children of the marriage.
10. To establish a socially significant 'relationship of affinity' between the husband and his wife's brothers.

We must, of course, realize that there will be variation in these categories of rights between and within societies; for example, the content of rights to the labor of the spouse (5 & 6) will vary cross-culturally. But structurally these scarce values should be the focus of analysis of what happens in the various kinds of unions (and dissolution of those unions) of a man and woman (or women). If there is a marriage payment, or bride-wealth, involved, there are several questions which must be asked about its nature (Leach 1953:180):

1. Is payment fixed or variable in kind or quantity?
2. Does it vary with status or geographical distance embraced by marriage?
3. Are the goods consumer goods, capital goods or ritual goods?
4. Is economic labor — man or woman — among the things transferred?

5. Are payments completed immediately or over a long period of time?

It seems that we must also ask who is involved in the exchange — are there many relatives responsible for producing the brideprice and are many affinal relatives involved in dividing the brideprice once it is received? For example, one difference between the Kachin and the Lakher (our comparative example) is the degree of involvement of the relatives — the Lakher system involves two or three generations of affines, while the Kachin system involves directly only one (or the lineage acting as a unit). Question four above overlaps with categories five and six in the list of rights, but the difference between who gets the results of the labor seems crucial. Thus, when a man works for his affines (brideservice) or a woman works for her affines as a group, it fits the category of things transferred; while if the labor involved is part of the conjugal bond itself, it falls in the category of rights exchanged in marriage unions (thus the strength of the sibling bond is important in deciding who gets the fruits of the labor).

The concept 'stability of marriage' includes a number of important aspects of marriage duration and dissolution. Schneider (1953:55) cites four different ways in which marriage may be defined as stable. First, the jural rules concerning marriage may be stable over time. Second, the alliances involved in the marriage (if any) may be said to be stable. Third, the conjugal bond itself may be stable. Fourth, there may be a jural rule prescribing that marriages be stable (i.e. forbid divorce — of either the conjugal bond or alliance bonds). Most people (including Leach) assume that rules about marriage and divorce are stable through time and space (that is, the scarce values involved are the same), and some (including Leach) ignore the stability of the conjugal bond in their efforts to focus only on the "social structural" aspects of marriage and divorce. I will attempt to show that this does not adequately explain either the jural or behavioral aspects of marriage and divorce.

When refering to the "divorce rate" it must be remembered that different rates serve different analytic functions. For example, the number of divorces can be compared to (1) the total number of marriages, (2) the number of marriages that end in death,

(3) the number of marriages which have ended (the total minus the number of extant marriages), or (4) duration probabilities and age-specific rates. Leach give no data on the conjugal bond, so these rates will not be too significant in my discussion. This is partly justified because the Kachins forbid "divorce" and the ease of common-law marriage means that formal marriage for the most part is only an alliance between lineage groups.

Since we are viewing marriage and divorce as mechanisms of allocation of scarce values (rights, goods, esteem, etc.) to the members of society, I will review the ideas of the various researchers who led to this formulation. Gluckman's initial hypothesis (in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*) states that as we move from matrilineality to bilaterality to patrilineality, divorce frequency decreases; also as bridewealth increases divorce decreases. In the correspondence in *Man* (vol. 53-55) and in other sources this view was disputed. Fallers pointed out that this was only true for patrilineal societies in which the woman becomes part of her husband's lineage — divorce may be high where the woman's lineage retains some control over her. Thus Leach (1961d) finds that high brideprice may demonstrate a futile attempt to strengthen the conjugal bond in societies where the sibling bond is very strong (see also Parry 1932:311-340). The strength of the husband-wife bond will depend on: what their rights and duties are in other roles they may play (non-kinship roles may be important as among the Kachins with regard to politics); the economic status of the nuclear unit; the "relations of affinity" of the man and his wife's family or lineage; and the ideology and practice of male dominance. Gibbs (1964:197) suggests that extreme lineality will lead to instability in marriage (high divorce frequency) — but this is only the case when there is divided authority over the woman. Gibbs says that this normative ambiguity hypothesis of Leach's ignores certain other factors which may influence the stability of marriage; and he presents his theory of epainogamy "to refer to that condition of marriage which is societally supported, praised and sanctioned — indeed, almost enforced" (p. 197). He says that societies wishing to control marital stability will, in addition to eliminating normative ambiguity, reward conformity to norms and punish deviance from norms (p. 198). Preferential marriage will help stabilize the

conjugal bond, since kinship bonds of another sort will be present. The presence of continuation marriage (levirate and sonorate), by transferring rights over the woman or man permanently, will tend to stabilize marriage. "Alternative marriage" — brideservice — causes strains on the man's ego (as well as his back), thus endangering the union (p. 199). The definitive allocation of the children to one lineage or the other will stabilize the behavior of individuals and their children with regard to inheritance, filiation, etc. (more of Leach's reduction of normative ambiguity). Ceremonialization of marriage will generally strengthen the marriage bond, but unless other stabilizing forces are present, this will not suffice to reduce divorce frequency. In this connection, bride-price may be used not to stabilize the union, but as a reflection of how far apart (geographically *and* socially) the bride and groom lived prior to the marriage. The stability of marriage will also depend on what sorts of scarcity exist outside of the marriage bond that don not exist inside. We will see that for the Kachins, alliances and social status are the major values obtained in marriage by the man. A fine pays for all children out of wedlock; sex is easily obtainable, as are the other aspects of marriage — cooperative division of labor, etc. The major punishment for deviance from these norms will, then, be loss of status and allies. Thus, we must consider a number of non-kinship variables in any effort to explain aspects of marriage stability. For cross-cultural research, then, "divorce" and "marriage" cannot be defined more explicitly than in terms of what rights, obligations, goods — social 'knots' — are exchanged by whom (the Kachins view their own system in somewhat these terms; their word *hka* — "debt" refers to social bonds exchanged in various social interactions). I will thus examine the "knots" which are tied in the marriages of various Kachin groups, and show how these are related to the social process.

KACHIN MARRIAGE: SOCIAL STRUCTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

Leach gives data only for the marriage and divorce complexes of the "Ordinary" Jinghpaw and Gauri Kachins, but it will be

shown that knowledge of the behavior of other Kachin groups must be provided to test the validity of his (and Gibbs') ideas about marriage stability. Jinghpaw refers to a language category — and it subsumes two kinds (or groups of villages oscillating between two ideal types) of political organization — gumsa and gumlao. Gauri is another dialect, similar to Jinghpaw, which is spoken by Kachins with gumsa organization, who live in the northeast corner of Burma. Leach only gives data on the Jinghpaw gumsa and the Gauri groups, and an examination of the systems of the Jinghpaw gumlao and the Maru and Lashi (other linguistic groupings) gumlao villages is necessary in order to test Leach's findings.

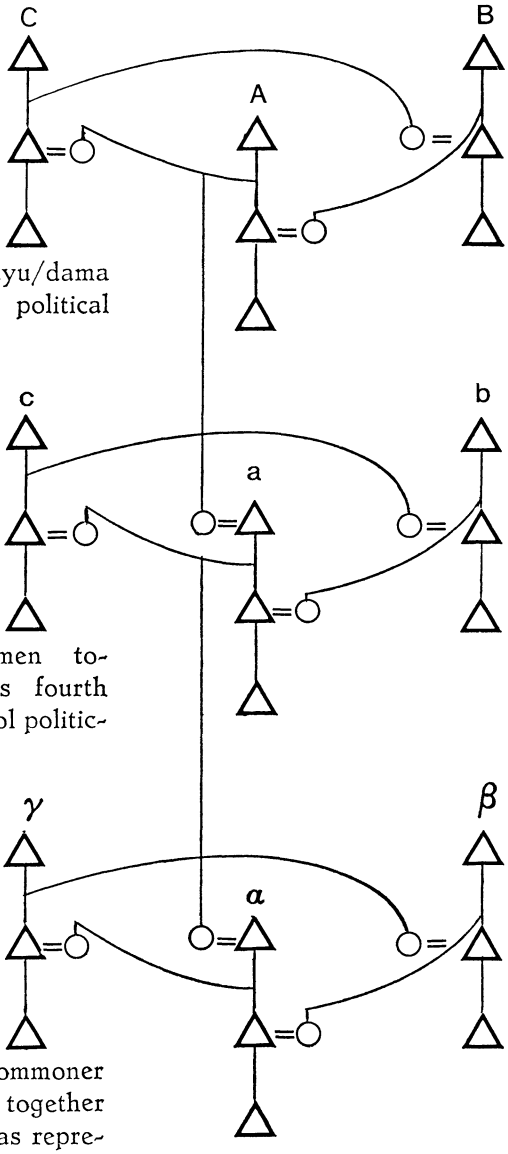
Gumlao society consists of affinally linked, egalitarian patrilineages living together in a village which is politically autonomus from other villages. There are two factors which undermine the stability of these villages. First, the rule of ultimogeniture forces rapid segmentation of these lineage groups, due to the psychological pressure on the older brothers if they remain under the control of their younger brother (Leach 1954:165). These brothers may from a new village or go to live with their fathers-in-law as "clients". The other factor which leads to instability of this political form is the *mayu-dama* form of marriage (Leach 1954:167, 203). The Kachins practice what has been termed "matrilateral cross-cousin marriage" — this means that a man may marry women only from his mother's patrilineage (his *mayu,* or "wife-giving", lineage), and a woman may only marry a man from her father's sister's husband's patrilineage (*dama,* or "wife-getting" lineage). A lineage may not be both dama and mayu vis-a-vis another lineage. This is certain only for the Jinghpaw and Gauri groups; it is not known whether or not the Maru and Lashi groups practice preferential marriage (Leach 1954:203). Leach speculates that they do not because their gumlao organization is fairly stable compared with that of Jinghpaw groups; but Scott and Hardiman's (1901) vocabulary omit any words refering to kinship categories so there is no way of proving or disproving Leach's guess. The Jinghpaw gumlao groups are inherently unstable because this mayu-dama relationship implies that the mayu lineage is superior to the dama lineage (due perhaps to the value of women in the society as scarce values). According to Leach the

groups in the village have a linguistic pressure to rank themselves in the way it is done in gumsa villages. But as we have just seen, it is impossible to prove (without Maru and Lashi data) whether or not it is the linguistic structure or the cultural content of the mayu-dama relationship which produces the instability of the gumlao form of government. By the gradual accumulation of lineage segments under the clientship of various mayu (fathers-in-law) lineage sites, a village tends to become gumsa in its political organization. There exists a centripetal tendency also. Gumlao lineages will try to "marry in a circle" and keep brideprice low to avoid the formation of classes of ranked lineages.

Gumsa society is based on villages connected by mayu-dama bonds; the lineages within a political domain (*mung*) are connected by bonds of mayu-dama relations. Three classes exist — chiefly lineages (rulers of a group of villages (*mung*), aristocratic lineages (rulers of a village), and commoner lineages. A commoner lineage is dama to an aristocratic lineage, and aristocratic lineages are dama to chiefly lineages (or perhaps to each other). If the chief of a gumsa domain forms an alliance with a Shan feudal lord (the valley dwelling Shans have a stable arrangement of territorial, as opposed to lineal, feudalism and class society — the Shans do not practice marriage hypogamy as do the gumsa Kachins), then in neglecting his duties to his followers, he encourages a gumlao revolt in which the villages break away from his authority and form villages based on gumlao ideals of lineage egalitarianism (and the cycle can begin again) (Leach 1954:223). The Gauri, due to somewhat more stable economic situation, are able to maintain a more stable gumsa organization than the Jinghpaw groups (Leach 1961e:118).

The Kachins recognize three kinds of sexual union of a man and woman — all are restricted to mayu women and dama males among the Jinghpaw and Gauri groups. Each house contains a room (*nla dap*) where the girls may entertain courting males free of parental interference. Any children of these unions are claimed by the girl's lineage unless the man in question marries the girl and pays a fee to assure that the children are his (Leach 1954:75). A woman may merely move in with a man, and any children of this union will be considered the man's — he has no affinal obligations or allies) unless the formal marriage ceremony (*num shalai*) is per-

FIGURE 1: *Gumsa marriage and political structure.*



Chiefly class.

Three chiefs in mayu/dama circle form a loose political federation.

Aristocratic class.

Three village headmen together with chief, as fourth village headman, control political affairs of domain.

Commoner Class.

Senior members of commoner local descent groups, together with village headman, as representing his local descent group, control affairs of the village.

formed, nor does he have any status. This formal ceremony is not only an alliance between two groups. For the gumsa (unless otherwise stated, facts refer only to gumsa-type villages) it represents a mechanism of social mobility for the man and his children, since the mayu lineage has higher class status, than his own. Ideally, then, the marriage system appears as in Figure 1 (Leach 1961:86). Of course, the actual system will often oscillate between this arrangement and the gumlao type, where equal lineages "marry in a circle" — like the chiefly lineages of the gumsa organization. This is called *Hkau wang hku* ("cousin circle path") and I will demonstrate later that Leach's failure to use this information in his theory of divorce frequency distorted his results. Thus, the effect of the formal ceremony is to establish an affinal bond between the man and his affines, and to give higher status to his children (Leach 1954:74); the brideprice is therefore a payment for social status of the children and their lineage, as well as for alliance. Gilhodes (1922:211) states that the amount of brideprice varies (for the Gauri) with the girl's status. For example, a commoner woman may bring a price of two buffaloes, two gongs, some cloth, and four or five jugs of "grog" — *laukhry tham mali,* while a princess is worth three or four times that much. On the other hand, Leach (1954:148-152) stresses the flexibility of the system, where the economic status of the man is more important in determining the actual price. This is due to the fact that many items are substitutes for one another, and twenty *hpaga* (ritual wealth units) can be a great deal or very little depending on the actual value of the items involved. While Leach cites an adequate number of examples to illustrate his point, it is probable that among the Gauri there is less variation permitted; this would be consistent with the greater flexibility — less fluidity — of the Gauri class system.

The Kachins (data for the Maru and Lashi groups does not exist) have a highly ritualized formal marriage ceremoy. When a father wishes his son to marry into a lineage for the purposes of alliance (it must be with a mayu lineage), he asks his kinsmen to help collect articles for use as brideprice. He then goes to the diviner, who gives him predictions regarding the future of the girl in question and the success of such an alliance. If he gets a satisfactory reply, he sends two friends to propose to the parents of the girl. If they agree to the marriage, then a date is set and

small gifts are exchanged (Gilhodes 1922:212-213). Then, on the eve of the marriage the boy proposes directly to the girl's parents, who refuse his request three times (only once among non-Gauri groups). On the fourth time they accept, but proceed to quibble about the brideprice — agreement is sometimes reached only with difficulty. The next day the girl and her train ("maids-of-honor", clothing, some small gifts and personal items) go to the boy's house without her parents or relatives. The boy's mother places a silver necklace on the girl as she enters her new home: this is a symbol of "adoption" into the lineage (Gilhodes 1922:216). A large feast is held for all the girl's dama relatives, at which time the couple eat from the same bowl of rice (Kawlu Ma Nawng 1942:60); this is only reported for Jinghpaw marriages. Gilhodes (1922:218) gives a different account for the Gauri. After the feast, a priest blesses the union and the couple drink together (they have often not met until the day of the wedding). Among the Gauri, the girl may return home after the wedding and stay there by herself for several months, in which time she may entertain lovers (who risk punishment as adulterers). It is considered bad for a bride to settle down among her affines immediately after the marriage (Gilhodes 1922: 221; Leach 1961e:118). Jinghpaw brides, on the other hand, while they make a show of running away, are usually sent back and they settle down with their husbands. This is probably due to the greater crystallization of the Gauri class system where the woman's lineage can be more assertive of its superiority by demanding more from the relationship. Since most gumlao marriages are with contiguous lineages, there is little tendency for the brides to be demonstrably pushed in one direction or the other. The lineages are equals and the alliance is thought of as independent of the particular marriage; while among gumsa groups the marriage constitutes the basis for the alliance. Polygamy is unusual unless (1) the first wife is childless or has only daughters, (2) the man inherits his brother's wife by the levirate or widow inheritance (the children of such a union are supposed to belong to the first — deceased — husband, but this may be contested if it is advantageous for someone to do so), and (3) the first wife is old and cannot perform her domestic tasks (including sex) (Gilhodes 1922:225). Little concern is expressed if the girl

runs away; the brideprice is paid over a long period of time and some of these hka are held over from generation to generation in an effort to maintain the alliance. Gauri brides to some extent retain membership in their own lineages — if her husband dies and there is no suitable replacement (she and her relatives have some choice in the matter) she may return to her village with no forfeiture of brideprice. Jinghpaw brides, however, are transferred absolutely and totally into the husband's lineage (Leach 1961e: 119), although the mock running away of the bride may indicate some vague claims made on her by her lineage.

Before examining the relevance of these facts to the theory of marriage stability cross-culturally, I must introduce a brief summary of marriage customs among the Lakher of Burma (Leach uses this group comparatively to develop this theory).

The Lahkers have a very stable hypogamous marriage system, coupled with stability of the class and feudal systems, which, although similar to those to the Kachin gumsa groups, is more highly crystallized. The Lakher have a fixed, highly elaborated system of bridewealth, but there is little ritualization or religious element in the formal marriage rite (Parry 1932:292, 311). Divorce is easy and frequent (Parry 1932:343; Leach 1961e:117); and widows are not bound to the husband's lineage as they are among the Kachin (Parry 1932:295). Leach (1961e:117) states:

> Moreover their bridewealth transactions are not only very expensive but extraordinarily complicated. The husband must not only make a large main payment *(angkia)* to the lineage of his wife, but once his household is established he must make a payment *(puma)* of similar scale to the lineage of his wife's mother's brother, part of which is then transferred to the lineage of the mother's brother of the wife's mother's brother.

Thus, one factor in maintaining continued association of affines is the promise of shares in the brideprice of the various women of those affines. Thus, marriage among the Lakher is only concerned with the jural status of children. Also, after the marriage, the bride sleeps at her husband's house, but he must live elsewhere for a few months and court her as if he were a suitor (Parry 1932:304). Thus, the inferior status of the husband's lineage (emphasized most by the Lakher) allows the woman's patrilineage to retain great deal of control over her —

indeed she never ceases to be a full member of that group, who in a sense merely hire her out as a status-getting device for the man's lineage. Leach (1961e:117) remarks that:

> In this way the husband's lineage acquires permanent rights in the children so produced, but they do *not* acquire rights in the person of the bride. On the contrary, the bride never gives up her effective membership in her own superior patrilineage and she is free to return there whenever she likes. The bride's children belon to the husband's group but not absolutely so; her own patrilineage retains a kind of lien on her children (particularly her daughters so that when these children in due course come to be 'hired out' on marriage her original patrilineage claims half the rent.

Note that the Kachin patrilineage retains all right in the children, although rights in the wife vary between groups. Thus, among the Lakher, when stress is placed on the alliance bond, it is the conjugal "knot" which is broken. Leach suggests that the large bridewealth payments among the Lakher are an effort to strengthen the overly weak conjugal bond in a system which stresses the sibling bond; thus the woman is always a member of her own lineage. Another explanation which Leach does not consider is that since the extensions and elaborations of the bridewealth payments are the major source of political stability and alliance in this system, the duration of the conjugal bond is of little consequence. Quite a different pattern is evident among the Kachin groups.

KACHIN 'DIVORCE'

Divorce is not allowed among the Jinghpaw Kachins, either gumsa or gumlao. Among the gumlao villages, divorce would imply the end of the "cousin circle path" alliance system; the village would then break up into lineage segments which would either feud as new autonomous groups or perhaps reorganize in a gumsa pattern (the Jinghpaw word for feud — *majan* — means love song or feud; its literal meaning is "woman's business"). For gumlao organization divorce implies, then, the breakup of the marriage system as well as the specific couple and lineages involved. For Jinghpaw gumsa marriages, divorce would mean that the lineages which are allied would be forced to feud (Leach

1954:89), but the system in maintained (except of course when a new gumlao village is formed by one of the lineages and perhaps its allies). It is strange that Leach did not see this instability in the marriage system of the Kachins; but he ignores the fact that different scarce values are involved in Kachin marriage and divorce, depending on the political structure of the village. Thus, while divorce is forbidden in both gumlao and gumsa Jinghpaw villages, its significance is different in each kind. Unless feud or village disintegration is desired, the sibling bond between the husband and his wife's brothers must be maintained; thus it is the conjugal bond which must give way. The wife's lineage must supply a new spouse for the husband if the couple simply cannot live together; this procedure is the major form of reconciliation among Jinghpaw villages, both gumlao and gumsa. The Gauri Kachins allow divorce, but it is not encouraged and is rare (Leach 1961e:118). The same efforts at supplying a new wife are often made; but sometimes if the couple doesn't get along in spite of all the efforts at reconciliation by the families, the brideprice (*mum-phu*) is returned, plus a buffalo as compensation (Gilhodes 1922: 222). Thus, to some extent, the Gauri bride retains membership in her own lineage; she may on occasion return to her lineage if she is widowed and the husband's brothers are felt unsuitable for leviratic marriage. Thus, the higher ranking lineage (mayu), which is more entrenched in its position in Gauri villages, reserves the right to some control over its females, unlike the Jinghpaw lineages. This is, however, a matter of degree, not of kind, as the ritual running away of the Jinghpaw bride illustrates; it is emphatically enforced among the Gauri and weakly attempted among the Jinghpaw gumsa.

Before discussing change in the jural aspects of marriage and divorce, the major point of this paper, I will summarize Leach's findings and my criticisms thus far. Table 1 summarizes the points made by Leach: (cf. table 1 below).

Thus, Leach asserts that the strength of the bond between the wife and her siblings (or lineage) determines the divorce rate (see Figure 2) and the high brideprice among the Lakher represents a futile attempt to bring down the divorce rate (thus refuting Gluckman's too simplistic hypothesis). However, by

TABLE 1

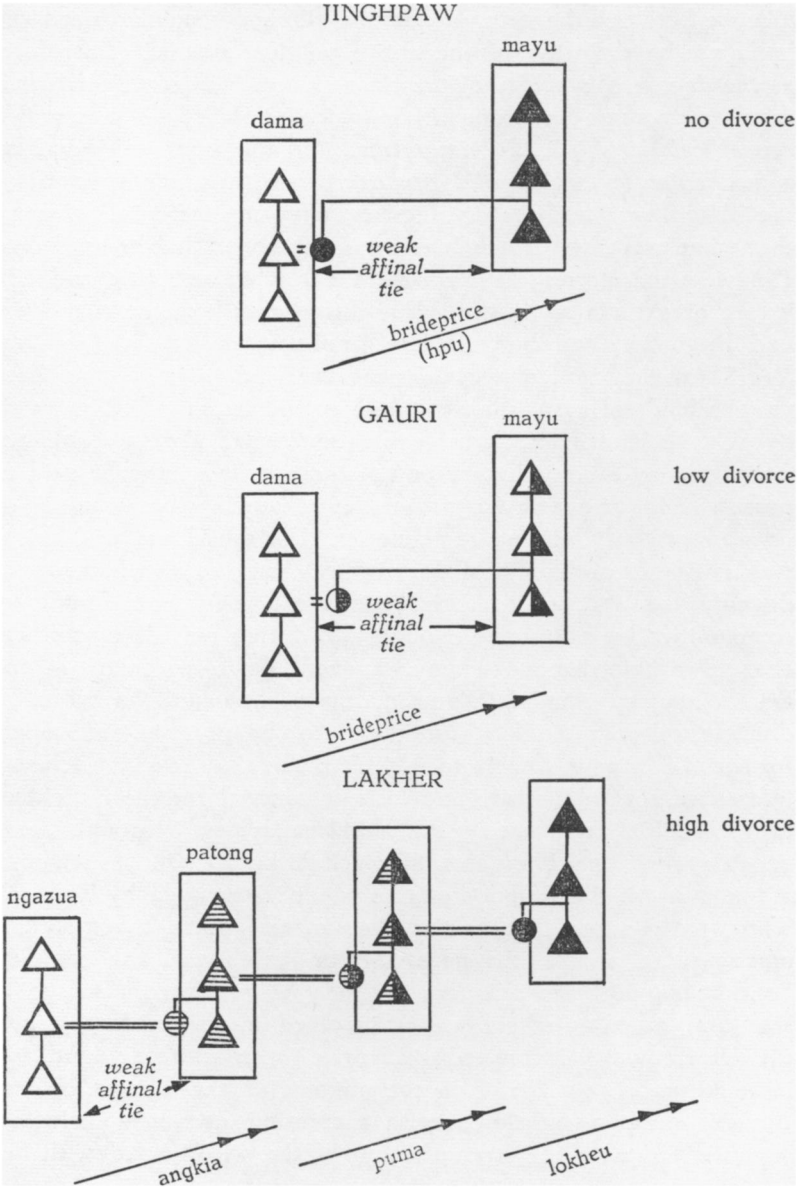
VARIABLE	*LAKHER*	*GAURI*	*JINGHPAW*
Preferential marriage (as a linguistic category)	yes	yes	yes
Strength of the wife's sibling bond	strong	weak	Weaker than Gauri
Brideprice	high and inflexible	higher and less flexible than Jinghpaw	varies with status of man
Ritualized marriage ceremony	no	yes	yes
Divorce rate	frequent	rare	forbidden (but not non-existent)
Stability of class system	most stable	stable	unstable

implicitly assuming that divorce is the ultimate evil to be avoided in this society, Leach has failed to realize that the breakup of the conjugal bond could have variable social structural meaning. The high divorce frequency among the Lakher, rather than being an unfortunate aberration of the class system, was merely an individual reaction to the lack of necessity, due to the elaborate extensions of the brideprice, of maintaining the conjugal bond as a factor in alliance. Also, a consideration of the differences between gumlao and gumsa Jinghpaw marriage further illuminates the social process as focussed upon through the institutions of marriage and divorce.

THE JINGHPAW KACHINS: FLUIDITY IN THE 'MEANING' OF MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE

What, then, are the differences in the scarce values involved in the marriage systems of the gumlao Jinghpaw and the gumsa Jinghpaw, as compared to the Gauri and Lakher? As compared with the relatively low significance of the Lakher conjugal bond, the Kachin groups have low or non-existent (rare) divorce. The Gauri have more fixed and mayu-centered bridewealth systems

FIGURE 2
(From Leach, 1961e:121)



than the Jinghpaw, and are less troubled by the instability (or potential instability) of the conjugal bond. The Jinghpaw, on the other hand, need the conjugal bond as the symbol of the alliance between the groups; and the Jinghpaw gumlao need the bond as the mainstay of the entire political system. Therefore, *as the degree of stability of the class system increases (correlated with an increase in economic-ecological stability — a possible causal relationship), the importance of the conjugal bond as a mechanism of social solidarity decreases:* thus, the strength of the sibling bond and the divorce frequency can increase! It seems that what prevented Leach from seeing this was that he tended to (1) view the marriage systems of the Kachin as stable and (2) ignore or explain away the subtle differences between the Gauri and Jinghpaw, and between the Jinghpaw gumlao and gumsa. We know that several variables are involved in producing these various kinds of system, all of which would be classified as patrilineal, with 'matrilateral cross-cousin marriage'. One variable not mentioned so far is whether or not these groups may be said to possess endogamous or exogamous *demes* marriage communities — or more properly, mating communities. For the Gauri, with fairly stable villages and political domains, we may speak of deme endogamy (as opposed to their lineage *exogamy*); but Jinghpaw communities are not stable enough and during periods of political change exhibit deme exogamy. Indeed, deme exogamy — the exit of married couples in gumsa organization and the influx of dama couples in gumlao villages — is the primary mechanism for social change in Kachin society. It seems that Leach's exclusive interest in social structure and lack of concern for the individual prevented him from seeing the marriage system (through deme exogamy) as the interpersonal mechanism of political change. A summary of the findings of this paper is provided by Table 2. Thus, we can see that as the class system tends to crystallize among these groups, the necessity for stability of the conjugal bond to support the alliances of lineages decreases (change in the jural rules — scarce values involved in the contract), and divorce frequency increases. Brideprice increases in amount, and in importance as a factor in the alliance of the groups. These factors are also correlated with increasing economic-ecological stability and with the strengthening of the wife's bond with her

TABLE 2

VARIABLE	*LAKHER*	*GAURI*	*GUMSA*	*GUMLAO*
Preferential marriage (as a linguistic category)	yes	yes	yes	yes
Strength of the wife's sibling bond	strong	weak	weaker than Gauri	weakest
Brideprice	high and inflexible	higher and less flexible than Jinghpaw	varies with status of man (flexible)	low
Ritualized marriage ceremony	no	yes	yes	yes
Divorce rate	frequent	rare	forbidden	forbidden
Stability of class system	most stable	stable	unstable	no class system
Economic stability	most stable	stable (less so than Lakher) partially	fairly stable, but less so than Gauri.	less stable than gumsa
Transfer of wife's to husband's lineage	never		almost totally	totally
Ritual assertion of status of bride's lineage (refusal of proposal, running away of wife, etc.)	yes	yes	yes, but less than Gauri.	no
Demes	endogamous	endogamous	exogamous	exogamous
Rights transferred in marriage	(1) status of children (2) sexual services	(1) status of wife (2) status of children (3) alliance (4) sexual services	(1) status of wife (2) status of children (3) alliance (4) sexual services	(1) status of wife (2) sexual services (3) stability of system
Rights lost in divorce	(1) sexual services	(1) status of wife (sometimes) (2) sexual services	(1) status of wife (2) sexual services (3) alliance	(1) sexual services (2) stability of system

siblings. If information on the Maru and Lashi groups were available, we could see whether or not linguistic categories (structure or content) or political variables were determinant factors in the institution of marriage. Thus, the Maru and Lashi groups may resemble the Jinghpaw gumlao groups due to political similarity or they may differ from both Jinghpaw and Gauri groups due to linguistic (and the implied structural) differences; thus a solution might be possible, on a structural (as opposed to developmental) level, to the Leach-Lounsbury controversy about the effects of linguistic categories on social process.

Northwestern University

REFERENCES

CARRAPIETT, W. J. S.
1929 The Kachin tribes of Burma. Rangoon, Government of Burma Printing Office.

GIBBS, JAMES
1964 Marital instability among the Kpelle: toward a theory of epainogamy. *In* Readings on the family and society. W. J. Goode, ed. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.

GILHODES, C.
1953 The Kachins: religion and customs. Calcutta, Catholic Orphan Press.

GLUCKMAN, MAX
1953 Bridewealth and the stability of marriage. Man 53(223):141-143.
1954 Bridewealth and the stability of marriage. Man 54(96):67.

HANSON, OLA
1913 The Kachins: their customs and traditions. Rangoon, American Baptist Mission Press.

LEACH, EDMUND R.
1953 Bridewealth and the stability of marriage. Man 53(279):179-180.
1954 Political systems of Highland Burma. London, G. Bell and Sons.
1961 Rethinking anthropology. London, Athlone Press.
1961a Rethinking anthropology. *In* Rethinking anthropology.
1961b The structural implications of matrilateral cross-cousin marriage. *In* Rethinking anthropology.

1961c Jinghpaw kinship terminology. *In* Rethinking anthropology.

1961d Polyandry, inheritance and the definition of marriage. *In* Rethinking anthropology.

1961e Aspects of bridewealth and marriage stability among the Katchin and Lakher. *In* Rethinking anthropology.

MA NAWNG KAWLU
1943 The history of the Kachins of the Hukawng Valley, tr. by Leyden. Bombay (privately printed).

PARRY, NEVILLE E.
1932 The Lakhers. London, MacMillan.

SCHNEIDER, DAVID
1953 A note on bridewealth and the stability of marriage. Man 53 (75):55-57.

SCOTT, J. G. and J. P. HARDIMAN
1901 Gazetteer of Upper Burma and the Shan States. Vols. 1 and 2. Rangoon, Government of Burma Printing Office.

STEVENSON, H. N. C.
1944 The Hill people of Burma. Calcutta, Longmans, Green.

Development and Changes in Population Distribution in the Out Island Bahamas

by WILLIAM B. RODGERS and CHARLES H. WALLACE

RÉSUMÉ

Un certain nombre de théories en cours tentent d'expliquer les migrations humaines dans les îles de Bahamas. Les auteurs procèdent à une vérification de ces théories en se basant sur des recherches faites dans plusieurs communautés ayant subi différemment l'influence du développement économique.

Anthropologist for some time have asserted that sociocultural systems are adapted to their environments (Radcliffe-Brown 1964:ix)[1]. If this assertion is true,[2] specific types of changes in the behavior of the individuals composing a system under analysis should follow specific types of environmental modifications. Population distributions at times may be used as behavioral indices to check premises of adaptation. This is so because: (1) environments include situations which may be exploited by the individual actors confronting them; and (2) the exploitive situations are located in space, and individuals (or in sum, populations) will often locate themselves in relationship to them. It follows that if *perceived* exploitive opportunities shift spatially from "time 1" to "time 2", it is highly likely that certain categories of the

[1] The research that yielded data for this paper was supported by the National Institutes of Health through grant MH 08377-01A1. We gratefully acknowledge this support, as we acknowledge the editorial assistance of John M. Long.

[2] Conceptions of environment have changed greatly since Radcliffe-Brown's day and now include competitors (Barth 1956:179-189), technology (Ogburn 1956:3-9) and other factors external to and affecting a unit of observation (Rodgers 1969:1-13).

individuals composing the population distribution of a system will shift as well.

Herein an attempt has been made to test hypotheses exploring the relationships between environmental modifications (related to economic development) and changes in population distributions by employing ethnographic data collected in the Out Island Bahamas. In this instance the hypotheses have been derived from Abaconian folk theories, though it is probable that they could have been generated from economic or demographic theory as well.

THE UNEXPOSED COMMUNITY

Crossing Rocks is a small coastal village located on the island of Great Abaco in the Out Island Bahamas.[3] In 1964 the village was composed of some twenty-five households and one hundred and nineteen individuals. The village was isolated from other Abaconian settlements by the absence of roads and the presence of rough waters. Subsistence was supplied by slash and burn farming and by fishing. Three type of fishing were common: (1) subsistence fishing by young boys and old men on the reefs outlying the village; (2) crawfishing by approximately half of the mature men of the village, on expeditions to the Little Bahama bank, for sale to passing crawfish traders; and (3) smack fishing by most of the other mature males of the community, in the waters of the northern Bahamas, the fish being marketed in the capital, Nassau, N. P. Food was primarily supplied by subsistence farming and by subsistence fishing, while the cash derived from the crawfishing and smackfishing was allocated for the purchase of goods such as: rice, flour, kerosene, building materials, simple tools and machinery, etc. that could not be manufactured or produced in the home environment. In general, because of subsistence production, the cost of living was quite low in Crossing Rocks, but in the absence of wage labor alternatives, it was impossible for individuals of the village to

[3] Crossing Rocks as well as the other two community units of observation (Murphy Town and Dundas Town) previously have been more completely described (Rodgers 1965).

accumulate much wealth in cash or material goods. These facts tend to aid the explanation of the Crossing Rocks population distribution (see Table 1), which was characterized by: (1) an overall male sex imbalance, (2) a relatively high proportion of children under sixteen years of age, and (3) a relatively low proportion of young and middle-aged adults.

TABLE 1

Population Distribution of the Unexposed Community

Age Groups	M	F
0–5	17	15
6–10	18	5
11–15	7	8
16–20	3	1
21–25	2	4
26–30	4	5
31–35	1	2
36–40	3	1
41–50	6	4
51–60	2	2
61+	4	5

When queried about the population distribution, Crossing Rocks villagers would consistently reply with a set of shared folk explanations which seemed quite plausible.

Surplus of Children

In answer to why there were so many children in their community, Crossing Rock villagers asserted that in addition to their own children, other village children, the products of dissolved marital and consensual unions, were from Nassau. Later analysis of household censuses and genealogies indicated that many of the children of Crossing Rocks were the offspring of absent sons, daughters, and siblings of the villagers and that most of these

immigrant children resided with their maternal grandparents. When queried about the male sex imbalance that characterized the population distribution of the community, the villagers asserted that this too was due to the immigration of children from the capital for: (1) the in-migration favored young males over young females, and (2) most of the over-all sex imbalance was caused by the predominance of young males under fifteen years of age. In checking the latter assertion against the population distribution (Table 1) it was noted that if only individuals over fifteen years of age were considered, Crossing Rocks did indeed have a balanced sex ratio. When asked why the in-migration favored young males, the villagers asserted that if young males were left unattended by working mothers in the capital, they would "get into trouble." For this reason they were sent to the Out Islands where they could be supervised. On the other hand they stated it was a common Bahamian belief that little girls should be brought up by their mothers whenever it was possible, and hence were less often sent away by their mothers. These practices, the villagers asserted, accounted for the surplus of young males in Crossing Rocks. (Later interviews in Nassau with the mothers of some of the immigrant children indicated that they shared the same beliefs and acted upon them when deciding which children to send back to the village.) The villagers were further queried regarding why there should be *so many* children from Nassau in the village. They replied that the primary reason was that it was cheaper to "bring up" children in the Out Islands as most of their food came from the "land and the sea", while in Nassau it takes "money to raise a child".

Deficit of Young and Middle-aged Adults

The villagers were also asked about the relatively small number of young and middle-aged adults in the Crossing Rocks population. They asserted that this was because many individuals in these age groups had migrated to Nassau. When asked if this migration was a new trend, they replied that as long as they could remember young people had always migrated from Crossing Rocks. A check of the collected genealogies revealed that *almost every adult* in the community (regardless of age) had one or

more siblings who, although born in the community, presently lived elsewhere in the Bahamas. Informants further asserted that more people *from* Crossing Rocks were living *away* from the community *than in it.* This strongly suggests, though exact data are not available, that Crossing Rocks has had a high emigration rate for at least the last fifty years.[4] When questioned about the reasons for this emigration, villagers uniformly replied that the emigrants left seeking jobs. They further asserted that most individuals had left Crossing Rocks because "they weren't owning anything" and because they wanted "to get ahead" (to accumulate money and goods). As they believed that jobs and wage labor were a necessary condition for "getting ahead" and as wage labor was absent in Crossing Rocks if one wished to be "successful" (to accumulate "things"), it was necessary to leave Crossing Rocks. When asked why they too had not emigrated, individual villagers would reply that they did not like the capital, that it was too difficult to bring up children there, that life was too expensive there, or that somebody had to stay home and care for the parents and the old people. They further believed that in many ways the Out Island way of life was better and that if wage labor jobs were available, few people would emigrate from the community.

As it is often the case that when men emigrate for work, the communities from which they migrate are characterized by female sex imbalances (Smith 1962:24, Solien 1959:244), it was asked why this was not so for Crossing Rocks. Informants replied that many men married before emigrating and took their families with them; this they believed accounted for the balanced sex-ratio for the population over fifteen year of age. A check against the genealogies and household censuses revealed that almost all young marriageable females were married before they emigrated. It was also learned that few emigrants returned to Crossing Rocks (only one such case was recorded for a ten year period),[5] although, as

[4] Other research (Sharer 1955: 43-49) indicates that Great Abaco has had high emigration rates for at least eighty years preceding the initiation of economic development in the late 1950s.

[5] On the other hand, many of the adult males in Crossing Rocks have worked in the capital for short periods of time although they considered themselves "citizens" of the village and did not move their families.

noted above, many of the young children of these emigrants were sent to Crossing Rocks to be reared after their parents' consensual or marital unions had dissolved. Finally, it was learned that older people seldom emigrated from the village as they did not have "strength to sell" (could not compete with younger men for jobs) and it was more sensible for them to remain in the village where they "could work their field and have their own people care for them."

In general, the set of folk explanations elicited from informants in Crossing Rocks seem to account for the population data recorded there. It later became apparent that some of these folk explanations or assertions could be stated in hypothesis form and tested with population data collected in other Abaconian communities that had been differentially exposed to economic development.

DEVELOPMENT AND POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The research described was conducted as part of a change study initiated to document the effects of economic development on Abaconian populations. In this study Crossing Rocks was selected as the unexposed "baseline" community, and changes were located by comparing Crossing Rocks data with data collected in two other communities, Murphy Town and Dundas Town, which had been differentially exposed to economic development. With reference to this portion of the study, the problem was to attempt to predict changes in the population distributions of the exposed communities from what we knew about: (1) the Crossing Rocks population distribution, and (2) the nature of the environmental modifications in the exposed communities related to economic development. In the following analysis environmental factors related to development are treated as independent variables, and population data from the exposed communities are used to construct dependent variables. Population data for the two developing communities necessary to test the hypotheses are presented in Table 2.

The first hypothesis to be tested explores the relationship between cost of living and immigrant children, and is derived

TABLE 2

Population Distributions of the Exposed Communities

Age Groups	Murphy Town		Dundas Town	
	M	*F*	*M*	*F*
0–5	51	33	42	39
6–10	30	24	19	15
11–15	17	15	15	10
16–20	3	10	7	12
21–25	7	9	5	15
26–30	12	13	7	11
31–35	12	10	9	7
36–40	12	10	9	7
41–50	11	3	7	14
51–60	4	6	5	7
61+	9	14	10	10

from folk explanations collected in Crossing Rocks. In summary: (1) a surplus of children under fifteen were observed in the unexposed community; (2) informants attributed this surplus to an in-migration of children from the capital; and (3) explained the in-migration by noting that because of a lower cost of living, it was cheaper to rear children in Crossing Rocks than in the capital.[6]

If this relationship is true and generalizable, *the percentage of the total population that children compose should decline as the relative cost of living for a specific Out Island population rises and approaches equilibrium with the capital.* In the developing communities of Murphy Town and Dundas Town, with the advent of wage labor and the abandonment of subsistence farming and fishing, the cost of living has increased relative to Crossing Rocks and children under fifteen years of age there should make

[6] Cash outlay per household for food averages sixteen pounds sterling per month in the exposed communities and six pounds sterling per month in Crossing Rocks, where the size of the average household is larger.

up a smaller percentage of the total population than they do in Crossing Rocks; the percentage should be smaller in Dundas Town, which has been exposed to the developmental factors longer than Murphy Town. Data to test the hypothesis are presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3

Relationship Between Cost of Living and the Frequency (and Percentage) of Children in the Population Distributions of the Exposed and Unexposed Communities.

		Individuals	
Cost of Living		Age 0-15 years	Age 16 years and over
Low	Crossing Rocks	70 (59%)	49 (41%)
High	Murphy Town	170 (54%)	145 (46%)
"	Dundas Town	140 (50%)	142 (50%)

Though the result is not statistically significant, Table 3 supports the first hypothesis, in that the percentage of children in the whole population declines from 59% in Crossing Rocks, to 55% in Murphy Town, to 50% in Dundas Town.[7] These results were achieved in spite of a higher birth rate and a lower child mortality rate in the developing communities, factors related to a more efficient access to modern medicine. It must be stressed that this theory relates specifically to the Bahamas, and probably to the Caribbean islands generally, but it is not held to apply universally, for it depends on the behavioral precondition of rearing children in grandparent-grandchild households which is common in the West Indies but not throughout the world.

The second hypothesis to be tested explores the relationship between the presence of wage labor and the percentage of the total population formed by young and middle-aged adults. This hypothesis also was derived from a folk theory present in Crossing Rocks. In summary, villagers in Crossing Rocks asserted that young and middle-aged adults composed a small percentage of

[7] Similar percentage frequency shifts were observed for both male children (63% to 58% to 56%) and female children (54% to 49% to 44%) from Crossing Rocks to Murphy Town to Dundas Town.

the total population because many individuals of these age categories had emigrated in search of wage labor employment, in order to maximize their accumulation of cash and material goods. If the asserted relationship is true and generalizable, then *as the opportunities for wage labor for a population increase, so should that part of the population that can exploit it (young and middle-aged males) increase in terms of their percentage frequency in the total adult population.* This hypothesis has obvious significance for a developmental situation, as in most such cases the environment is modified by the increase in frequency of jobs. This was certainly the case for Murphy Town and Dundas Town. It is also clear that the male populations there have responded to new job alternatives by acquiring the necessary skills to take advantage of the jobs (Rodgers 1966). If the hypothesis is true, there should be a higher percentage of young and middle-aged males in the adult male population in Murphy Town and Dundas Town than in Crossing Rocks. Data to test the hypothesis are presented in Table 4.

TABLE 4

Relationship Between Wage Labor and the Frequency (and Percentage) of Young and Middle-Age Adult Males in the Adult Male Population Distributions of the Exposed and Unexposed Communities.

		Individuals in the	
Wage Labor		16 to 40 age group	41 or over age group
Absent	Crossing Rocks	13 (52%)	12 (48%)
Present	Murphy Town	46 (66%)	24 (34%)
Present	Dundas Town	37 (64%)	22 (36%)

Again, though the result is not statistically significant, Table 4 tends to support the second hypothesis. The number of sixteen to forty year olds in the adult male population increases in percentage frequency from 52% in Crossing Rocks to 66% and 64% in Murphy Town and Dundas Town.[8] We interpret this

[8] Similar percentage frequency shifts were observed for females in the 16 to 40 year age group (54% to 69% to 63%) from Crossing Rocks to Murphy Town to Dundas Town.

percentage shift as an index of the adaptive behavior of individuals in the exposed community in response to modification in their economic environment, although we are aware that some of this percentage shift can be attributed to the in-migration of skilled workers from Nassau. In most cases, these new immigrants are *returnees,* Abaconians originally from the exposed community who emigrated to Nassau only to return when the environment was modified and wage labor alternatives for skilled workers became available. Nor has the emigration of young adults ceased. Men in the developing communities have learned that it is no easier to "get ahead" with the wages of an unskilled laborer than it is with the earnings of a crawfishman.[9] It is difficult for those without the necessary skills to secure a high paying "skilled" job, for there is a high measure of competition both from returnees who have skills and from their fellow villagers who most often do not. Some individuals can make the transition from unskilled laborer to skilled worker while staying in the home environment, but many cannot. Consequently many young men still emigrate to the capital where more jobs are available and there is a higher probability of acquiring the necessary skills. Most, however, do not marry before emigrating, nor do those who do marry take their families with them (which is the case in Crossing Rocks) as they expect to return as soon as possible to compete on the skilled job market in the home environment.

These changing behavior patterns as well as the declining in-migration of children from the capital have modified the sex ratios of the developing communities (Table 5).

Comparison of the sex ratio data shows that in the sixteen to forty year age groups, though the sex ratio is balanced in Crossing Rocks and only slightly out of balance in Murphy Town, there is an extreme female sex-imbalance in Dundas Town. If it is indeed the case that these observed sex imbalances are primarily due to the emigration of younger males who return to their home communities once they have acquired job skills,

[9] When the additional cost of living is considered, unskilled laborers net little more cash income than crawfishermen and smack fishermen but skilled workers can earn two to three times as much.

TABLE 5

Sex Ratios of the Exposed and Unexposed Communities

Age Groups	Crossing Rocks	Murphy Town	Dundas Town
0–15	.66	.73	.84
16–40	1.0	1.13	1.40
41+	.92	.95	1.40
16–25	1.0	1.90	2.2
26–40	1.0	.92	1.0
overall	.78	.88	1.09

$$\text{Sex Ratios} = \frac{\text{Females}}{\text{Males}}$$

then in the developing communities the sex imbalances should be most extreme in the lower portion of that age-sex category (the sixteen to twenty-five age group). Data from Table 5 indicate that this is so: (1) although the sex ratio is balanced in the sixteen to twenty-five age group in Crossing Rocks, in the exposed communities there are twice as many females as males, and (2) in all three of the communities in the twenty-six to forty age group, the sex ratio is balanced or nearly balanced. We cannot, however, presently account for the female sex-imbalance observed in the over forty-one age group in Dundas Town, although we are certain that it is not related to an immigration of older females.

The sex ratio data further lends additional support to the first hypothesis: the relationship between cost of living and child in-migration. It was noted previously that child immigrants were more likely to be males than females. A reduction in the child immigration rate, then, should be accompanied by less extreme male sex-imbalances in the zero to fifteen year age group. Data from the first line of Table 5 show that in this age category, the male sex imbalances become less extreme (from Crossing Rocks, to Murphy Town, to Dundas Town) with exposure to economic development and a higher cost of living.

CONCLUSION

We have described and attempted to explain the population distributions of three Abaconian communities. In doing so we have considered folk explanations of these population distributions and have been concerned with such factors as childhood immigration, young and middle-aged adult emigration, and male and female sex ratio imbalances. To achieve change perspective we have, through the controlled comparison of population data from the three communities which have been differentially exposed to economic development, attempted to assess the effects of related environmental modifications on the population distributions of the exposed communities. Finally, we attempted to test two hypotheses derived from Abaconian folk explanations of population distribution. Though neither test proved to be statistically significant, we hold that the data indicate that the hypotheses are substantially correct. It is certainly the case that both hypotheses could be reformulated so as to predict more of the observed variation, but it is probable that these communities will be restudied after development has proceeded for a longer time and the changes have become more clear-cut. At that point these, as well as additional hypotheses, can be retested by *longitudinal vertical* comparison as well as by *controlled horizontal* comparison (Rodgers n.d.); and this should produce more definitive validation.

The conclusions we have drawn from the foregoing analysis lead us to predict that *if, through exposure to economic development, similar environmental modifications occur in Crossing Rocks* (new wage labor alternatives and substantial increases in the cost of living), *the population distribution of this community will come to more closely approximate those presently found in the exposed communities of Murphy Town and Dundas Town.* Conversely, *if the developments are not maintained in the latter two communities, it is highly probable that the population distributions will become more similar to the one presently found in Crossing Rocks.* As we consider individuals to be the mechanisms of sociocultural change, the observed statistical shifts in the population

distributions of the communities are regarded as indices of the behavioral changes of individuals who have responded, adjusted or adapted to modifications in their perceived environments.

University of California, Los Angeles

REFERENCES

BARTH, F.
1956 Ecologic relationships of ethnic groups in Swat, North Pakistan. American Anthropologist 58:179-189.

OGBURN, W. F.
1956 Technology as environment. Sociology and Social Research 41:3-9.

RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R.
1964 The Andaman islanders. Glencoe, Free Press.

RODGERS, W. B.
1965 The wages of change; an anthropological study of the effects of economic development on some Negro communities in the Out Island Bahamas. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Stanford University.
1966 Development and specialization. Ethnology 5:409-414.
1969 Environment and change. Anthropology UCLA 1:1-13.
n.d. The longitudinal study of sociocultural change. Unpublished manuscript.

SHARER, C. J.
1955 The population growth of the Bahamas Islands. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

SMITH, M. G.
1962 West Indies family structure. Seattle, University of Washington Press.

SOLIEN, N. L.
1959 The consanguineal household among the Black Carib of Central America. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

Patterns of Mother-Son Behavior in the Hindu Family as Depicted in the Bhojpuri Folksongs of India

by HARI S. UPADHYAYA

RÉSUMÉ

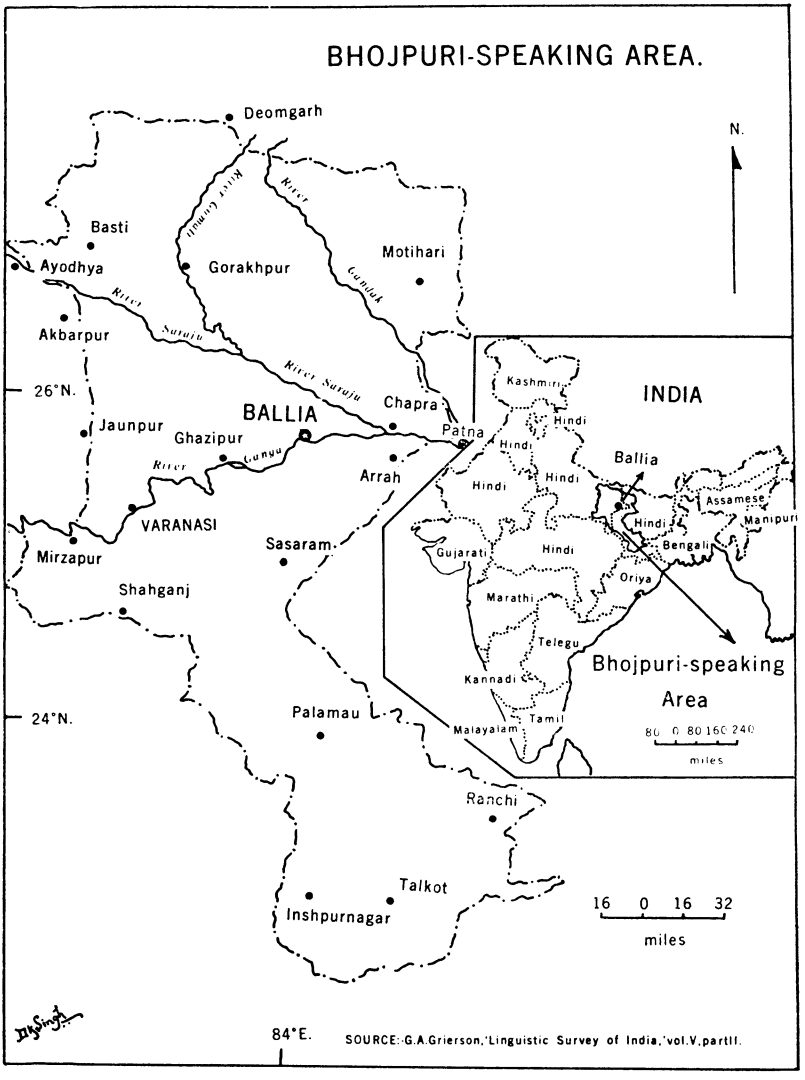
Dans la famille hindoue, la mère et son fils entretiennent des relations d'affection profonde. Ces sentiments sont décrits d'après certains chants folkloriques du pays.

The son has a very affectionate tie with his mother and maintains the highest veneration for her.[1] Demonstrating the importance of the mother in the life of her son, the *Mahabharata* (Meyer 1930:199) says:

> If one has a mother, one is sheltered, but unsheltered if one has not. He does not grieve, age does not weigh on him, even though fortune betray him, who comes back home to his house and can say "Mother!" ... he is old, he is unhappy, the world is an empty desert for him, if he is parted from his mother. There is no shadow like the mother, there is no refuge like the mother ... there is no beloved like the mother.

She is the principal cause of the union of the five elements which join to bring about the son's birth as a human being (Prabhu 1954:257). "Above ten fathers or even the whole earth in worth stands the mother; there is no *guru* (teacher) like the mother" (Meyer 1930:199). According to a saying: "After the father's death, his son become a prince. After the mother's death, the son becomes an orphan."

[1] Bhojpuri is a dialect of Hindi spoken in Eastern U.P. and Western Behar, India. The author has collected five hundred folksongs from this area in 1961. The present study is based upon the author's collection of Bhojpuri songs.


BHOJPURI-SPEAKING AREA.
Deomgarh
N.
Basti
Ayodhya
Gorakhpur
Motihari
Akbarpur
26°N.
BALLIA
Jaunpur
Ghazipur
Chapra
Patna
Arrah
VARANASI
Mirzapur
Sasaram
Shahganj
24°N.
Palamau
Ranchi
Talkot
Inshpurnagar
84°E.
INDIA
Kashmiri
Hindi
Ballia
Assamese
Manipuri
Bengali
Gujarati
Oriya
Marathi
Telegu
Kannadi
Tamil
Malayalam
Bhojpuri-speaking Area
80 0 80 160 240
miles
16 0 16 32
miles
SOURCE:-G.A.Grierson,'Linguistic Survey of India,'vol.V,partII.

A son, to a woman, is the most priceless possession on the earth. To her he is a "little baby" (FC 13),[2] "a toy," "the delight giver," "the eyeballs" and "the heart" (Upadhyaya 1960: 260). He is the "social redeemer" and the "main subsistence of her life". Ross (1962: 146-147) notes three distinct reasons for the close mother-son relationship: first, the birth of a son improves a woman's position in her husband's family more than any other single factor; second, she is not his main disciplinarian; third, he does not leave his maternal household after marriage. The folksongs of Bhojpuri from India speak of the paramount position of sons in the socio-religious life of Indian women. Barren women are treated as useless objects, and are disrespected and despised by the society. They lose even the love of their husbands. Only the birth of a son entitles a woman to enjoy her rights and privileges; otherwise she may be denied these all through her life. The Hindu family puts so high a premium on a male child that a mother knows that she must have at least one son. She becomes integrated into the family and her opinion is taken seriously only after she has given birth to a son. The respect given to a woman in the family increases with the number of sons which she is able to bear. Though she may be ugly, quarrelsome, mischievous, and disobedient to her elders, if she is the mother of several sons no one dares say anything to or against her.

Barrenness is an unquestioned blot on a woman's forehead, and to be sonless is a sin. The folksongs talk about women who have carved out "wooden sons," celebrated their birth ceremonies, invited their brothers, and played with these wooden toys as if they were live children. Their cravings for a son have caused certain women to lose their mental equilibrium. It is impossible to say how many village doctors and unscrupulous fakirs have often exploited such women both monetarily and sexually. Even highly chaste women have, at least mentally, longed to make love with someone — irrespective of caste — so that they might be able to beget a male baby. The thirst for a son is even stronger than the thirst for the divine nectar. Barren women have been reduced to a lowly position in the family, or have even been cast aside and required to spend their days in their parental or affinal

[2] The author's Field Collection Notebook is cited as FC.

homes like widows. They may regain their high position only after giving birth to a son. In one of the folksongs, a mother expresses surprise at her in-laws' change of attitude: "See, my mother-in-law and husband's sisters who never looked at me and always scolded me; today they speak to me because I have given birth to a male baby." Another song (Bachmann 1942:151) tells the same story:

> Oh my little son, God's image of good omen.
> Through thee my house becomes complete.
> O my little son, gift of God,
> Thou are Amrita (release) to me.

A woman's emotional attachment to her son is so intense that very often she loses considerable interest in her husband. She may have experienced, or heard, that "a husband loves his wife only when she has a son." Thus after the birth of a male child, the wife is so confident of her position vis-a-vis her husband that he no longer remains her focal point. This negligent attitude toward him may be a sort of retaliatory measure. She knows, now, that she is a "mother." She has a "son"; therefore, neither her husband nor any other member of his family can do her any harm. Her social position is completely secure; she need not bother any more about her husband, nor for that matter, anyone else. One of the Bhojpuri songs mentions a woman who awaits the arrival of her husband from a distant land. When she finds that he is not coming back, she says: "I do not care whether you come or not. I will console myself with my son" (FC 427: 21). According to a proverb: "More exacting than the neck-husband (one who ties the wedding string or *tali* around the wife's neck) is the belly-husband (the eldest son; i.e., the husband who has emerged from one's own self)" (Ross 1962:146). Similarly, Urquhart (1926:83) says that love for her son was the ruling passion of a Bengali woman. It surpassed her devotion to her husband which, although raised to the level of a religious cult, had not the spontaneous quality of sheer devotion seen in the mother-son relationship.

The birth of a male child is the most important event in the life of a woman, and his upbringing is her greatest concern. One of the songs says: "O my son, for nine months I have kept you in my womb, and have served you with meticulous efforts" (FC 136:7-8). According to a popular saying mother should rear

and protect their children "like the eggs of the Bharddul bird".[3] Sons who are born in the advanced age of their parents receive even more attention and affection from them, and are likely to be spoiled (FC 97:8-10). Practically speaking, a baby belongs to the whole joint family and every member takes a great interest in him, but as a saying goes, "There is no devotion toward him, if there is no mother." The son is her primary responsibility and duty, and he occupies her time to such an extent that she may even stop massaging her mother-in-law's feet, preparing food for the household, and taking interest in family rituals and her own husband. The little baby is her only "world," and when he is in her lap a woman may tend to grow negligent toward everything around her. Invariably, there is a loving grand-mother or aunt in the family who likes to take care of the baby; however, the mother is likely to distrust them, not because of their lack of experience in baby-rearing, but because she may not be sure of their love for her baby. Often such circumstances lead to violent feuds between the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law. The young mother may deny her mother-in-law the privilege of caring for the babies, especially if she happens to dislike her bitterly. A woman may even revenge her old grudges by not allowing her husband's mother to touch or speak to the baby, even though the grandmother may love the child intensely.

Mothers tend to stick to their sons like leeches. If they do not see their sons around them every moment they become restless. They are familiar with the dictum, "Son and horse are to go out into the world," yet they want to have them around them twenty-four hours of the day, and if possible, for the rest of their lives. "They always like to keep them under their skirt," old people observe. If a son happens to be away playing at the gate a mother is sure to feel that some evil spirit is overpowering him or that an ill-omen is befalling him (FC 25:6). It is a great delight to a mother to see her son crawling in the courtyard under vigilant protection. She likes to do everything for him by herself: waking him up in the morning, washing his teeth, and serving him food (FC 320). She becomes so absorbed in him that any separation may cause her great agony. One of the Bhojpuri

[3] The *bharddul* is a legendary bird said to be very attached to its offspring.

folksongs illustrates this situation very aptly (FC 11:5-8). At Rama's departure to the forest, his mother, Queen Kausilya, desperately asks him: "Tell me, O Raghubar, now in whose service am I going to devote myself and console my heart?" After his departure, Kausilya grows so sad that she asks her maidservant to put a "stony bandage" on her eyes so that she can not see Awodhya until Rama returns. She orders her subjects not to give birth to babies, not to sing birth songs, the city bitches not to bark and watchmen not to keep vigil over the city. With tears in her eyes, a mother who is reluctant to see her son go will bless him in the following words: "Wherever you go, be happy and cheerful. May god protect you." However, she will always be thinking that her son can hardly be well protected without her. Kausilya (FC 320) says:

> Rama does not like good cooked food.
> How will he cook coarse food by himself...

Then she sets out to look for Rama with delicious food in her hands (Upadhyaya 1960:260). Commenting upon this emotional possessiveness of Hindu mothers, Mrs. Das (1932:110) says:

> Thus the Hindu mother ... renders services to him which forever warp his sense of proportion and frustrates his earliest attempts at a normal expansion ... His instinctive infantile rebellion against her excessive demands or excessive showering of love upon him, against her exclusive emotional possessiveness — this wholesome rebellion is suppressed even long before he reaches adolescence. It becomes sublimated into its opposite — intense mother-goddess worship...

Out of this emotional attachment, Mandelbaum (1949:107) comments:

> There is a tendency ... for a boy to be isolated and insulated by his mother even within the close confines of the women's quarters... he frequently hears his mother in verbal skirmish with the older women as his defender and protector.

To a mother her boy is never at fault, even though she knows he sometimes is. This peculiar attitude of the mother has caused hundreds of quarrels within the Hindu joint family structure and has brought about a tremendous number of separations among the male members of the joint family. When a boy is caught red-handed by his father or any other member of the household and is about to be penalized, his mother may rush to help and protect

him. Beseeching his elders, she may say, "Please do not chastise him. He does not know what is wrong or right. He is innocent." In the face of the determined attitude of the punishing authority, she often creates a scene by crying, beating her head, and quarreling. She may even eventually stop eating, and thus virtually go on a complete strike. One of the folksongs describes how a woman, pulling her hair, begs Sitala to pardon her son "this time" only for having defiled the honor of the disease goddess (FC 374). A woman may boast to her neighbor, "I have never touched my son, even with a straw." Traditionally, a mother is not an instrument of punishment, it is the father who disciplines the boy. Although mothers may occasionally spank their boys when they are naughty, it does not have much effect on them (FC 123:6-7).

A famous dictum says: "The beating of a mother and the scolding of a father are equal." After his mother has given him a good thrashing, a boy may burst into laughter or become angry with her and retaliate by prolonged crying; or he may continue to do the same thing for which he had been beaten. In any case, his mother's beating is not likely to bring any lasting results.

In the folksongs, the handling of the mother-son relationship most often portrays the mother as a younger bride and the son as a baby. Nevertheless, other social situations exist. As a son grows up a considerable change in his attitude and behavior takes place, but such a change in a mother's behavior is not found. The following saying characterizes the change of attitude in the son: "The mother's heart is like a cow's heart; the son's heart is like a butcher's heart." The mother is often offended as she sees her son paying more and more attention to his wife and less toward her, but she is likely to take it stoically by saying, "He is young, he does not understand things." Mothers suppress their ego, bear indignities, and suffer physical and mental torture at the hands of their sons and daughter-in-law, but even then they do not like to loosen the bond of affection for their offspring; instead they attempt to keep a strong grip on them. Bhojpuri song tells of a mother who urges her arrogant child to return home: "O baby, I am the darling of my father, the beloved of five brothers and dear to my husband, even then I will go out into

the forest to look for you. Please come home. Without you home and courtyard appears deserted to me" (FC 25). Women show a tremendous power of forgiveness toward their sons. Praising their devotion and forbearance, people say, "A mother is after all a mother." However, some mothers do raise an uproar and force their sons to rectify their misconduct.

The duties and responsibilities of a mother do not end after her son reaches manhood, but last as long as she is alive. The songs describe how the mother, despite having little authority in the joint family, goes to the chamber of her sleeping husband and wakes him to say that their son has reached the age when he should be given a sacred thread or be married. She is the one who looks into the face of her son in an attempt to detect any hidden worries, and who seeks to help him out. His physical well-being is her chief concern. As a saying puts it: "The mother looks after the well-being of the boy and the wife looks after the money." A young man finds a soothing and compassionate audience in his mother, and tells her all the sorrows of his life, even if he has to make up a few. Hearing the complaint of how little a dowry he has received from his bride's family, a mother is quick to comfort her son with: "Do not bother, O Son, I will remarry you where you will get more dowry (FC 187:9-10). When it comes to helping and defending their own sons, women completely lose their sense of social and ethical values, and at times, may become very mean. The emotional attachment between a mother and son remains so intense that even in her eighties, when her sons may be in their sixties, a mother prides herself on looking after their physical well-being, advising them on minor problems, and superintending the household affairs in whatever manner she can. As an example of this attitude, Ross (1962: 149) quotes an informant as saying:

> Although he (her son) has a job he is just like a baby. I cannot leave him for a single minute. He wants me every second for everything, even to help him dress.
>
> My son rules a district but he is still very humble before me (p. 147).

The folksongs give the impression of sons being respectful (FC 445:12, 9:2-3), dependent, and timid toward their mothers. These attitudes are due to excessive maternal love (FC 91:32)

and the social tradition, which requires a man to treat his mother as a goddess. A man might develop his personality independently of his mother and might not have an intense emotional attachment to her if she were not so over-possessive and demanding. As the saying goes, "A son's heart is like a butcher's heart." In fact, a boy has several relatives to take care of him and once he is old enough to marry he does not need his mother much. But it is the mother who, in almost all cases, sticks to him and forces him to be dependent upon her. The social pressure is such that he has no choice but to reciprocate his mother's attention and be bound to her apron strings. "Even if a man feels a little independent, he feels guilty to feel it. He feels contented but not happy, in being dependent, and uncomfortable in independence." Traditionally, "The son who can manage everything himself and does not require anyone's help or advice is called 'rough man' or even a vagabond" (Ross 1962:149). Commenting upon the ambivalent situation arising out of this tie, Mandelbaum (1949:106) cites Mrs. Das:

> ... exaggerated worship of the mother on the part of Indians leads to an ambivalent attitude on the part of men toward women. There is frustration in marriage because men seek in the wife a mother instead of a mate, and men therefore attempt to free themselves from all desire of the body.

The son's sense of duty and respect for his mother is reflected in the following saying from Bengal: "Shall I prefer my wife to my mother? O, wicked thought! A man may forsake his wife without sin; but for a man to forsake his mother is the greatest of all sins" (Urquhart 1926:82). A woman may boastfully say: "My son likes me more than his wife." Men even torture and humiliate their wives just to appease their mother-goddess and earn the title of "Matribhakt" (one who is devoted to one own mother) or "Sojhiya Beta" (a gentle son). After returning from his marriage ceremony, a son proudly says in one Bhojpuri folksong: "O mother, my wife will be your slave" (Upadhyaya 1960:261). In another folksong a groom tells his wife: "Whatever my mother does against you, O Gaura, you must not ever say anything against her" (FC 136:13). This reverence toward the mother and the fear of social repercussion should such reverence not be shown, at times reaches a point when sons witness, however reluctantly, scenes of physical and mental torture of

their wives by their mothers, and still keep silent (FC 424). A folksong depicts the wretched condition of a woman whose husband has gone to a distant region: "O, my cruel mother-in-law wants to kill my baby. I have to wear ornaments made of base metal, and torn and soiled clothes. I go to collect refuse. Mother-in-law has thrown me out of the home..." (FC 424). The song continues and finally tells of the young man's return home. When he hears of his mother's cruelty he sadly says: "O mother, if I had known that you would behave like this, I would not have gone to that distant country" (FC 424:33-34). He does not reproach her in any other way. Confirming this fact, Majumdar (1962:212) writes, "A youth stands in greater awe of his mother than his father, and even if his mother does not treat his wife properly he does not intervene, except in cases of extreme ill-treatment" Men would like to show their resentment of such cruel actions, but they hardly wish to boldly interfere with their mothers for fear of being labelled a "slave of their wives". "The duty of reverence to the mother goes so far" writes Bachmann (1942: 25) "that a son may in no circumstances desert his mother, even if the latter, through improper conduct, is ostracized and excluded from all social life." For, whatever wrong she may commit, she still remains his mother to him.

Sons often gravitate emotionally toward their mothers and are so dependent upon them that, even at an advanced age, they lean on them for help and advice (FC 424:5-6, 13:2-3, 15:10). From childhood onward, domineering mothers overshadow their sons' personalities to the extent that the men may become completely incapable of doing anything without her consultation. Speaking of Indian princes, Sleeman (1915:256) remarks, "The state of mental imbecility to which a youth of naturally average powers of mind... is in India often reduced by a haughty and ambitious mother... (is such that) they are often utterly unable to act, think, or speak for themselves." Such men are so emotionally shattered at their mothers' death that it takes them years to compose themselves again. Forster (1953:41) says of a maharaj (king): "To his mother... he was devoted. Years after her death he still mourned her, and one day he lamented to us, while tying a turban, that he no longer took pleasure in tying it, now that the beloved voice which could praise his skill had

gone." Ross (1962:148) quotes one of her informants as saying: "Tears well up in my eyes when I think of my mother. Nothing interested me for six months after her death."

The decline of a woman's power and authority and her change of attitude is clearly seen soon after her husband's death: "A mother's love accounts for her desire to monopolize her son's affections, particularly after her husband dies, for her subordinate position as a widow will make her lean even more heavily on him" (Ross 1952:148). "It [the death of his father] is terrible for the son, for he may be 'bound to his mother's apron strings'. She may always be telling him that he must look up to her, and take care of her; so he feels guilty if he ever goes against her wishes, and won't take his wife's side against her" (Ross 1962: 148). If he neglects her even slightly, she may say sarcastically: "My lord is dead. Now, who cares for me?" She may occasionally complain publicly about the behavior of her son and daughter-in-law. Widowed mothers easily gain the support and sympathy of the community. The village people are often likely to accuse the son, even if the mother happens to be at fault. It is true that a woman has to forego a considerable amount of her domestic power after her husband's demise; however, a good son usually takes every precaution not to let her feel the absence of her consort and, above all, the loss of her former authority.

REFERENCES

BACHMAN, H.
1942 On the soul of the Indian woman: as reflected in the folklore of the Konkan. Bastora, Indian Portuguese Tipographia Rangee.

DAS, FREIDA HAUSWIRTH
1932 Purdah. London, George Routledge and Sons.

FORSTER, E.M.
1953 The Hill of Devi. London, Edward Arnold.

MAJUMDAR, D. N.
1962 Caste and communication in an Indian village. Bombay, Asia Publishing House.

MANDELBAUM, DAVID G.
1949 The family in India. *In* The family: its function and destiny. Ruth N. Anshen, ed. New York, Harper and Brothers.

MEYER, JOHANN JAKOB
1930 Sexual life in ancient India. London, George Routledge and Sons.

PRABHU, PANDARI NATH
1954 Hindu social organization. Bombay, Popular Book Depot.

ROSS, A. D.
1962 The Hindu family in its urban setting. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

SLEEMAN, W. H.
Rambles and recollections of an Indian official. London, Oxford University Press.

UPAHYAYA, HARI S.
1961 Field collection notebook(FC).

UPADHYAYA, K. D.
1960 Bhojpuri Lok-Sahitya Ka Adhyayan. Varanasi, Hindi Pracharak Pustakalaya.

URQUHART, MARGARET
1926 Women of Bengal. 2nd ed. Mysore, Wesleyan Mission Press.

Guardian Spirits, Alcohol, and Cultural Defense Mechanisms

by JOHN H. HAMER

RÉSUMÉ

Chez les Indiens Potowatomi, toute démonstration de dépendance ou de besoin de sécurité était et est encore défendue. Traditionnellement, l'acquisition d'un esprit protecteur satisfaisait ce besoin sur le plan individuel. De nos jours, il semble que l'alcool se soit substitué à l'esprit protecteur et qu'en état d'ivresse un individu puisse chercher l'appui de ses concitoyens.

Spiro (1961:479-490) has brought to our attention in recent years the importance of investigating the problems of what happens when cultural norms run counter to certain basic human motivations.[1] Thus, even though motives may be culturally proscribed, they do not simply disappear and some means must be found for their gratification if serious consequences for individual personalities are to be avoided. He suggests three alternatives for resolving this conflict: the development of culturally prohibited behavior which is socially and psychologically disruptive such as various forms of mental illness; the use of personal defense mechanisms which are culturally approved and psychologically and socially integrative; and the implementation of culturally constituted defenses which are patterned versions of the individual psychological defense mechanism. It is the purpose of this paper to consider the cultural patterning of sublimation as a means of compensation for proscribed expressions of dependency needs among a small group of Forest Potawatomi Indians, in the traditional and reservation setting.

[1] Field work on which this paper is based was conducted in 1961, under a grant from the Michigan State Board of Alcoholism. I wish to express appreciation for the helpful criticism of Ronald Cohen who read an earlier version of this paper. He is in no way responsible for the final results.

Spiro (1961:488) defines the culturally constituted defense of sublimation as the *direct* gratification of forbidden behavior "through a symbolic (ritualized) expression of the motive". Through sublimation the group is protected from potentially disruptive behavior, and at the same time an unacceptable motive becomes the basis for culturally acceptable role performance. Certain aspects of the social system become a means for camouflaging and hence providing for gratification of the forbidden motive. Formally stated the process involves:

(a) Resolution of conflict between the cultural norm and the forbidden motive without mental breakdown for the individual;

(b) The individual is protected from guilt feelings since the disguised motive is gratified in a socially acceptable fashion;

(c) The social system is protected from the disruption which could occur with direct satisfaction of the individual motive;

(d) A potentially disruptive motive is changed into a force for maintenance of the social system (1961:489-490).

Dependency

In every definition of dependency there is an emphasis on the individual's attempt to obtain nurturance from another without success. Many theories also include a conceptualization of aggression as a response to sought after but unrewarded dependency. In a recent publication Gavalas and Briggs (1966:97-121) have summarized the major theories of dependency as falling under the heading of those stressing the causal importance of anxiety, fear of independent behavior, conflict, and concurrent reinforcement of dependency and competency. In this paper we shall follow the conflict theory as it seems appropriate to the individualistic, highly controlled personality found among the Forest Potawatomi.

Mowrer (1960) has developed a theory of conflict in which the opposing emotions of hope and fear are aroused as a consequence of the individual experiencing both reward and frustration

of his responses over a period of time. This tends to result in anger which leads either to intensification or inhibition of the response. The application to dependency may be formally stated as follows:

> Dependency occurs when nurturance is sought from others with only intermittent success; as a consequence the individual learns to experience mixed emotions of hope and fear when approaching others. The conflict serves to heighten the threshold of response, which when frustrated results in anger.

On the basis of this definition it is possible to construct a paradigm of how the proposed cultural defense mechanism relates to dependency.

(a) When the cultural norms call for guardedness in social interaction the individual will experience ambivalent emotions of hope and fear in attempting to associate with others. The long period of nurturance required in the socialization of the human primate is such that to some degree individuals in all societies are going to experience dependency, simply because it is humanly impossible, and even dangerous, to avoid frustrating the desires of the small child to attract attention and to be near a nurturant adult. At the same time many tribal societies, including the Potawatomi, tend to maximize contact between mother and child until the weaning period. After weaning, however, the rules may call for quite the opposite form of behavior not only in terms of a stress on independent, self-reliant action, but more especially a redefinition of the role of adults and gradually even of peers from positive nurturant others to negative, powerful, competitive others. It is this drastic negative, reinterpretation required of the small child which leads to mixed expectations about receiving support from people.

(b) Approaching others involves the contrasting emotions of hope and fear, but withdrawal reduces the fear. On the other hand the desire to be near and receive attention from others remains, so that once fear has been reduced the approach will be made again. The individual is caught in a dilemma. As Mowrer (1960:424) suggests there would seem to be three options in such a situation: (1) the finding of another source of nurturance; (2) elimination of punishment for seeking nurturance; (3) indi-

viduals lose interest in the quest. Choice of alternative (2) is unlikely considering that Potawatomi socio-economic norms stress independence and (3) is improbable given the degree to which nurturance expectations have been highly rewarded in the early socialization process. Therefore (1) becomes the most probable alternative. Nevertheless, given the anticipated uncertainty about the response, a premium will be placed on circumspection in initiating social interaction. Since, however, behavior is never completely consistent with the rules and because others are also seeking attention and reassurance, there will be intermittent success.

(c) It might be expected that intermittency of reinforcement would lead to a balancing out of fear and hope in the long run, but Sears *et al* (1965:48) have suggested that the process actually serves to heighten dependency.

> Dependency occurs when nurturance is sought from others with only intermittent success; as a consequence the individual learns to experience mixed emotions of hope and fear when approaching others. The conflict serves to heighten the threshold of response, which when frustrated results in anger.

In their study of American nursery school children they found some evidence for a relationship between intermittent reinforcement in early childhood and a high level of positive attention seeking at age four (1965:48-75).

(d) Nonetheless, a built-in paradox exists regarding the conflict induced between hope and fear (Gavalas and Briggs 1966:108-109). There is some empirical data to show that the direction of the conflict is difficult to predict since it may inhibit as well as energize responsiveness. Mowrer (1960:425) sites one study which shows the time factor to be important; the initial response to frustration tends to activate, but if reinforcement is not forthcoming over a period of time depression sets in and the response tendency is ultimately extinguished. It is possible, however, that the cultural defenses against overt expressions of dependency discussed in this paper are so spaced that there is insufficient time lag for extinction to occur.

On the basis of the above reasoning it is possible to advance the following hypotheses concerning the relation between depen-

dency and culturally constituted defense mechanisms in the historic and reservation experiences of the Forest Potawatomi.

(1) Traditional child rearing practices in the past and in the present tend to encourage the fear-hope conflict in interpersonal relations which is the basis of dependency.

(2) Emphasis on the avoidance of open nurturant, helping, or caretaking behavior is compensated by the prevalence of this behavior within the institutionalized framework of the traditional guardian spirit relationship which has been replaced in recent times by social drinking.

As indicators of dependent behavior we shall use three developed by Sears *et al.* (1965:27,33). One is "negative attention seeking" which refers to the attempt to gain attention through aggressive behavior; a second is "reassurance seeking" involving the quest for help and emotional support; while a third, "positive attention seeking" is the attempt to win the admiration and cooperation of others. In their study of nursery school children they found some evidence that negative attention seeking was associated in both sexes with low demands and restrictions by the parents. For reassurance seeking both parents showed high demands for achievement along with coldness and encouragement of independent behavior. Positive attention seeking was clearly associated with parental restrictions on aggressiveness and in the case of boys, rejection by the father. There are other attributes that researchers found associated with these measures of dependency, but these appear to be the principal ones, and those for which we have information from the Potawatomi.

TRADITIONAL CULTURE

The community to be considered, which will be given the pseudonym Whitehorse, consists of 29 families of predominantly Potawatomi Indians located in Northern Michigan. Historically, these people like other Algonkian-speaking groups in the area were hunters and gatherers, lacking a centralized government and complex ceremonial and religious institutions. From the small amount of ethnographic data and the memories of some of the

oldest informants, there are indications that traditional Potawatomi culture was very similar to that of the Ojibwa and Ottawa (Quimby 1960:122-132). Therefore, in the discussion to follow extensive use will be made of the more abundant Ojibwa material.

Child Training

Densmore (1929:48-51) in his account of Ojibwa infancy indicates that even during the second decade of this century the contact between mother and child impressed him as being of greater intensity and warmth than that found in European societies. The permissive period may also have been of greater length, for Keating (1824:132) suggests that before the middle of the last century Potawatomi mothers nursed their children for prolonged periods of three, four years, or longer. The criterion for change seems to have been the arrival of a new sibling, at which time the mother would induce a relatively abrupt separation by sending the child away to a kinsman, covering the breasts with unpleasant tasting substances, and/or frightening the child when he tried to suck (Hilger 1951:28-29).

After weaning, stress seems to have been placed on independence with the consequence that the formerly nurturant adults took on the opposite attributes of distance and aloofness. The cultural basis for independence training has been well summarized in Barry, Bacon, and Child's (1959:53-59) study on the difference between the accumulative, cooperative, agricultural, and pastoral societies as compared with those with hunting and fishing economies. The results of their statistical comparisons show that the accumulative groups emphasize obedience, responsibility, and nurturance in youngsters while the hunting and fishing types socialize achievement, self-reliance, and independent behavior. Though the Ojibwa are one of the societies considered as ranking high in the importance placed on independence, it is the consequence of this training in terms of reversal of the earlier nurturant adult-child relationships which is important in this study.

Densmore (1929:58-59) states that the Ojibwa parent attempted to instill self-control in the child through games and various fear techniques. He notes by contrast with white children

the far greater demands "to keep still when surprised or frightened". Keating (1824:96-97) reports that the principal technique of discipline utilized by the Potawatomi in the early 19th century was fear; children were continually being told that to disobey their parents would bring down the wrath of the Great Spirit upon them, and in the case of boys, would deprive them of all success as hunters or warriors. Another form of punishment, apparently used somewhat sparingly, was to require the child to blacken his face and go without food for varying periods (Keating 1824:123). In 1929 Jenness (1935:95) found among the Parry Island Ojibwa that withdrawal of food was an "ordinary punishment" for young children six to eleven years old. They were given a bowl of soup once a day for several days and told to fast the rest of the time, remaining in a corner of the wigwam and attempting to dream in order that the punishment would not be wasted.

Landes' (1938a:2-4) discussion of early Ojibwa childhood fits in well with the dependency model proposed in this paper. She found that even though warmth and affection was stressed during infancy, there was concern that too much nurturance would detract from making the new arrival into an efficient, contributing, member to the subsistence activities of the household. Boys especially, as they grew older, were urged to acquire power by going without food. She says the four or five year old child: "... often objects to the fast, stamps and cries, or runs around to snatch some food for himself." There was no escaping the parent, however, who would rub charcoal on his face and send him out to play with the other children. If he managed to maintain the fast for the rest of the day he would be rewarded with an "especially good meal" in the evening. A child of eight who on the day he was supposed to fast demanded bread rather than charcoal when confronted with the choice, would be severely punished by his father. Like Keating, she also found that withdrawal of food was used as a punishment for disobedient children.

There is in the situation described by Landes, which is reminiscent of that described by our older Potawatomi informants, much that fits into the conflict sequence. A child approaches the adult in hope of a nurturant reward of food only to be rebuffed. The immediate response is anger and a short interval of rejection,

which is followed by a lavish reward of food, reinforcing the hope for future nurturance. Hence in the early attempts at coping with adult demands for independence and power, the child is likely to have developed mixed expectations of hope and fear which were alternately reinforced by the adult. Through the process of fasting for a vision his dependency threshold was increased by intermittent reinforcement, but the learning experience of the vision quest led to a transfer of expectations of nurturance from people to supernatural beings.

The process of transference is frought with conflict which would seem to have potential for increasing the threshold of the dependency response vis-a-vis the individual and his sought-after vision. Landes (1938a:4) notes that some dreams were considered acceptable and others "evil". Guide lines for "correct" dreaming were laid down by parents, but it is evident that boys met with intermittent success, thus reinforcing the hope-fear conflict. Whatever the outcome the boy was admonished to: "...identify himself with it so thoroughly that he 'can pretty nearly talk to his manido'" (Landes 1938a:5). Parker (1960:605) has indicated the significance of this change from early childhood to adult status when he says that it was based on a developing awareness of the precarious subsistence of the small isolated group of kinsmen. There was the absence of the adult males on long hunting trips, the boy's own inability to contribute significantly to the group, the continual reminders of his spiritual vulnerability, and the proddings to grow up as rapidly as possible. All were mediated through parental withdrawal of "over-effectionate behavior".

Though the pre-adolescent male apparently experienced increasing frustration in his attempts to gain the nurturant attention of adults, there was no immediate repression of expressions of childhood anger. In fact there is considerable evidence from early explorers and missionaries that Indian children were overtly aggressive and relatively uncontrolled in their behavior (Hallowell 1955: 135-136). Nevertheless, as an individual became aware that others possessed supernatural powers in differing and usually unknown amounts, he became wary of overt expressions of hostility. Hallowell (1955:148) suggests that expression of open anger toward another became the equivalent of a challenge to a

duel by sorcery. Green (1948:227) is even more emphatic in proposing that Ojibwa boys were subjected to a severe conflict when they were urged to be successful hunters. While this would indicate great power and entitle them to the respect of others, such power was feared as well as admired and could result in others becoming sufficiently jealous to direct their power against one who was reckoned a success. In such a situation the only alternative was a surface friendliness and agreement which could antagonize no one. This would seem to fit in with the statements of 17th century French missionaries that the Potawatomi were the most "docile" and eager to please of any of the Indian groups that they had encountered, and the evidence from historical accounts of the 18th century that they could easily be persuaded to switch alliances between the Americans, British and French (Lawson 1920:44-45, 60-61, 76-77, 82-83). Moreover, extreme friendship seems to have been a sign of the practicing sorcerer. Thus the individual learned that he existed in a society which was individualistic and highly competitive not only in regard to subsistence, but also in terms of the supernatural power which made a man a success or failure. He gradually came to fear people and, as Hallowell (1955:305) suggests, sought help from supernatural others who "became parent surrogates from puberty onward".

> ... Formerly the boy had been dependent upon older human beings, who in addition to teaching him necessary skills, had trained him to rely upon himself to the extent of his capacity. Henceforth he was to rely primarily upon superhuman beings, that is upon inner promptings, derived from further dreams or the memories of his fasting experience.

Both Hallowell (1955:288, 305) and Landes (1938a:3-5) indicate that sexual differentiation was important in the socialization of reliance on supernatural power. Girls could dream and acquire power, but there was no great emphasis, given their primarily domestic role, on self-reliance and the climactic puberty ritual of acquiring one or more supernatural protectors was not a required part of their experience. Densmore (1929:61) mentions that the relationship between mother and daughter was very close and Hilger (1951:6) suggests that mothers liked to have a number of daughters because they, unlike sons, tended to be willing to care for their parents in old age. Further data is provided by Landes (1966:121, 123) who says that the early training of a

girl was directed toward developing an attitude of subordination and cooperation while at the same time greater ambiguity in expectations about the adult female role made for greater variation in acceptable behavior than was found among males. Perhaps Parker (1960:617) has best summarized the situation in his comprehensive survey of the literature:

> During both the early childhood phase and in adult life, females are able to satisfy normal dependency needs to a far greater extent than males.

The limited evidence is more than suggestive in light of the aforementioned study by Sears *et al* (1965:70-75), in which they found a positive association between permissiveness by mothers of dependent behavior and its appearance among their daughters in the nursery school setting, but a negative association between the two variables in regard to boys. On the other hand dependency in boys occurred with the withholding of love and affection by both the mother and father. They felt, however, that the withholding of nurturance could not be absolute and was likely to be of the kind that would encourage intermittent reinforcement of the dependency response.

Guardian Spirits and Dependency

There should be indications of the hope-fear conflict, intermittent reinforcement, and anger arising out of frustrated attempts to receive nurturance from others if the guardian spirit complex is an institutionalized means of sublimating dependency in adult life. In this section the consequences for males of acquiring at puberty a life-long guardian spirit will be examined, according to the suggested indicators of dependency: reassurance and positive and negative attention-seeking.

Reassurance

For purposes of this paper reassurance means the restoration of confidence in another by providing sympathy, protection, and help. It seems that one of the principal goals in seeking a supernatural helper was to obtain a substitute for the reassurance formerly provided by the parent. As previously noted these super-

natural beings became "parental surrogates" and once an adolescent male Ojibwa had established such a relationship, help from human beings, in time of crisis, was considered both unnecessary and dangerous (Hallowell 1955:305, Landes 1937:55). Furthermore, the ritual by which this substitution was made involved a symbolic regression to a nearly complete state of helplessness, reminiscent of infancy. The process was one of weakening the body through fasting to the point where one could hardly walk, with most of the time being spent curled up in a nest of leaves in a semi-comatose state (Hilger 1951:42-43). The spirit is said to have taken "pity" on a supplicant in this condition; the meaning of the word for pity in Ojibwa carries the connotation of adopting and caring for another as a parent or grandparent would care for a child (Landes 1938:6). Landes (1966:98) describes the typical response of the helper as follows:

> My grandchild (or brother or sweetheart or any other relationship term which has emotional significance), I have taken pity upon you (this is a very respectful phrase, not a patronizing one). I have seen you in your sufferings, and I have taken pity upon you. I will give you something to amuse yourself with.

After an individual had established such a relationship he continued to approach his spiritual benefactor at times of crisis in a state of helplessness. He would always carry a special medicine bundle as a token of the power and help promised by his guardian and, as one of Hilger's informants reported, even the thought of this helper in times of trouble was sufficient to make things "brighten up" (1951:61). Keating (1824:119-120) has also mentioned this helping quality in discussing the link between a Potawatomi and his spirit as it existed during the early nineteenth century: "... he consults it in all his difficulties and not infrequently conceives that he has derived relief from it." For the Potawatomi friendship with the animal spirit was considered completely personal and under no circumstances to be shared with others.

In regard to confidence building, it is significant that the only way in which an individual could develop a reputation for unusual accomplishment was through the attainment of special powers from his guardian spirit. By this means some attained the most prestigious position in the society, that of shaman, but few acquired

sufficient confidence from their vision quest to aspire to such heights. Nevertheless, one could feel confident of successfully negotiating various life crises through the aid of supernatural support and adherence to the traditional norm proscribing warm interpersonal relations. The latter form of behavior provided a means of avoiding tests of strength with others, who might possess more powerful supernatural protection, which could not only destroy self confidence, but in some cases life itself (Hallowell 1955:362).

Positive Attention Seeking

This phrase refers to individual utilization of a culturally recognized and acceptable competency as an attention getting device. Among Algonkian speaking peoples probably the most notable means for males to gain the admiration and cooperation of others was through the demonstration of prowess in hunting, curing, games and/or warfare. The only source of power to do these things was the guardian spirit. In the case of the Ojibwa Hallowell (1955:361) observes:

> Every special aptitude, all his successes and failures, hinged upon the blessings of his supernatural helpers, rather than upon his own native or acquired endowments, or even the help of his fellow human beings.

An individual suspected of having great power was respected by others, but because of a conceptualized rank order of power there was always someone who had more and was consequently more successful in attracting the attention of others through concrete examples of his competency. One could not, however, be certain about the amount of power possessed by the next person, nor was it possible to control fluctuations in power which were, in reality, the result of the element of chance in hunting, curing, games, and warfare. Also, while the individual might excel in performance and impress others, he was simultaneously arousing their envy and fear which would ultimately be directed against himself (Parker 1960:616; Green 1948:227).

Thus a conflict situation develops, involving hope that people will be impressed with a display of prowess combined with fear that the jealousy aroused will constitute a danger to the self. One can then only turn for support to the supernatural helper, but

due to the element of chance there is no real escape from the conflict. The spirit's reaction is of necessity ambiguous, sometimes resulting in support and frequently in rejection, according to the rationalization of the supplicant because of anger or disappointment with the latter. Therefore, it is a fair assumption that intermittent reinforcement of nurturance occurs, heightening dependency on the spirit protector.

Negative Attention Seeking

A third more desperate means of rousing nuturant support was through overt or covert displays of hostility. Despite frequent mention in the literature of the reverence and awe in which a guardian spirit was held, Parker (1960:611) has suggested that an element of ambivalent hostility existed in the relationship. Landes (1938b:19) has made specific mention of this ambivalence, pointing out that the form of the protective spirit was often that of an animal which the supplicant desired to kill. Also available is some evidence from early accounts that intoxicated Indians would rage against their supernatural partners, even seeking to destroy them with their guns (Cooper 1933).

Another aspect of negative attention seeking involved what could be considered repressed hostility toward spirits being projected on to human subjects, in the sense that persons claiming extreme power, such as shamans, could challenge others overtly by trying to hurt or frighten them. A well known shaman relying on the power of his supernatural helper might confront a rival with the claim that he was superior and threaten to destroy the latter within a designated period (Hallowell 1955:289; Landes 1938a: 188-201, 205-208). To embark upon such a venture involved grave risks because the medicine used was so powerful it might ultimately result in the destruction of the self and the immediate members of one's family. Nevertheless, there is evidence of shamen even challenging whole communities by making exhorbitant demands for curing or protecting people from illness (Landes 1938a:201-204).

In short the available data show that the Potawatomi might acquire help and sympathy from an anthropomorphic being. The acquisition of competency as a means of gaining the attention of

others was unpredictable, resulting in the element of hope-fear vis-a-vis approach to the spirit helper. Even if the individual's confidence was increased because of help from his spirit, the contrasting element of fear was never far behind due to the fact that a show of greater competency led to jealousy and the danger of challenge from mortals with more power. Nevertheless, it would seem that fortuitous support and assistance from super-human helpers was sufficient to provide intermittent reinforcement of dependency. There is also limited evidence of occasional overt anger against spirits and hostile challenges of other humans and their guardian mentors, which is suggestive of frustration in obtaining nurture by supernatural means.

Dependency as a potentially disruptive motive in a society where survival was contingent on isolated, economic, self-sufficiency was thus gratified in a socially acceptable manner. Nurture could be sought indirectly from a nonhuman source, the approach being based on secrecy and privacy. These elements provided support for the underpinnings of circumspection and highly controlled emotional affect validating social atomism.

RESERVATION SETTING

Both Parker (1960:621-622) and James (1961) have suggested that the reservation way of life has encouraged dependency among the Ojibwa. In a recently published article Cohen and VanStone (1963:46-49) in comparing traditional folk tales with essays written by Chipewyan school children for evidence of self-reliance and dependency found that there was a tendency toward a balance in the occurrence of these attributes in the tales, but an increase of dependency over self-reliance in the contemporary essays. They attribute this change to the acculturation experience. There is evidence, as the following data show, that the conditions of reservation life for the Potawatomi of Whitehorse have also been conducive to increasing dependency, but social drinking has replaced the guardian spirit complex, as a culturally constituted means of coping with it.

In general the younger generation at Whitehorse has little knowledge of the old Indian way of life and only a few of the

oldest inhabitants can remember childhood experiences involving fasting and the vision quest. Nevertheless, the psychological norm in this small Potawatomi community with its stress on suppressed hostility and highly introverted inner controls is very similar to what Hallowell (1955:345-366) has deduced as typical of traditional Ojibwa personality. To understand the reasons for this seeming psychic continuity it is necessary to give consideration to the culture that supports it.

It is evident that there has been nothing to replace the old forms of religion, warfare, and technology, so abruptly dislocated by the white man in the nineteenth century, but the atomistic social structure and subsistence type of economy have changed only slightly. Part-time woods work and government relief checks provide a bare subsistence level of existence, which, in terms of the forest life orientation and work rhythm, is similar to subsistence patterns of the last century. For the most part families live spatially isolated from one another, each on a separate quarter section of land. Though a tribal council exists on paper it seldom meets unless convened by a government official, and since the members have no real authority most people can see no purpose in holding meetings. Social interaction continues to be concentrated within the bilateral, extended family. Intertribal marriage was a major source of contention in the past, but it has been replaced by a new form of conflict arising out of various marital and sexual alliances with the white man. Finally, religious practices continue to be individualistic rather than communal, since a succession of Protestant and Roman Catholic churches have only sporadically engaged the allegiance of some members of the community.

The time factor is of no small consequence. The Forest Potawatomi gave up their semi-nomadic existence for a sedentary way of life as recently as the first decade of this century. In addition to adapting to a new pattern of subsistence they are spatially and socially isolated from the dominant white community. This means that the number of potential relationships with persons outside the community is minimal. Indeed, interaction with the white man is largely confined to occupational and convivial drinking situations (Hamer 1965). Hence the avoidance of conflict in order to maintain the limited potential for interaction within the community is essential. Therefore stress on rigid emotional control

and social reticence is one way of furthering this end. But in addition to historical support and the social functions of the traditional oriented personality type there is a third variable, indifference, which has developed out of the frustrating and ambivalent experiences of trying to cope with a hostile social environment. The seeming emotional coldness and unresponsiveness of the individual in a social setting also constitutes a kind of "I don't care" attitude, which provides a defense against further rebuffs from within and outside the community.

Child Training

There is no attempt to maximize the early independence of the small boy by urging him to obtain the power and protection of a supernatural being. Nevertheless, it does not take the observer long to realize that in their dealings with others adults show considerable reserve and covert hostility. In dealing with their children they are inconsistent in the imposition of sanctions, hold an anomalous position as cultural models, and lack support from other potential sources of nurture. All of these things limit the opportunities for the child to obtain satisfaction of dependency needs. As in the last century the child, during the first two years of his life or until the arrival of a new sibling, receives consistently favorable responses to his demands for warmth and acceptance. Following infancy, however, the socialization process becomes relatively inconsistent, with the parent sometimes lavishing food and attention on the child and at others times being too preoccupied to make more than an indifferent or mechanical response.

Covert hostility in Whitehorse is as evident as that inferred from sources concerning traditional Algonkian speaking peoples. For the ethnographer it was most noticeable in the form of jealousy, invariably related to the fear that someone else was receiving more attention than the informant. So intense was this feeling that it was sometimes difficult to interview the members of one household without being accused by others, quite overtly if they were intoxicated, of not only favoring, but having ulterior motives in regard to women informants. This fear of not receiving enough attention on the interfamilial level applied as well to intrafamilial relations. Though overt aggression, except when intox-

icated, runs counter to the social norms there was continual gossip and rumor. For example, there was frequent talk of marital infidelity, parental neglect of children, and failure of siblings to assist each other in time of need. Furthermore, this thinly concealed hostile rivalry seems to have become a part of parent-child relations in the reservation situation. As one old grandfather explained it, many parents are "jealous" of the accomplishments of their sons and daughters, fearing that the latter will get more benefits from the school, government agencies, or the occasional friendly white man.

It is difficult for even the most sympathetic adult to decide what values and beliefs should be transmitted to the younger generation. Parents lack knowledge about the subtleties of Euro-American culture and are uncertain of the appropriatness of many aspects of traditional Indian culture. Perhaps as a consequence of this dilemma parents tend to have contradictory performance expectations for their children. This begins in early childhood with promises to help the child in a given task or to provide an opportunity for participation in some desirable activity, only to fail in following through. In latency parents occasionally expect and demand a high standard of competence in the carrying out of household chores and subsistence activities, while at other times they are permissive almost to the point of negligence. Examples of the latter include allowing small children to simply disappear for the day without knowing their whereabouts, and permitting them to wander unsupervised in the woods or swamps in areas where men are cutting fence posts or gathering cedar brush. Nevertheless, inconsistence in its most dramatic form appears in the periodic drinking parties which are so much a part of everyday life. In this situation the child is initially favored with candy and affection only to be later ignored for hours or occasionally even days, while adults are engrossed in their own pleasures and disputes. Describing their early childhood experience with these drinking groups teenage informants told with a show of considerable emotion, of their initial joy in receiving favors from parents and visitors; later, however, they would be forced to flee into the woods in fear of the arguements and fighting that ensued.

Potential sources of nurturance other than parents are older siblings, grandparents, and persons outside the community. Grand-

parents often show more affection and responsibility than parents in socializing children. Their prestige, however, as models of deportment and their role as protectors is undermined by the disparagement and contradiction of their efforts by parents. Older siblings provide only limited nurture, for their lives are made difficult, not only by the short interval between births and the heavy demands of parents, but by the fact that the latter overtly show favoritism to one child.[2] It is unlikely that children find much support in the school system, considering the high rate of truancy and the fact that most children drop out before finishing. The only other external contacts are with contract physicians, administrators from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and welfare case workers, although because of the formality and infrequency of these contacts there is little opportunity to form personal relationships.

Thus the inconsistency of parents in socializing goals and standards of performance in both boys and girls indicates the existence of a social milieu conducive to the development of the hope-fear conflict. Covert hostility and jealousy between generations make it difficult for grandparents to alleviate this conflict. Furthermore, potential outside sources of nurture are by nature of their respective bureaucratic roles too emotionally uninvolved to provide support. Under the circumstances, a child seeking help or emotional sustenance from adults is likely to meet with only intermittent success, the conditions which the hypothesis defines as leading to dependency.

Social Drinking

The opportunities for expressing dependency are not completely absent, for though the supernatural helper is no longer available, there is evidence that social drinking has an analogous function. Since Potawatomi drinking has been examined in detail elsewhere (Hamer 1965) it is necessary to mention only a few

[2] The number of persons per family increased from 3.8 in 1937 to 5.6 in 1961. Also, the percentage of population under 5 years of age in 1961 was 17 as compared with 11.1 in the surrounding white community (Hamer 1962:A1A3). These figures provide some indication of the relatively large number of small children in most families as well as an implied close spacing of pregnancies in recent years.

quantitative aspects which apply to the problem under consideration. Of the approximately 80 members of the community over 15 years of age, not more than 6 could be classified as non-drinkers. Most drinkers indicate that they began imbibing consistently sometime between their fourteenth and sixteenth birthdays. The expressed goal of drinking is intoxication which for many individuals occurs once or twice a week, whenever beer or wine can be obtained in sufficient quantities. Euphoria, aggressive activity, and passivity are the three sequential phases through which individuals progress in becoming intoxicated (Hamer 1965:292-293). At first they are more friendly and open than when sober, but amiability gradually gives way to insults and physical agression to be followed finally by collapse into a drunken stupor. The behavior that goes with the first two phases involves much of the reassurance and positive and negative attention seeking that have been suggested as measures of dependency.

Positive Attention Seeking

Individual Potawatomi no longer seek power from a spirit helper that will enable them to acquire more prestige than another. Instead they use their position of relative poverty to gain the cooperation of others prior to and within the drinking situation. Unlike the covert method for acquiring admiration in the past, however, in the quest for alcohol one may make overt demands on others. Nevertheless, the plea for money to purchase beer and wine, usually directed toward neighboring white men as the most likely sources of cash, is couched in such indirect, ritualized terms as: "I don't know where I will find the money to get bread for the children's breakfast" or; "I need money for gasoline so I can look for work". The real meaning behind this devious petition is seldom missed. White men are better potential sources of money than Indians. They are also likely to be more sympathetic both out of a sense of guilt concerning the conditions of poverty at Whitehorse and a vicarious pleasure stemming from a romanticized belief that life for Indians on the reservation is a continual round of convivial beer parties and casual sex relations.

Though acts of friendliness were traditionally associated with a form of witchcraft which is no longer the norm, the amicable

approach continues to be used in the drinking situation, as a means of manipulating others. This indirect form of attempting to attract admiration is used by intoxicated women to lure men, both white and Indian, into promiscuous relations. The purpose is either that of obligating them to render future personal favors or as a means for gaining revenge against an erring husband. Men may also use the convivial drinking relationship to extract promises of a monetary loan, the use of tools, or other material rewards.

Reassurance Seeking

An examination of themes of conversations occuring during the early stages of intoxication, but seldom found in sober exchange, indicate numerous attempts to arouse pity. In this phase of the drinking process it is the listener who is expected to and usually does express an interest and sympathy seldom shown in the isolation of ordinary, sober, existence. For example, one informant would talk openly of a longing for her deceased mother whom she felt was the only one to show real feeling and understanding for her. Another combined lamentation about his long deceased wife with ritual repetition of the phrase "Jesus will come again." For several people there was a noticeable increase in concern about health and the possibility of death, leading to long detailed stories of the development and difficulties of curing an ailment, and invariably ending on a note of self-pity.

Given the limited encouragement for problem solving and the resolution of social conflicts, the individual has little opportunity for developing confidence through interpersonal associations. As a result there is a tendency to resort to fantasy. In the traditional culture he could bolster his confidence by relying on supernatural power, but now he turns for similar results to the make-believe world of a small circle of drinking companions. The process involves seeking direct assurance from others and creating temporary make-believe status positions of prestige. The former situation is illustrated by the man who after two or three beers invariably insists on reminding others that he is not a "bad guy", and expects his drinking companions to reciprocate with declarations of their esteem. Simultaneously, or as an alternative, he may attempt to assume such fantasy positions as a person of authority, superior

parent, paragon of generosity, or status equal to the white man. In the event that a fictive status is assumed, it is generally conceded that the Potawatomi display an optimism and emotional affect seldom shown on other occasions. In fact this exuberance may reach the point, as one informant suggested, where "a man thinks he knows too much." A case in point involved two men who, as long as beer or wine were available, would expound for hours on their rights to the tribal chieftaincy and what they were going to do to the man who had usurped this position. It is of interest to note that one of these men who had actually been chairman of the tribal council for a short period, indicated that it was very difficult for him to attend and direct the infrequent council meeting without consuming a "drink of courage". On the other hand, pretending the role of the superior parent is a somewhat more indirect method of seeking reassurance. It involves in the beginning a great deal of bragging about the exceptional performance of one's children, and ends with the announcement that the latter are going to go to college, and acquire a place in the white man's world. This declaration is frequently made despite the fact that the listeners know the son or daughter referred to, has dropped out of high school several years prior to the discussion. The same form of exaggeration occurs in the case of penurious individuals who seek to create the illusion of unusual generosity, by offering drinks to all comers and even going to the point of pawning expensive chain saws and rifles in order to keep a drinking party going.

Relaxed social interaction with the white man is at best difficult, but with the aid of alcohol it does occur in the recreational setting. The problem of how to attain status equality is easily resolved by buying the white man a drink, and then behaving with a show of animated joviality as an equal. Sufficient confidence results from encouragement provided by the white drinker to enter into open competition in tavern games, even dancing, without fear of retribution or overwhelming shyness.

Though self-assurance from visions induced by alcohol is only temporary, it is reinforced by the frequency and pleasure of intoxication. Nevertheless, just as in the guardian spirit quest few individuals acquire enough confidence in their supernatural power to challenge others overtly. For the contemporary

Potawatomi, status fantasies of intoxication are seldom, if ever, acted upon when the individual becomes sober. No one, white man or Indian, questions or belittles this type of status claim within the context of the drinking situation, but attempts at implementation in the world of reality lead only to social rebuff, if not outright ostracism.

Negative Attention Seeking

In the second phase of the drinking sequence spasmodic outbursts occur in which the individual agressively asserts his rights, attempts to manipulate others, or is physically aggressive. All of these actions provide a temporary means of mastering the social situation by forcefully attracting the attention of others.

Drinking occasions were the only times that Potawatomi were observed to vehemently assert their rights to respect from others. At a drinking party it was not uncommon for an informant to remind the ethnographer that many of his questions were unwarranted infringements of the latter's privacy and that henceforth questions would not be answered. After he thought sufficient time had elapsed for the ethnographer to have been suitably impressed by the outburst, the same informant would issue an invitation to be sure and pay him a visit when interviewing other families. Another example is that of a heavily intoxicated man who would become insistent about his exclusive rights to water from a pump which was not only far removed from his premises, but customarily used by other members of the community. Even the contract doctor, grocer, and others dispensing services in the white community observed that Indians tended to demand their rights only when intoxicated.

Contempt is another method often used when drinking, though as a means of commanding the attention of others, it is especially disruptive of kinship bonds. For example, in the case of a husband and wife it was not uncommon for the latter to make a slurring remark about some attribute of her spouse, provoking an immediate denial to be followed by prolonged argument or direct physical aggression. In either case the wife succeeds with dramatic effect in obtaining immediate recognition from her husband, while simultaneously justifying her feelings and expres-

sions of hostility at his negative reaction. Another type of situation involves the mother-in-law who seeks to regain control over her son by using drinking as an excuse to express contempt for her daughter-in-law. Though this creates conflict between husband and wife it often brings the son, if only temporarily, back to the mother's home to provide affection and care. It was not even unusual for intoxicated individuals to bait the ethnographer with thinly veiled expressions of contempt for his work, in an effort to persuade him to spend more time with them, so that he might obtain the "true story about the Indian".

The most extreme of these attempts to control others end in overt aggression, as a kind of last desperate effort to regain the real or alleged loss of attention to another. Nevertheless, stealing, physical assault, and the smashing of others' property occur only in the drinking setting and are either not remembered or else minimized when the period of intoxication has passed.

Drinking patterns at Whitehorse provide encouragement of the hope-fear conflict in two ways. First of all the individual knows that nurturant responsiveness is linked only to the *modus operandi* of social drinking. On the other hand sobriety is associated with the introverted, withdrawn personality of adult life which has its cultural foundations in a subsistence economy and the tensions of living in a small, socially isolated community. Thus the hope-fear ambivalence is supported by persons being giving and warm in one situation, but generally cold and circumspect in another. Also, there does not seem to be a sufficient time lapse between drinking episodes to lead to the extinction of the conflict response. On the contrary, the frequency of drinking seems to provide the kind of intermittent reward which according to the paradigm is likely to lead to the reinforcement of dependency.

Secondly, and as a consequence of this intermittent reinforcement, there is a noticeable amount of frustration and overt anger. The expression of hostile feelings invariably follows the reassurance of the initial drinking phase. This is not to say that all the aggression necessarily relates to frustration in the ongoing social situation, for it may represent a cumulation of rejection by others or be totally unrelated to dependency. Nevertheless, the inevitable sequence of nurturance followed by hostility seems to

be more than a coincidence. The switch from helpfulness or friendly verbal exchange is often so abrupt that it is as if there were a sudden recall of some past slight or rejection which justifies the aggressive outburst. Aggression is excused in sober afterthought because it is attributed to alcohol, but the event is not forgotten and provides sufficient reason for an ambivalent attitude toward future interaction.

It is clear that only within the confines of the drinking situation can one overtly manipulate others, express hostility, and seek emotional support. Thus, in terms of Spiro's paradigm the individual is protected from mental breakdown in the sense that most violations of the cultural norms other than serious physical assault, are excusable when associated with the imbibing of alcohol. Supporting this rationalization of deviation is a complete lack of guilt feelings about drinking to intoxication (Hamer 1965: 291). As a consequence, the social system is protected by the channeling of dependency expressions into the fantasy world of intoxication.

SUMMARY

In traditional Potawatomi culture it seems probable that the child experienced high, initial indulgence of his attachment to adults. The permissive period was followed, however, by a reversal of the process of encouraging dependency in favor of the socialization of self-reliance. On the reservation a high degree of dependency is still rewarded in the infancy and toddler stages of development, but there is no emphasis on training the child for the kind of socio-economic self-sufficiency which was so important in the past. In fact the uncertainty and apathy of adults as to how they should train their children leads to discontinuity of nurture. Thus in the past the desire on the part of parents to avoid indulgence of their children with warmth and affection in order to instill independence, while intermittently rewarding them with an abundance of affection for a job well done, would seem to be consistent with the conditions necessary for the development of the hope-fear conflict. The unintentional discontinuity of nurture in Whitehorse leads to analogous results. As a consequence of

the socialization process and adult roles, both past and present, which place a premium on circumspection and fear of warm personal ties in social interaction, it is difficult for dependency to be overtly expressed.

The guardian spirit quest and social drinking provide institutionalized outlets for sublimating dependency. Both institutions furnish individuals with an opportunity to give and receive nurture, and provide a situationally acceptable means for releasing aggression which may be related to the frustrations of rejection. Also, the ease and frequency of consulting a spirit or joining a drinking party makes dependent behavior emotionally rewarding. It is not, however necessary to view the relation between dependency and these two institutions as teleological. Rather it is sufficient simply to indicate the obvious, that while guardian spirits and social drinking have several other manifest and latent functions, they also furnish individuals with an indirect way of expressing dependency needs.

Finally, the question arises as to whether the predominantly sacred guardian spirit quest was more effective than secular institutionalized drinking in providing an outlet for dependency. Relationship with a superhuman force is by nature ambiguous and unlimited in regard to the benefits to be derived. On the other hand, drinking companions can provide a social bond which is at best specific and circumscribed. The spirit helper being immortal cannot be blamed for failure to support the supplicant while a non-nurturant mortal's failure is more tangible and the responsibility of the latter is not easily avoided. In other words it is possible that the ambiguity of the nurturing bond with spirit beings provides for a greater ease in building a fantasy of hope. Though, as we have seen, the fear of non-support is not completely lacking and provides a basis for development of conflict.

Department of Anthropology
University of Manitoba

REFERENCES

BARRY, H., M. BACON and I. CHILD
1959 Relation of child training to subsistence economy. American Anthropologist 61:51-63.

COHEN, R. and J. W. VAN STONE
1963 Dependency and self-sufficiency in Chipewyan stories. National Museum of Canada Bulletin no. 194:29-55.

COOPER, J. M.
1933 The Northern Algonquian Supreme Being. Primitive Man 6:41-111.

DENSMORE, F.
1929 Chippewa customs. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 86. Washington, D.C.

GAVALAS, R. J. and P. F. BRIGGS
1966 Concurrent schedules of reinforcement: a new concept of dependency. Merrill-Palmer Quarterly 12(2):97-121.

GREEN
1948 Culture, normality and personality conflict. American Anthropologist 50:225-237.

HALLOWELL, I. A.
1955 Culture and experience. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press.

HAMER, J. H.
1962 Social problems in Whitehorse: an Indian community of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. *In* An exploratory study of welfare programs and needs in the Upper Peninsula of Michigan. J.R. Pearman, ed. Mimeographed. Marquette, Northern Michigan College.

1965 Acculturation stress and the functions of alcohol among the Forest Potawatomi. Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol 26:285-302.

HILGER, I. M.
1951 Chippewa child life and its cultural background. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 146. Washington, D.C.

JAMES, B. J.
1961 Social-psychological dimensions of Ojibwa acculturation. American Anthropologist 63:721-746.

JENNESS, D.
1935 The Ojibwa Indians of Parry Island. National Museum of Canada Bulletin no. 78. Ottawa.

KEATING, W. H.
1824 Narrative of an expedition to the source of St. Peter's River, vol, 1, Philadelphia.

LANDES, R.
1937 Ojibwa sociology. New York, Columbia University Press.
1938a The Ojibwa woman. New York, Columbia University Press.
1938b The abnormal among the Ojibwa Indians. Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 33:14-33.
1966 The Ojibwa of Canada. *In* Cooperation and competition among primitive peoples. M. Mead, ed. Boston, Beacon Press.

LAWSON, P. V.
1920 The Potawatomi. Wisconsin Archeologist 19:76-105.

MOWRER, O. H.
1960 Learning theory and behavior. New York, Wiley.

PARKER, S.
1960 The Wiitiko psychosis in the context of Ojibwa personality and culture. American Anthropologist 62:603-623.

QUIMBY, G. I.
1960 Indian life in the Upper Great Lakes. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

SEARS, R., L. RAU, and R. ALPERT
1965 Identification and child rearing. Stanford, Stanford University Press.

SPIRO, M. E.
1961 An overview and a suggested reorientation. *In* Psychological anthropology. F.L.K. Hsu, ed. Homewood, Dorsey Press.

The Dance-Plays of Biafra's Ubakala Clan

by JUDITH LYNNE HANNA and WILLIAM JOHN HANNA

RÉSUMÉ

Non seulement l'expression artistique est-elle une forme de comportement humain, mais l'art exerce une influence sur les systèmes culturel, social et de personalité en même temps qu'il en est l'expression. Six danses nigériennes sont analysées pour démontrer ces inter-influences.

Artistic expression is human behavior[1]. As symbolic expression of social reality, art reflects and influences the social, cultural, and personality systems of which it is a part. African dance provides a good opportunity to explore these interrelationships because it is a significant sphere of human behavior in many African societies. Where it does not exist, European missionary activity has probably been a determining factor (Hanna 1965a).

Our specific subject is the *nkwa* of Ubakala Clan in what was formerly the Eastern Region of Nigeria, a "dance-play" combining dance movement, song, and musical accompaniment. Six *nkwa di iche iche* (the plural of *nkwa,* literally meaning *"nkwa* of various types") are examined, initially to describe their manifest content and folk evaluation, and then heuristically to suggest some of their likely socio-psychological functions. Thus we are

[1] This paper is the revised version of "Ubakala Dance: A Special Festival" presented by Judith Lynne Hanna at the 1964 Annual Meeting of the Society for Ethnomusicology. The research on Ubakala dance was conducted in 1963; recording equipment, stock, and ancillary support were supplied by the African Studies Center, Michigan State University. We are deeply grateful to the late Chief J. O. Ebere (Uba of Ubakala Clan), J. B. O. Ezem (President of the Ubakala Improvement Union), the Ubakala Elders, V. I. Iroakazi, and the performers of the "Special Ubakala Festival" for most generously giving of themselves to make this study of Ubakala dance possible. We also thank Victor Uchendu, Alan P. Merriam, and Priscilla Reining for their helpful comments on an earlier draft.

attempting to fill part of the gap noted by Evans-Pritchard (1928: 446) almost forty years ago but of little concern to scholars since then (Hanna 1966a and 1966b). He wrote:

> In ethnological accounts the dance is usually given a place quite unworthy of its social importance. It is often viewed as an independent activity and is described without reference to its contextual setting in native life. Such treatment leaves out many problems as to the composition and organization of the dance and hides from view its sociological function.

Since an ethnography of the Igbo has been written by an Ubakala anthropologist (Uchendu 1965), only a brief background comment is necessary here. The 15,426 members of the Ubakala "Clan"[2] (controversy exists over whether Ubakala is a clan in the anthropological sense), who are part of the Igbo tribal grouping, live approximately ten miles south of Umuahia-Ibeku township on either side of the main road to Aba. In peace-time, most clan members are engaged in sedentary subsistence agriculture, although for some, palm produce was a cash crop. Sex is an important basis for the clan's division of labor. Ubakala's traditional religion — still influential — is polytheistic and includes reincarnation and ancestor honor as cardinal tenets (see Uchendu 1964 and 1965:94-106). The moral strictures of the clan are enforced by a shame-orientation.

Social organization in Ubakala is patrilineal and patrilocal; authority tends to be based upon achievement, as demonstrated by an individual's ability to accumulate wealth and to persuade others in matters of community interest. Frequent validation of these abilities appears to be necessary in order to retain one's position. Villages were traditionally non-hierarchical semi-autonomous administrative units which occasionally united on a clan-wide basis for such mutual interests as defense against external threats and performance of special ritual ceremonies. To early European administrators, Ubakala appeared to be more united than its neighbors (Pleass 1934).

Pre-war changes brought about by exogenous pressures appear to have been less destructive to traditional culture in the

[2] The 1963 Census figure was obtained by personal communication from the Director of the Centre for Population Studies, University of Ibadan, Nigeria.

Ubakala territory than in most adjoining areas. In part this can be explained by the late initiation of missionary activity in the clan area and, as a corollary, Ubakala resistance to the dissolution of its indigenous belief system. On the other hand, the modal Ubakala characteristics of individualism, competitiveness (personal, inter-village, and inter-clan), and materialism (cf. Uchendu 1964:36; Ottenberg 1959) help in explaining a receptivity to change which the Ubakala have displayed. The corporate striving of Ibos is suggested by this observation: "Every Igbo community wants to 'get up'" (Uchendu 1965:9).

Selection of the six *nkwa di iche iche* to be discussed in this paper was based upon their being specially performed (necessitated by filming and tape recording requirements for audio-visual analyses)[3] in the Ubakala Clan's Central Market. With two notable exceptions, the milieu and authenticity of the special performances closely approximated their natural counterparts, many of which we either witnessed or had described to us by informants. The "stage" was typical: it consisted of an open space of hard-packed dirt, adjoining the market place, where associational groups (based on age, sex, kinship, or achievement) often dance (cf. Uchendu 1965:27-28). Also characteristic were the crowds, the flowing palm wine, and the utilization of a rain-maker's service when rain fell interrupting a performance (he stopped the rain for us).

One difference between the special performances and the natural situations stemmed from the selection of groups to participate. The groups had previously been chosen by clan elders after they had judged a preliminary dance-play competition among representative groups from the thirteen Ubakala villages. This unusual procedure was devised specifically for the occasion. A second difference was in the behavior of the audience. To facilitate audio-visual data collection, we arranged for a small space to be maintained between the dancers and the audience. Usually, the audience is first a decorative frieze as it views the dancers and musicians "in the round". Then, when the dance-plays are fully underway, the audience virtually merges with

[3] The analyses, briefly noted herein, will be reported fully in our forthcoming book on African dance.

the performers, shrinking the stage in enthusiastic empathy and encouragement. The performers are urged on through gesturing, verbal praising, wiping performers' faces with handkerchiefs, and placing coins or currency notes on the foreheads of favorites.

In this article, we consider several of the ways by which each dance-play appears to make a contribution to (a) the continuity of Ubakala society and (b) the personal welfare of individual members of that society. Thus we explore how an *nkwa* may, in functional terms, be "adaptive from the standpoint of the society and adjustive from the standpoint of the individual" (Kluckholn 1944:47), i.e., how it is "eufunctional" (Levy 1953: 77). The ways in which the dance-plays may be dysfunctional to the society or the individual (Levy 1953:77; Sjoberg 1960) will not be discussed, although such an analysis would be possible.

We hypothesize that the following three functions are performed by the Ubakala Clan *nkwa di iche iche:* (a) socialization, (b) anticipatory psychic management, and (c) alternative catharsis. These functions do not constitute an exhaustive list. Rather, they are presented because they appear to be relatively important in the "functional totality" of dance-plays (as well as the dance forms of many other ethnic groups) and because the professional literature has failed to report their importance satisfactorily (more adequately discussed, for example, are the contributions rituals may make to group reaffirmation and personal euphoria). We do not mean to imply that an *nkwa* ranks relatively high in terms of a hypothesized function; each is assumed to be multi-structural, and we have not conducted a study of the function — only of the *nkwa di iche iche.* Nor do we imply that the functions are mutually exclusive; to the contrary, it is likely that they are coordinate components of several *nkwa di iche iche* analyzed in this paper.

All three functions — especially the latter two — operate largely at the latent level, in the sense that their behavioral consequences may not be intended or generally recognized by Ubakala people (Merton 1957:25). The latent meanings of dance-plays are deducted from their cultural setting as well as from more general theoretical considerations (cf. Richards 1956:115). Because of limited evidence, we hope that the three hypotheses are

viewed, *inter alia,* as a program of inquiry for additional research in a previously neglected area: the psycho-social study of dance in African societies.

The three hypothesized functions of Ubakala dance-plays require theoretical elaboration. *Socialization* includes initial conditioning, making possible the effective performance of social roles, and continuing role reinforcement (Herskovits 1949:491), which helps to maintain societal effectiveness. The importance of this function stems from the fact that "a society cannot persist unless it perpetuates a self-sufficient system of action" (Alberle *et al* 1950: 109). *Nkwa di iche iche,* which are frequently performed and intensively experienced, provide many opportunities to reward participants through activity satisfaction (e.g., through experiencing aesthetic pleasure and heightened collective affirmation) and social approval (from fellow performers and observers) and thus to motivate continued conformity to the society's structure of action (cf. Hanna 1965b).

Immanent in socialization is communication (Lasswell 1948: 51). When an Ubakala *nkwa* is performed, communication takes place kinesthetically, as well as at the verbal level (if accompanied by song) and through the sounds of drums. These media are "shared, learned, symbolic modes of communication" (Levy 1953: 167). Over time, the verbal, kinesthetic, and percussive symbolism undergoes evolutionary change (rarely revolutionary, since each represents a semi-autonomous cognitive system). As social and political leaders rise and fall, for example, new names and deeds may be substituted at the verbal level; but so long as shared symbolic modes exist, socialization in the society can continue. It can take place using only one medium, but the three usually occur together in an Ubakala dance-play, and thus they provide constant mutual reinforcement. The significant impact of this multiple media approach is consonant with the results of audio-visual research. As Wittich and Schuller put it, "Where sensory experience is involved, it should be as complete as possible. One learns better when all pertinent senses are employed" (1953:197). Dance adds a unique dimension to the audio-visual presentation in that it involves the sight of moving performers in time and space, the sounds of physical movements, the smells of physical exertion, and the feeling of kinesthetic activity or empathy. Thus

the *nkwa* has the potential of going beyond the audio-visual techniques of socialization with which we are generally familiar.

Anticipatory psychic management prepares the individual for a threatening experience by rehearsing it until the potential affect is reduced to manageable proportions. "Every fresh repetition," wrote Freud, "seems to strengthen this mastery for which [the individual] strives" (1955:43). Thus this function is a type of socialization, but from the psychological rather than the sociological perspective. Usually, repetition to manage or assimilate is related to a past traumatic event. We believe, however, that it can be used with equal force to manage anticipated future events. Military training and theatrical rehearsal in part substantiate this view.

The importance of African dance-plays for anticipatory psychic management has not been discussed in the scholarly literature. Nevertheless, several theorists have dealt with relevant issues, Freud's comments (1955:14-17) being especially important:

> Art is one of the forms of adult activity that continues the play of children. Play is a complex process that fulfills various needs. Among them we encounter, as a comparatively constant purpose, the attempt at mastery through play. A traumatic situation is playfully repeated in a harmless setting, not only in order to overcome the original fear, but also to achieve enjoyment through active mastery of a formerly threatening situation.

It appears that some Ubakala *nkwa di iche iche* are settings for the anticipatory psychic management of such traumatic events in African life as attainment of adulthood, warfare, and death. Psychic management is facilitated by the positive enjoyment achieved through mastering in simulation what initially is viewed as impending trauma (cf. Kohut 1955).

Alternative catharsis involves functional relativity. Merton (1957:52) provides a relevant preliminary orientation:

> Once we abandon the gratuitous assumption of the functional indispensability of particular social structures, we immediately require some concept of functional alternatives, equivalents or substitutes. This focuses attention on the *range of possible* variation in the items which can, in the case under examination, subserve a functional requirement.

A dance-play, like other forms of exercise, "often provides a healthy fatigue or distraction which may abate a temporary rage

crisis and thus allow more enduring personality patterns to regain ascendancy" (Monroe 1951:630). A specialist in African psychodynamics put it this way: "The rhythm, vigorous movements, their coordination and synchronization, tend to induce some degree of catharsis... The essential psychological function of the dance, in fact, is the prevention of depression and accumulation of other psychic stresses" (Lambo 1965:41). Among the Dogon people of Mali, the *gona* figure, a rapid dance movement performed by a masqued dancer, is described as "a relief, like vomiting" (Griaule 1965:189). Thus some African dance-plays are "safety-valves" which control disruptive forms of behavior, and in this sense are similar to the rituals of rebellion which have been reported by Gluckman (1954) and others.

African dance-plays can be viewed as only one of numerous alternative activities which might satisfy the need for individual or group catharsis. In some instances, a non-dance alternative might be less eufunctional to the continued existence of Ubakala society than the dance-play. (Alternatively, the non-dance alternative might be non-functional and dance-play eufunctional, or the non-dance dysfunctional and dance-play non-functional, etc.). In his report of a study of gambling, Parsons (1951:307-308) makes a similar point: "It is a mechanism for expressing and thus releasing strains related to the economic context which, if this outlet were completely closed, might be diverted into other more dysfunctional channels." Returning to the dance-play, one can speculate, for example, that the personality needs of a group of individuals might be such that, at a particular point in time, a discharge must take place, and if the two visible alternatives facing the group are injuring the chief or engaging in a cathartic war-dance, the latter activity can be conceived as a relatively positive alternative.

INTRODUCTION TO THE NKWA DI ICHE ICHE

Each *nkwa* requires a particular performing group, set of instruments, dance style and structure, and general theme. Before analysing specific *nkwa di iche iche,* however, some general

characteristics of these dance-plays will be examined. The interrelationship of some characteristics is suggested by the word *nkwa* itself, because it denotes either a "dance-play" or an individual "dance" or a "drum." Thus the dance is fused with other arts, and specifically with the drum (Echezona 1962:24; Madumere 1953:63). Such an interrelationship is not uncommon in Africa. Thus Coker (1963:8) reports: *"It is meaningless, indeed impossible, to talk of Efik dancing in strict isolation.* There can be no dancing without music, and the music is usually a combination of drumming and singing" and Evans-Pritchard points out that the *gbere buda* (beer dance) of the Azande comprises the elements of music, song, and muscular movement, any one of which without the others "would be inconceivable" (1928:447). For clarity, we use the word *nkwa* only in connection with a dance-play, i.e., a set of interrelated dances accompanied by their music and performance requirements. Each dance within an *nkwa* is generally referred to by the song-phrase which usually accompanies it; if there is no song, the theme of the dance is used.

Participants.

Almost every member of the Ubakala Clan may dance, and most do so from time to time. Participants range from the infant on a mother's back and the toddler trying a few steps on his own, to the wizened adult executing a skillful solo on a ceremonial occasion. Dance-plays generally recruit participants from a particular compound, village or sometimes a clan. Thus the participants have bonds of common association and experience based upon propinquity of kinship and residence. The traditional divisions of age, sex, and society memberships are additional bases for organizing contemporary Ubakala dance-plays and most of these sub-divisions have their own *nkwa*. (Competition among groups on various levels is common.) On some festive occasions, however, individuals may join those in other sub-divisions to dance.

The number of dance-play participants and spectators depends upon occasion (e.g., practice or polished performance, work day or holiday, weather, status of observers), the size of families and villages (including the relative and absolute number of wives

and the proportion of out-migrants), and the personal and/or group reputations of dancers or musicians.

A person recognized as the best dancer or the specific dance's innovator usually assumes the role of dance leader. (One of the musicians may, in effect, also participate in the leadership of some *nkwa di iche iche.*) The criterion of age is often used to chose among otherwise equal persons. The leader, usually relying upon a ringing voice and considerable *élan,* stimulates his group's members to participate fully, encourages onlookers to gather about watching and praising the performers, and prevents disruptions from those dancers who are overcome by excessive physical activity, palm wine, or emotionally sensitive *nkwa* themes. The dance or orchestra leader usually indicates the specific dances to be performed and dance pattern changes to be made during the performance, the former with a whistle, the latter with a whistle and/or other instrument.

Accompaniment.

"It is nearly true to say," writes Igbo musicologist Echezona (1962:24), "that wherever there is drumming there is dancing. It certainly is true to say that the drums have a social significance not possessed by any other instrument... They are the very foundation of a social occasion". For the most part, *nkwa* musical accompaniment follows this cultural tradition. Percussion predominates, the instruments are membranophonic and idiophonic and the rhythms are heterometric and polymetric. The social significance of drums is suggested by the custom of referring to them by names symbolizing the sex they symbolically represent, based upon their shape and function. Names of other instruments commonly indicate their functions, e.g., providing unison. The percussive instruments are indigenous to Ubakala and/or nearby clans or tribes.

Another common instrument of a different type is the metal whistle, used by dance leaders or musicians to indicate changes in dances or dance patterns. These whistles, which are imported, have replaced traditional baked clay or paw paw branch flutes.

Some of the rhythms played by the Ubakala (along with the appropriate dance and song) are recognized to have entered

their repertoire through contacts which Ubakala travelers have had with other groups. It is said that a few can be traced back centuries to the time Ubakala people migrated to their current home area. Others date to the slave-raiding and war eras, whereas many were introduced in the contemporary period thanks to the new communication-transportation infrastructure. Two patterns of learning from outside have existed: the foreigners' arts were learned elsewhere and then brought home or skilled foreign performers were invited to Ubakala to teach their arts.

At the beginning of an *nkwa,* the dance leader sings the tonal melody of the first phrase of the song, or a drummer beats the tonal melody of the dance. From the melody and rhythm, the dancers are expected to recognize a specific dance within an *nkwa.* Since *nkwa* dance communication is not always referentially precise, songs or rhythmical words are added to specify meaning, provide emphasis, and enhance the illusion of realistic or stylized movement. The antiphonal pattern is common. Singers are divided into a cantor and the chorus; the chorus either echoes the cantor's various statements or answers them. Ululations, yells, and other emotional ejaculations, used to signify joy, praise, and agreement, reflect the infectious excitement of the performers.

Symbolism.

Discovering the specific symbolism of movement, where it exists can be very difficult. Most dance steps and other movements are not reported to have names; rather, individual dances (which may have movements specific to them) are known by the most frequently occuring phrase of their accompanying song or, if there is no accompanying song, by the theme. Although the dances range from abstract symbolism to realistic mimicry[4] dramatic concern to comic relief, most of the movements probably symbolize fertility, potentiality, and instinctual energy. The symbolic portrayal of fertility is acknowledged, but otherwise reports of symbolic meanings are few and fragmentary.

[4] See Nkezwu (1962:43) who argues that with the exception of Ohafia and Abam war dances, Igbo dance is abstract or "classical."

Fertility became a prime goal in an era when big families were necessary for work, protection, and a manpower pool to replace the victims of infant mortality, war, and disease. Offspring were, of course, also valued because of their obvious essential link in family continuity. Generally, it has been believed that "to have children is a mark of success with the spirits, of health and of the continuity of life" (Ottenberg 1964:31). Today, however, less hazardous living conditions lead to population explosions; in some places it is now difficult to provide large families with food and shelter, no less such modern imports as Western education and Western medicine (both require cash payments). Yet, most Ubakala believe that a large family can, with its communal wealth, cope with both old and new necessities.

Explanations for the limited reports of symbolism are at various levels. Because African cultures have often been misrepresented, some informants withhold information which they fear may be misused. Others may be eager to boost their culture by portraying it favorably in terms of perceived European cultural values. Many informants find it a formidable task to verbalize abstractions and to report symbolic references which, since for the most part they developed decades ago, are forgotten (as one Ubakala spokesman put it, "Time has drowned them"), taken for granted, and/or suppressed. The latter probably stems from the desire to achieve social consensus among those whose religious beliefs and practices conflict. Some Ubakala practice their traditional religion, some have become ardent Christians, and many are religious syncretists. As a result, an articulated consensus about the symbolism might be difficult to achieve. Cultural consensus, "an understanding that one holds symbolic meanings in common... [recognized by] explicit communication, discussion and debate" (Fernandez 1965:914) seems to be sacrificed for the sake of social consensus. The latter is "an acceptance of the necessity for interaction... for the sake of a social satisfaction — the satisfaction of orienting their activity towards each other with the resulting... benefits whatever these may be..." (Fernandez 1965:913; see also Goldschmidt 1966:41). In this way both Christian and non-Christian can participate in the syncretistic *nkwa di iche iche*.

Dance Style and Structure.

Styles in dance are socio-cultural elements. Just as music depends upon the "habit responses of those who have learned through practice and experience to understand and feel the relationships in a particular style" (Meyer 1955:28) — the responses becoming habitual after performance and observation usually begun during the pliable learning years of childhood — dance too has its stylistic roots in culturally specific learned behavior. Lomax's discussion of folk music style is also enlightening in this regard. "Style," he writes (1959:8), "is ... an important link between the individual and his culture, and later in life brings back to the adult unconscious the emotional texture of the world which formed his personality".

Ubakala dance style, especially in women's groups, is perhaps most distinctively characterized by the recurrence of movements symbolizing fertility. The dances are not erotic *per se,* but they are naturally sensitive in their glorification of fertility. As in most African agricultural societies, posture is loosely bent and forward-oriented with the torso often at right angles to an earth thought to the basic genus and grave of life. Pelvic and breast movements, symbolically related to sexual vigor (male generative potency and female fertility), are dominant. Both sexes dance with the center of movement in the pelvis, basin of the reproductive organs, as they manipulate their hips and buttocks; youth and warrior movements also include vigorous shoulder shaking and vibration.

Ubakala *nkwa di iche iche* have the structure of an artistic production: there is a beginning and an end (a specific dance may, however, be abruptly ended by the dance or orchestra leader if the performance is not considered to be of appropriate quality), a temporal sequence, and a key incident of meaning. The most notable characteristics of a dance-play's composition are unity and repetition. Greenway, a specialist of the literature of less developed technological culture, argues that "repetition is beyond doubt the most common quality of [their] song and poetry" (1964: 113). The rhythm of Ubakala dance movement, its musical accompaniment, and its songs are all marked by a significant proportion of repetition. These may reflect Ubakala people's general concern with group continuity and, more specifically, their rein-

carnation beliefs and the symbolic reflection of natural generational cycles of animals and plants.

Each Ubakala dance-play has its own coherency. Transitions between dance movements and between the dances themselves may be subtle or bold, following the direction of the dance or orchestra leader. Dancers in a group simultaneously perform about the same steps and patterns, although they have some individual freedom within a prescribed movement. The dance leader may be creative, introducing new steps or new sequencing of old steps.

One way of examining style and structure in dance is to focus on the specific elements of dance — space, rhythm, and dynamics — and the use of the body, the instrument of this art form.

(1) *Space:* Man's feelings about space develop in response to his experiences. Living space was relatively constrained in old Africa because venturing far beyond the home village was often dangerous due to the perils of wars, slaving, and the unknown. These and other hazards made village solidarity essential, a fact reflected in the use of space in dances. The most common spatial design used in *nkwa di iche iche* is a circle; it is stable, ordered, and symbolic of the cyclical cultural patterning characteristic of agricultural societies. Associative feelings of confinement are aroused in the viewer by the characteristically small and curvilinear movements.

Progression into the circle formation is usually from a curved single-file dancing line. In dance-plays performed by both boys and girls, the former lead. Because clockwise movement is believed to be the path of the dead, it is used to indicate sorrow; counterclockwise movement expresses pleasure. Usually the musicians are in the center of the circle. The dance leader may perform inside, demonstrating sequences, indicating pattern changes, and occasionally beckoning one of the dancers into the center to demonstrate. Focus generally follows the direction of movement or, when movement is performed in place, the dancers focus on the circle center (focus is never upward).

(2) *Rhythm:* Synchronization and stimulation of movement is achieved through rhythm. A further effect "is to center atten-

tion on itself rather than on the effort of moving to the rhythm" (Hughes 1948:164). The rhythmic movement of performers varies according to age, sex, and affiliation, as well as the function of the *nkwa*. For example, whether for the birth of a child or the death of an aged woman, the tempo of the women's dances is relatively slow (most likely in deference to the pregnant participants). On the other hand, the young girls' and teen-agers' dances move at a more rapid pace. The men's *Ese* is also quick-timed. Movement phrases of most groups generally have an isometric design with duple, triple, or quadruple groupings. Most movement phrases are accented on the first impulse; however, within a meter of four pulses the accent may fall on the last beat as in the Latin America conga dance. Rhythm is first learned during infancy. Women commonly dance with infants tied upon their backs. Later, a child may learn rhythm patterns as well as tones through language (Nketia 1959).

(3) *Dynamics:* Movement is most commonly sequential, continually ongoing, rarely coming to a halt with the completion of a step until the end of a dance is reached. It is flowing, impelled forward with the sensation of the passage of time and the projection of strength. Power is manifest through flexibility, the disciplined yet loose and free expenditure of energy. Grace and coquetry are expressed by maidens and women in their respective dances. Boys and men both display their virility through dance.

(4) *Use of the body:* Ubakala dances, in their glorification of fertility, are earthy. The body, medium sized and stocky, is accepted as natural and used unashamedly and without undue tension — in contrast with the average Anglo-Saxon's shame-orientation and machine-like image of the body. The individual's past experiences with his body, i.e., the ways in which his muscles and physiological processes have become culturally conditioned, exert their influence upon his movement. For example, in the rural areas, the dancers' ease in maintaining the common angular position (upper torso forward inclined, pelvis tilted upward), knee flexibility, graceful hip rotations, and stamina, finds its basis in such activities as bending to fetch water, washing in a stream, cultivating, squatting to defecate, and carrying heavy loads on the head (which requires lifting high in the pelvis and

subtly moving the hips). The dancers' projection of strength is more than illusory, for at an early age young people begin to participate in such family chores as pounding yam, cultivating, hewing wood, and transporting heavy burdens. Through these kinds of physical experiences, the dancers develop a sensitive kinesthetic awareness — sensitivity to fine degrees of differentiation in muscle action. The dancers, with their bare feet subtly scouping and arching, seem forever to caress the earth as they move along its surface or in place. Bare feet allow the dancer freedom and security in movement and balance as the partly relaxed foot is placed firmly on the ground and immediately contracted.

NKWA ONU NWA

The dance-play *Nkwa Onu Nwa,* meaning "Rejoice for the New Born Child," takes place immediately after a normal healthy child is born (twins, children born feet first, or those with other specified abnormalities were put to death in olden times); some of its specific dances are performed again on the child's first birthday. A mother drum, male drum, clay pot, wood block, and gourd covered loosely with a net-like flounce of beads constitute the musical component. The manifest function of this *nkwa* is to express joy and thanksgiving, and to inform the grandparents and other kin of the blessed event. The usual participants — both dancers and accompanists — are married women, from the compound of the newly born child's father, who have themselves given birth and thus achieved the status of womanhood. These women perform for about three hours at the father's compound and then move on — dancing, singing, and playing along the way — to the compound of the mother's parents where they perform again. Then, together with some women of the maternal grandparents' compound, they visit other relatives of the newly born child's parents. The observers' proper responses are specified: when performers visit each compound, they are supposed to be given drink, food, and/or money as a token of appreciation and hospitality; if they are not generously received, they leave singing about the mistreatment so that all present know the hosts are shamed for improper conduct.

Entrance to each performing area is usually in a danced, curved, single-file line moving gradually into a counterclockwise circle (symbolizing happiness). The musicians enter as a group in the front inside of the curved line and then seat themselves in the center of the circle. Movement patterns are small and repetitious, performed simultaneously by the group but with slight individual variations permitted. The dynamics are sustained and continuous as the dancers move with the common Ubakala posture of forward inclined torso, a backward tilted pelvis, head forward as a natural extension of the spine, and knees slightly flexed. The dancers take small steps with a touch and then a step and concomitant shift of weight and hip extension, never tending away from the ground but moving along its surface. When stepping, the leg is sometimes rotated as in the American Charleston dance. Hips and buttocks rotate in movements which either cover distance or are in place. The upper arms rest in a natural position, and the lower arms are usually held forward horizontally as if carrying a valued object.

One of the functions of this *nkwa* appears to be socialization. Using movements, gestures, and referentially clarifying songs, the performers communicate the goals of being fertile, a good parent, and a good spouse. The former is expressed by a specific dance called *Zik Mara Mma,* "Zik is Handsome" (*seq.,* "we wish to continue giving birth to such a child"). "Zik" is the nickname for Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, former President of Nigeria and leader of the nationalist movement which obtained independence for his country in 1960.

The *Nkwa Onu Nwa* supports and enhances the prestige of marriage, the appropriate setting for procreation and raising children. It is important to be a good parent so that the child can fulfill its prophecy as revealed by a diviner, care for his parents in their old age, and honor them when they die. One duty of parents is to provide appropriate nutrition for their children. The dance entitled *Iyoakpu,* "Preparing Cassava Flour" (*seq.,* "the food they prepared for their daughter was not in vain; it helped her give birth") stresses this obligation. Qualification for participating in this *nkwa,* and the performance itself, help girls and women to become assimilated to, and to accept,

their marital sex role and the attitudes toward the technical activities of it: through the *nkwa,* fertility is glorified and praise is generously given to child-bearing women and midwives.

The women also communicate to the males of the community when defining the role of a good father and husband — one who is expected to provide for his family in spite of the vicissitudes of life. This is illustrated in the dance called *Dim Le Dim Le,* "My Husband, My Husband" (*seq.,* "my husband, whether or not I have good manners, have patience and look after us").

Possibly, an additional latent function of this *nkwa* is alternative catharsis. It may provide a safety-valve mechanism for the women's release of empathetic delivery tension and pain, and anxiety over infant mortality — emotions which might otherwise be directed into relatively dysfunctional activities. Although the dance tempo is slow and the movement texture sustained, in deference to the pregnant women participating, catharsis may be achieved through dynamic continuous motion, full throated song, and explosive yells and ululations. Perhaps as compensation for being considered the inferior sex in a male-dominated society, the performance in various villages of this vivid audio-visual *nkwa,* which proclaims the great achievements of women, is a means of female self-assertion. As in the case of most Ubakala *nkwa di iche iche,* this dance-play also presents an opportunity for participants to meet friends and relatives, gossip and banter, and in general, escape from the tensions and strains of daily life (cf. Evans-Pritchard 1928:457).

NKWA UMUNNA

The dance-play *Nkwa Umunna* is composed of dances performed by a relatives' society and accompanied by young boys playing four drums of diminishing size, plus a gong, a gourg, and two sticks clapped together. The *Umunna* Society, organized on the village level, is open to all married women from the same natal village (cf. Jones 1961:127-128 for a discussion of *umunna*) who meet the society's subscription requirements. The society is believed to have originated as an expression of the desire of

related women jointly to confront the problems of family life, to share economic resources (cf. Ardener 1953), and to form friendships among co-wives. It should be noted that in Ubakala, a patrilineal and patrilocal society, women have taken little part in such other potential friendship-forming activities as politics and religion.

If a member of the *Umunna* Society "puts to bed" (i.e., gives birth to a child), the group will perform its *nkwa* for her. Evidence of a woman's fertility, which sanctions her status and security for old age, is cause for celebration. This practice is similar to the previously examined *Nkwa Oñu Nwa*. In addition, the society usually dances every market day (*Nkwọ*); it also meets in a member's compound on the third day (*Afọ*) of the traditional four day short week (*Izunta*) to practice in private.

Basically, the dance style and structure of this *nkwa* are the same as in the *Nkwa Oñu Nwa,* with the exception of a faster tempo and greater use of the body. The women walk with a rolling wavelike quality as the upper torso undulates up and forward with a forward step and scoops down and backward as the rear foot pushes off to begin another forward step; the arms gracefully move in opposition. In some of the movements of this dance-play, posture is also more exaggerated with the upper torso almost parallel to the earth.

The functions of *Nkwa Umunna* and *Nkwa Oñu Nwa* are also similar. Socialization takes place by communicating the goal of a large family and defining the female roles of wife and mother. The dance called *Mma Nwanyi Budi,* "Woman's Beauty is a Husband" (*seq.,* "a woman's beauty is appreciated as long as her husband lives; it is absent when he dies"), communicates the goals of being a wife and caring well for a husband. In *Unu Ahula Onye Ije,* which means, "have you seen a traveler?" a paradigm of behavior in gesture and song is presented. A young married woman takes a short journey going about her business and is confronted by a rather bold, strange young man. She bids him let her go, threatens to tell her husband, and in fact speaks with voice and authority that her husband gives her. The dance-play is designed to educate the young women; the assumption is

that when they remember it, they will know how to cope with such a situation and thus will not disrupt marital stability.

It appears likely that the latent function of alternative catharsis is performed by this *nkwa* by means of venting grievances. The accompanying song may serve as a vehicle for specific contemporary social criticism, and the movements emphasize the argument as well as release physical and psychological tensions. Of course, the *nkwa* is only one means of womanly grievance. Uchendu writes, "Women manifest much aggression of the indirect, verbal sort. The sharpest weapon of indirect aggression, the tongue, is a favorite of women" (1965:65). Extraordinary cohesion has been known to develop in some women's societies, largely as an attempt by the "outsiders" (in a patrilineal, patrilocal society) to counter the bonds of blood, religion, politics, and title which unite their husbands.

In the Umuahia area as elsewhere in Igboland, women's societies similar to the one which performed the *Nkwa Umunna* have aggressively rallied large number of their sex to advance their grievances forcibly. As a case in point, Meek (1937:201-202) reports that in 1925 bands of women in what was then Owerri Province proclaimed and acted as follows:

> In order to increase the birth-rate, the people must return to the customs of olden times. A check must be put on prostitution, and more attention paid to sanitation... No one was to use British currency, and market-prices were to be fixed. Women were henceforth to wear their clothes in a prescribed manner. At Umu-Ahia a crowd of elderly women entered the market and tore off the clothes of all unmarried girls... the Native Courts should be abolished. At Isu the Native Court buildings were actually destroyed (see also Eastern Nigeria Government 1925).

The so-called "Women's War" is an even more notorious example (see Nigerian Government Report 1930a and 1930b; Perham 1937:206-220). Obviously, on these occasions behavior more disruptive than the *nkwa* was relied upon.

NKWA UMU OMA

Nkwa Umu Oma "Nice Children of Laguru," is a dance-play performed by boys and girls, about fifteen years old, who

are organized into a company at the village level. The accompanists, all boys, play three hollow log drums and three skin drums, each set with three sizes. The teen-agers' use of dance space is similar to that of the above-described women's groups. There are, however, marked differences in the dances' dynamics: vibratory and brushing qualities are characteristic. Facing into the circle, body at a right angle (i.e., upper torso parallel with the ground), the performers sometimes take fast, precise, tiny steps to the right, advancing only two or three inches, rapidly flexing and extending the knees, each step making the buttocks bounce. At other times, the teen-agers face the direction of the circle and move forward with a brisk shuffling walk. Gestures include foot brushes, while brushing first one then the other lower arm with the opposite hand, and handkerchief waving.

The manifest function of this *nkwa* is recreation and participation in several festivals, including the indigenous *Egwu Iri Ji,* "Play for New Yam" (celebration of first fruits), held in August and September; the Christian celebrations of Easter and Christmas; and traditional market days which fall on the Christian Sunday. In Igboland, religious festival seasons are usually times when energies are the most diverted from work to worship and enjoyment (Nzekwu 1962:38). On these occasions, the teen-agers often dance all day, both for their own enjoyment and to entertain the larger community.

This *nkwa* appears to socialize young people to the importance of prestige and power gained through aggressive and competitive striving for self-betterment. There is an Igbo saying, "No one knows the womb that bears the chief" (Uchendu 1965:20). Dance competitions within the group and against similar groups both reflect and emphasize the Ubakala Igbo's strong achievement-orientation. The leadership of most dance groups is determined on a competitive basis: best dancer or best innovator (age may break ties). Respect for leaders is emphasized through such specific dances as *Unu Ahula Eze Anyi Nabia,* (i.e., "you have seen our chief coming"). The accompanying song includes these courteous and endearing phrases: "Come respect him," "Come recognize him chief," Come open the door," and "Come pet his neck."

Because the participants often mime and sing social criticism, it appears likely that this *nkwa* also serves as a vehicle for alternative catharsis. Socially acceptable outlets for suppressed aggressions, generational and otherwise, are provided in the *nkwa* because greater freedom of expression is permitted than in ordinary conversation and movement. The *nkwa,* like other forms of folklore, is an impersonal vehicle for personal communication. The imperative, wish, or suggestion of an individual or group may be externalized and the responsibility for it projected beyond. For example, in the dance *Zik Neme Ka Odi Mma,* (i.e., "Zik tries to make things good,") Zik is praised for being a great man, whereas the stubborn and uncooperative people who try to hamper his work are denigrated. The movements of the dance may also serve to release tensions and channel primal energies into socially acceptable activities (cf. Read 1938:10).

It should also be noted that the public performance of *Nkwa Umu Oma* provides an opportunity for courtship. The teen-age performers can openly express themselves, displaying their sexual attractiveness and exhibiting their dance skill. The Ottenbergs (1964:28) write, "Physical strength and agility are admired and remembered, and are among the few ways a young man can rapidly obtain prestige in a society in which recognition of individual males for accomplishments normally does not come until middle or old age". Sexual attractiveness and dance skill are interrelated because the individual's personal worth is believed to be revealed in the dance. Thus, just as with teen-age dances in the United States, Ubakala dances provide a milieu for selecting life partners (cf. Evans-Pritchard 1928:457).

NKWA EDERE

The dance-play *Nkwa Edere,* an "Upper Torso Shimmying Dance," is performed by Nsirimo Village girls from eleven to sixteen years of age. This *nkwa* is said to be performed on festive occasions purely for entertainment, and to have come from the people of a nearby clan who perform it in a pagan festival. The six musicians, boys between fifteen and twenty, play three side-blown horns and beat two drums and a wood form. Neither the

dancers nor the accompanists sing. Small bells, tied around the girls' backs, are shaken by the shimmying dance movement called *edere.*

This *nkwa* has more variation than the other dance-plays, for the base of movement ranges from the feet to the knees. The spatial design and movement patterns are also more intricate. Vibration and looseness are characteristic dynamics; fast walks, low leaps, shuffles, and knee-steps are the locomotion patterns. Equivalents of the Latin American Conga dance pattern of one-two-three-touch, as well as movements identified with various Charleston steps, occur during the dancing. In general, the young girls emphasize the physical and social changes of pubescence in their dance movements (cf. Raum 1940:272).

The functions of this dance-play appear to include socialization and anticipatory psychic management. According to the Ubakala people, young girls should be proud, skilled, and respectful of wealth. These norms are communicated in the following three specific dances: *Edere,* meaning "Shake the upper torso uniformly and systematically," *Egbenwamfe,* "Flying Kite," referring to a clever child dancing well, and *Onye Koji,* meaning "Tell me the names of the different yams your father has produced." Yams, it should be noted, are important symbols of wealth (see Uchendu 1965:24-26).

Anticipatory psychic management can be seen in two specific dances of the *Nkwa Edere.* The first, *Ogbede Turuime,* "Pregnant Child," refers to a small girl's fear that when she becomes pregnant she may not be able to deliver properly. This nonverbal dance-play's focus upon the anxiety of childbirth (a dangerous process without modern medical treatment in which tragedy may occur for seemingly inexplicable reasons) has even broader anticipatory relevance: the transition from childhood to adulthood. This transition is probably more traumatic for a girl than for a boy because her marriage means leaving the familiar home environment to live among strangers while at the same time adjusting to the new roles of wife and mother.

Nwagbogho, "Young Girl," is the second dance and has to do with dancing the waltz. The young girls are paired, embracing and caressing each other. At one level of analysis, the dance

developed because public physical contact between men and women was not traditionally approved, so the European's embracing ballroom dance position, which seems too publicly intimate and free, became a subject of mimicry. At another analytical level, the young girls are emotionally anticipating courtship generally and the new way of courtship in particular. The fear of embracing and caressing in public, or observing such activity, is in part overcome through behavior in the dance-play. This suggests that *Nkwa Edere* is a channel for introducing change into Ubakala culture. "The vanguard of progress," wrote Malinowski, "is often found in works of leisure and supererogation" (1931:643; see also Keesing 1960:131).

NKWA UKO

Nkwa Uko, the fifth dance-play, is normally performed after the death of an important aged woman. The deceased usually has lived at least to the age of seventy, born many children, and become independently wealthy. Participation in this *nkwa* is open to all, but it is primarily for the female relatives of the deceased, some of whom may travel long distances for the opportunity to participate. The *Nkwa Uko* includes a specialized orchestral accompaniment (*uko*): two men each play six of a set of nine leather-covered drums (they share playing the middle three drums), a third man plays a separate mother drum, and a fourth strikes a wood block. When the music is underway, the women assemble and begin to dance in a informally organized way. Their movements are stylistically similar to those of the other women's *nkwa di iche iche.* Occasionally, two women dance together, each with an arm about the other's waist; some informants report that this is an act of condolence.

The N*kwa Uko* is supposed to praise, propitiate, and show respect for the deceased on behalf of her kin. The spirit of the deceased is believed to exist in limbo between living and ancestral states — perhaps wrecking havoc upon living kin instead of joining other ancestors — until the performance of final mortuary rites, called "second burial," featuring the *Nkwa Uko.* It appears, however, that the living kin may themselves be in a state of limbo

because of the felt uncertainties surrounding the status passage of the deceased. The latent functions of the *Nkwa Uko* appear to be (a) to release the living from the psychic burdens imposed by the death, in a way not dysfunctional to Ubakala society, (b) to give the living an opportunity to anticipate, and thus better manage, the coming of their own deaths, and (c) to socialize Ubakala people to the clan's beliefs about life and death.

The death of an associate creates problems of psychic management for the living. Second burials and other mourning ceremonies constitute institutionalized means of working through the problems gradually. If all affect were discharged at once, the twofold result could be overwhelming individual stress and group disruption. Fenichel (1945:162) writes:

> What today is called grief is obviously a postponed and apportioned neutralization of a wild and self-destructive kind of affect which can still be observed in a child's panic upon the disappearance of his mother or in the uninhibited mourning reactions of primitives.

The communal solidarity experienced in the *nkwa* and the physical expenditure of tension in its performance help to improve group morale and dissipate anxiety. Thus the *Nkwa Uko* appears to provide alternative catharsis which is relatively eufunctional.

Despite the universality of death, its rationalization, and the Ubakala belief that ancertors are the continuation of a lineage's living representatives, there is still anxiety about death (see Uchendu 1965:12). The Ottenbergs (1964:31) have written, "This anxiety is often well hidden in formalized ways of talking about illness, or in cure-seeking rituals... every blessing, be it of the ancestors in the serving of palm wine, be that a sacrifice, contains the statement, 'Let there be long life'." In a society whose religious beliefs include reincarnation, participating in a ceremony concerning the death of another may give the living an opportunity to cope more effectively with the coming of one's own death. This is especially true when the ceremony emphasizes generational continuity and praises the dead. Thus this dance-play performs the function of anticipatory psychic management.

The *Nkwa Uko* may also socialize Ubakala people to their clan's beliefs about life and death. It communicates knowledge

about the relationship between the proper performance of roles on the part of the living and the ascension of a woman to the ancestral world. An important motive for assisting kin to be successful in life and later to provide for the costly burial ceremony is the enhancement of the prestige and social standing of the deceased's kin — almost as compensation for the loss of the beloved one. "The Igbo say that a child who has not buried his parents properly cannot boast of having conquered life's problems" (Uchendu 1965:66). From the titles of the dances included in the *nkwa,* four specific themes can be identified. The first is one of sympathy and the point is directly made in "Sympathize With the Relatives." The second theme is to respect the dead. It can be seen in such dances as "A Relative Is Mourned," "The Deceased Are Praised," and "The Queen Mother Has Arisen." A third theme deals with experiences in life. Examples are "I Remember My Past Days," "A Man Has Nobody to Care for Him," and "It Remains a Short Time." The fourth theme recalls the joy and continuity of life; it can be illustrated by dances dealing with children, such as "The Children Are Going to Play in the Moonlight Tonight."

NKWA ESE

Nkwa Ese (named for the musical accompaniment) is the dance-play normally performed at the second burial of an old and important man who has made a significant contribution to his community. Such a man would have achieved wealth (conceived to include a large family) and the leadership position given to a man of eloquence. The number of deceased children is relevant to the performance of the *Nkwa Ese* (as well as the *Nkwa Uko,* above) because they are the core participants. The Ottenbergs (1964:31) observe that among the Igbo, "For a person to die without children to perform funeral rituals for him is a tragedy. Implicitly it means, of course, that he is soon likely to be forgotten, for who will sacrifice to him as an ancertor?"

The deceased's respected male adult relatives are the dancers. Professional male musicians from one of two Ubakala villages

are called upon to play two hollow log drums and a set of seven membrane drums arranged according to size. The dancers assemble in front of the musicians, usually all facing in one direction within a circular space. They may individually move about counterclockwise or move forward more-or-less together in a row. The line of movement is upright or at a low support, and the size of the movement ranges from small-subtle to large-dramatic. Movement texture is strong and the flow is free, including such characteristic qualities as lunging, swinging, vibrating, tensing, and reflecting. Tense, rapid, small steps on the ball of the foot, lunges, jumps, and hops are among the locomotion patterns. Throughout, the participants gesture with swords or walking sticks, brandishing them and changing them from the right to the left hand and back again. (Sword brandishing became so realistic during this performance that the chief, fearing trouble, eventually terminated the presentation.)

Despite the manifest contrast in mood, the *Nkwa Ese* is functionally equivalent to the *Nkwa Uko*. All three hypothesized functions appear to be performed. A further point is made by Wilson (1954:230-231) who, although writing about funeral dances among the Nyakyusa of Tanganyika, provides a description and analysis that largely applies in Ubakala.

> The men, for their part, express their passionate anger in the war dance, charging back and forth over the new-filled grave, brandishing spears, and ready to quarrel and fight at any moment. Funerals commonly did end in battles between contingents from different villages.
>
> The dance is a form of mourning. "We dance because there is war in our hearts — a passion of grief and fear exasperates us." A kinsman when he dances assuages his passionate grief; he goes into the house to weep and then comes out and dances the war dance; his passionate grief is made tolerable in the dance; it bound his heart and the dance assuages it.

In the *Nkwa Ese,* the dancers vigorously portray the deeds, exploits, and prowess of the deceased, or his ancestors, in order to bestow praise upon him and his decendants, and to inform all present of valued perspectives and goals, including achievement, longevity, and strength. The latter is still considered an asset in social relations during peace-time although its need for survival against the hazards of slave-trading and headhunting are long

past (Ottenbergs 1964:34); the current conflict has caused a reversion to the older values.

CONCLUSION

During the past half-century, Ubakala society has experienced many interventions and undergone many changes. Although receptive to change, it has remained an identifiable system. The six *nkwa di iche iche* we have explored seem both to reflect the degrees of change and continuity, and to contribute to them. The social organization and substantive communication of the dance-plays interweave with those of the larger society, and as a result of these connecting threads, the dance-play mirrors societal developments. Change has modified some aspects of traditional Ubakala *nkwa di iche iche,* especially those entwined with indigenous religion. But many of the older dance-plays were still performed, and the available evidence suggests that these display a continuity of structure and non-religious function.

Of course, the impact of change upon the dance-plays and their components has varied considerably. Some have disappeared, some are but vaguely remembered, and some have undergone fusions and substitutions. To illustrate the latter, the Ubakala, as in the past, performed traditional dance-plays on significant occasions — the birth of a child, organizational activities, death, and the like. But, in addition to the traditional occasions, the settings of some have broadened to include Christian holidays, traditional market days falling on Sunday, dance competitions (at and beyond the clan level), political party rallies, and such gala modern occasions as the dedication of a modern school or hospital and the celebration of personal advancement in modern life.

The *nkwa di iche iche* which have survived appear to continue to meet some of the needs of the flexible, achievement-oriented socio-cultural system of which they are part. The dance-plays preserve elements of traditional culture while accommodating modernity, and thus cushion acculturative stress. They seem to continue to make a contribution to the existence of Ubakala society through socialization and the provision of channels for

anticipatory psychic management and alternative catharsis. Thus the *nkwa di iche iche* appear to have "a net balance of functional consequences for the society" (Merton 1957:32).

REFERENCES

ABERLE, D. F., A. K. COHEN, A. K. DAVIS, M. J. LEVY, JR. and F. X. SUTTON
1950 The functional prerequisites of a society. Ethics 60(2):100-111.

ARDENER, SHIRLEY G.
1953 The social and economic significance of the contribution club among a section of the southern Ibo. Annual Conference, West African Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College Ibadan, pp. 128-142.

COKER, INCREASE
1963 Efik dances: they're artistic and romantic. Sunday Post, June 9, pp. 8-9.

EASTERN NIGERIA GOVERNMENT
1925 Owerri Provincial Annual Report.

ECHEZONA, W. W. C.
1962 Ubo-aka and Ngedegwu, musical instruments of the Ibos. Unpublished Master's Thesis, Michigan State University.

EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. E.
1928 The dance. Africa 1:436-462.

FENICHEL, OTTO
1945 The psychoanalytic theory of neurosis. New York, W. W. Norton.

FERNANDEZ, JAMES W.
1965 Symbolic concensus in a Fang reformative cult. American Anthropologist 67:902-929.

FREUD, SIGMUND
1955 Beyond the pleasure principle. London, Hogarth Press.

GLUCKMAN, MAX
1954 Rituals of rebellion in south-east Africa. Manchester, Manchester University Press.

GOLDSCHMIDT, WALTER
1966 Comparative functionalism: an essay in anthropological theory. Berkeley, University of California Press.

GREENWAY, JOHN
1964 Literature among the primitives. Hatboro, Folklore Associates.

GRIAULE, MARCEL
1965 Conversations with Ogotemmeli. London, Oxford University Press.

HANNA, JUDITH LYNNE
1965a Africa's new traditional dance. Ethnomusicology 9:13-21.
1965b African dance as education. Impulse 1965: Dance and Education Now. pp. 48-52.
1966a The status of African dance studies. Africa 36:303-307.
1966b African Research Committee Conference on the African Arts: report of the Dance Group. African Studies Bulletin 9(3):14-18.

HERSKOVITS, MELVILLE J.
1949 Man and his works. New York, Alfred A. Knopf.

HUGHES, CHARLES W.
1948 Rhythm and health. *In* Music and medicine. Dorothy M. Shullian and Max Schoen, eds. New York, Henry Schuman. pp. 158-189.

JONES, G. I.
1961 Ecology and social structure among the north-eastern Ibo. Africa 31:117-134.

KEESING, FELIX M.
1960 Recreative behavior and culture change. *In* Selected papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956. Anthony F. C. Wallace, ed. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press. pp. 130-133.

KLUCKHOHN, CLYDE
1944 Navaho witchcraft. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology 22(2).

KOHUT, HEINZ
1955 Some psychological effects of music and their relation to music therapy. Music Therapy 5:17-20.

LAMBO, T. ADEOYE
1965 The place of the arts in the emotional life of the African. AMSAC Newsletter 7(4):1-6.

LASSWELL, HAROLD D.
1948 The structure and function of communications in society. *In* The communication of ideas. Lyman Bryson, ed. New York, Institute for Religious and Social Studies.

LEVY, MARION J., JR.
1953 The structure of society. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

LOMAX, ALAN
1959 Folk song style. American Anthropologist 61:927-950.

MADUMERE, A.
1953 Ibo village music. African Affairs 52:63-67.

MALINOWSKI, B.
1931 Culture. Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences 2:642-643.

MEEK, C. K.
1937 Law and authority in a Nigerian tribe. London, Oxford University Press.

MERTON, ROBERT K.
1957 Social theory and social structure. Glencoe, Free Press.

MEYER, LEONARD B.
1955 Learning, belief, and music therapy. Music Therapy 5:27-35.

MUNRO, THOMAS
1951 The arts and their interrelations. New York, Liberal Arts Press.

NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT
1930a Aba Commission of Enquiry: minutes of evidence.
1930b Report of the Commission of Enquiry appointed to inquire into the disturbances in the Calabar and Owerri Provinces, December 1929. Sessional Paper of the Nigerian Legislative Council, No. 28.

NKETIA, J. H.
1959 Discussion of "Characteristics of African music" by A. P. Merriam. Journal of the International Folk Council 11:19.

NZEKWU, ONUOARA
1962 Ibo dancing. Nigeria Magazine, no. 73:35-43.

OTTENBERG, SIMON
1959 Ibo receptivity to change. *In* Continuity and change in African cultures. William R. Bascom and Melville J. Herskovits, eds. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. pp. 130-143.

OTTENBERG, SIMON and PHOEBE OTTENBERG
1964 Ibo education and social change. *In* Education and politics in Nigeria. Hans N. Weiler, ed. Freiburg im Breisgau, Arnold Bergstraesser Institute for Socio-Political Research. pp. 25-56.

PARSONS, TALCOTT
1951 The social system. Glencoe, Free Press.

PERHAM, MARGERY
1937 Native administration in Nigeria. London, Oxford University Press.

PLEASS, C. J.
1934 Intelligence report on the Ubakala Clan, Bende Division, Owerri Province, November 30.

RAUM, OTTO
1940 Chaga childhood. London, Oxford University Press.

READ, MARGARET
1938 The moral code of the Ngoni and their former military state. Africa 11:1-24.

RICHARDS, AUDREY I.
1956 Chisungu: a girls' initiation ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia. New York, Grove Press.

SJOBERG, GIDEON
1960 Contradictory functional requirements and social systems. Journal of Conflict Resolution 4:198-208.

UCHENDU, VICTOR C.
1964 The status implications of Igbo religious beliefs. Nigerian Field 29(1):27-37.
1965 The Igbo of southeast Nigeria. New York, Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

WILSON, MONICA
1954 Nyakyusa ritual and symbolism. American Anthropologist 56: 228-241.

WITTCH, WALTER ARNO and CHARLES FRANCIS SCHULLER
1953 Audio-visual materials: their nature and use. New York, Harper and Brothers.

Notes on the Physical Anthropology of Lawrence Oschinsky

by G. GAHERTY, D. KETTEL, J. MACDONALD, L. NIEMANN, B. VON GRAEVE and E. ARIMA.

RÉSUMÉ

Pour rendre hommage à feu le professeur Lawrence Oschinsky, un groupe de ses anciens étudiants présente un résumé des principes théoriques et de la méthodologie qui ont guidé sa recherche et qui auraient servi à l'élaboration d'un ouvrage d'envergure qu'il s'apprêtait à écrire.

1. EVOLUTIONARY THEORY

Dr. Oschinsky required his students to have a general grounding in evolutionary theory since it was his basic theoretical frame of reference. Special attention was given to different *kinds of selection* and types of *variation*. Dr. Oschinsky's thoughts on these matters were in only an early stage of development, however, and the distinctions presented here would no doubt have undergone considerable refinement within a few years' time. The kinds of selection distinguished were as follows:

(a) *natural selection,* which Dr. Oschinsky wanted to delimit more rigorously than is done in common usage where it is used almost synonymously with selection in general. He felt that the natural environment is more tolerant of variation than is commonly thought, thus providing a certain allowance of free play or room within which other kinds of selection could operate.

(b) *sexual selection,* an especially important kind which has been neglected, although it was the central subject of Charles Darwin's "other book", *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex* (1871).

(c) *artificial selection,* operating in the domestication of animals and plants, and also in hominids as "self-domestication".

(d) *societal selection,* the influence of societal factors.

The basically unconscious and unintentional nature in evolutionary terms of the latter three kinds of selection is to be noted, as it has been by Darwin (1936:900, 916 ff). Conscious selection may be considered a special form of artificial selection. The kinds of selection distinguished overlap considerably in operation within the evolutionary process, particularly in hominid evolution.

Four types of variation were distinguished by Dr. Oschinsky. A fundamental distinction was made between "variation" and "variability" as indicated under the first type.

(a) *Variation I* is the type usually meant in discussions of "variability", i.e., genetic variation, or what might be called Mendelian variation. "Variability" is variation on the genotypic level of reality, and though it may be considered the immediate cause of all variation, it is *not* the determinant of the form of the other types of variation (cf. Oschinsky 1962:351-352). Dr. Oschinsky stressed the need for keeping different "levels of reality" clearly separate in discussions on evolution.

(b) *Variation II* is the creation of new variation through selection. It is on the phenotypic level of reality. Here Dr. Oschinsky seemed to be concerned with the process of change in physical type, as in his course on hybridization where he was considering the Burmese and asking, in effect, "What are the reasons for their variation? How is physical type modified by such factors as climate, diet, altitude, use and disuse? How plastic is the phenotype?" A critical examination of functionalism was to be a major part of this hybridization course which was just initiated in Dr. Oschinsky's final year.

(c) *Variation III* is the pattern of variation in a wild species. Again, this is variation on the phenotypic level. The question posed was, "What sort of variation occurs in wild species, and how does that compare with the variation in semi- and fully-domesticated species?" A basis was sought for the evaluation of the relative importance of the different kinds of selection, especially with regard to *Homo sapiens*. One feature noted was that *clines* occur in wild species and in modern *Homo sapiens* but not in fully-domesticated species[1].

[1] Noted by Kettel.

(d) *Variation IV* is the pattern of variation in terms of taxonomic groupings, especially specific and subspecific. Here, on the taxonomic level, the questions were, "How do we perceive and conceptualize the process of change that is variation? How do we slice up the pie of reality in terms of concordances of characters? How are species and subspecies grouped; how do we put them together?"

Rates of evolution (cf. Simpson 1944; 1953) and the *duration of mammalian species* (cf. Kurten 1959) also received special attention from Dr. Oschinsky during his last year, but were not yet fully incorporated into his thinking on hominid evolution. He noted that *Homo sapiens* is of short duration compared to the mean species duration in mammals of 300,000 years or to a long enduring species like the hippopotamus estimated to have lasted 600,000 years by Kurten (1959). Kurten, however, was criticized in class discussion. Dr. Oschinsky suspected that Kurten ignored total morphological pattern. Mr. Gaherty said that Kurten was picking and comparing, at random, non-comparable individual characters such as dentition and brain size, and also was ignoring mosaic evolution. Rates are presented by Kurten without all the supporting evidence that must have been worked out. And, as Mr. MacDonald noted, the measures are too far apart in time to detect any rapid rates of change; the samples are separated by time gaps which are too great.

There are involved here, of course, two ways of studying evolutionary rates; Kurten measuring rates of change in retained morphological features and Simpson examining rates of evolutionary divergence, the proliferation of species over a period of time. Though certainly aware of the more taxonomic approach exemplified by Simpson, Dr. Oschinsky, concerned primarily with hominid evolution where there has not been much species proliferation, gave greater attention to the more morphological approach in studying evolutionary rates. For instance, Dr. Oschinsky noted that in *Homo sapiens* the cranium is changing very rapidly, becoming smaller in modern times, particularly in the face, than in the Upper Palaeolithic (wide face) or Mesolithic (wide and long face). Morphological features have generally become more gracile. There is especially rapid change going on in the lower

face; only seven thousand years or so ago all groups had good occlusions but since the onset of the Near East Bronze Age, about five thousand years ago, various occlusary troubles have arisen from a rapid shrinking in the alveolar regions of the mandible and maxilla. Furthermore, the rate of this change has been accelerating within the past four centuries. The different races show different rates of change, however, the shrinkage occurring mainly in Mongoloids and Causasoids. In an earlier work, Dr. Oschinsky (1961:93, our italics) has said that anterior tooth crowding in Eskimo "... is probably connected with the *phylogenetic reduction of alveolar prognathism* characteristic of the Eskimo."

On *hypertely,* as exemplified by the Irish elk with its "oversized" antlers and the "over-curled" coiled oysters, *Gryphaea,* wherein it has sometimes been hypothesized that the momentum of an evolutionary trend carries a species past the point of adaptation, Dr. Oschinsky thought that sexual selection might have been the important factor explaining the phenomenon. Simpson (1951:44-51) has suggested that extreme developments like those mentioned above were trends concurrent with adaptive increases in size due to a relative growth factor and were thus parts of adaptive trends, indeed, were "strictly adaptive" (p. 48) while they continued.

2. TAXONOMY

Dr. Oschinsky stressed the necessity for a basic familiarity with zoological taxonomy, its principles and procedures. A listing of references which he recommended may help to indicate his acceptance of general scientific thought on the subject. The main works[2] recommended to students were the following:

G. G. Simpson, *Principles of Animal Taxonomy.*

E. Mayr, *Animal Species and Evolution.*

A. J. Cain, *Animal Species and Their Evolution.*

W. E. Le Gros Clark, *The Fossil Evidence for Human Evolution* (revised edition).

[2] Full bibliographic details are given at the end of the article.

Simpson and Le Gros Clark (first chapter) were "must" readings, especially the latter because he stresses the application of taxonomic principles to physical anthropology. Simpson provides the best systematic treatment of taxonomic theory available at present.

Other works recommended from time to time by Dr. Oschinsky as having relevance for taxonomy, as well as for evolutionary theory in general, included the following:

W. Howells, ed. *Ideas on Human Evolution.*

S. L. Washburn, ed. *Classification and Human Evolution.*

G. G. Simpson, *The Meaning of Evolution.*

G. G. Simpson, *The Major Features of Evolution.*

T. Dobzhansky, *Genetics and the Origin of the Species.*

Charles Darwin's two major works of 1859 and 1871, *On the Origin of the Species* and *The Descent of Man.*

More strictly physical anthropological works in which Dr. Oschinsky found many points relevant to hominid taxonomy were E. A. Hooton's *Up From the Ape* and F. Weidenreich's *Apes Giants, and Man.* Of the latter book, Dr. Oschinsky often said that he would like to publish an up-to-date equivalent; clearly written and abundantly illustrated, it would cut through the dense clouds of confusion and noise surrounding hominid evolution and taxonomy today. He thought a good title for this general book might be *The History of Homo Sapiens,* reflecting his special interest in later sapiens development from the Upper Palaeolithic to the present. The book is unwritten, of course, unfortunately.

Parallelism as an evolutionary feature affecting taxonomy received much attention from Dr. Oschinsky. To be mentioned here are his two papers on the subject, "The Problem of Parallelism in Relation to the Subspecific Taxonomy of *Homo Sapiens.*" (1963) and, emerging from a graduate course of 1963-64, the jointly authored "Parallelism, Homology and Homoplasy in Relation to Hominid Taxonomy and the Origin of Homo Sapiens." (Oschinsky *et al.* 1964). He drew a major distinction between parallelism and convergence, and in this regard was critical of

Le Gros Clark who seems to equate the two as a single phenomenon, using the terms interchangeably (Le Gros Clark 1964:17-19). Simpson (1961:77 ff) does distinguish between parallelism as the separate development of similar characters in separate lines of common ancestry and convergence as the separate development of similar characters in lines without common ancestry, but puts both together in the same category of homoplasy, "resemblance not due to inheritance from a common ancestor". This inclusion of parallelism under homoplasy is criticized in the 1964 paper on parallelism, and presented there is a revised set of categories which in turn contains certain difficulties of its own, e.g., "archaeoid convergence" (p. 108). A copy was sent to Simpson but, disappointingly, he did not reply. The problem requires further clarification, and it is hoped that one of Dr. Oschinsky's former students will prepare a critique of both Simpson's and Oschinsky's schemes.

For Dr. Oschinsky, parallelism was "similarity *due to* less immediate common ancestry" and hence belongs under homology, "similarities *due to* common ancestry" (Oschinsky *et al.* 1964: 107, our italics). Common ancestry is taken to be the causative factor for the similarity in both homology and parallelism. Now, for Simpson (1961: 78, our italics) common ancestry seems to be causative in homology, "resemblance *due to* inheritance from a common ancestry." But in the case of Simpson's parallelism, "the development of similar features separately in two or more lineages of common ancestry and *on the basis of, or channeled by,* characteristics of that ancestry" (Simpson 1961: our italics). The italicized phrases, perhaps, are not intended to imply causation in common by common ancestry. What Simpson emphasizes is the separateness of the development of similar features, and as a consequence the main consideration may be that separate developments have separate causes. Oschinsky seems to stress the degree of immediacy of common causation in parallelism, "similarities due to *less immediate* common ancestry," as contrasted with isomorphism, "similarities due to *immediate* common ancestry" (Oschinsky *et al.* 1964:107). Causality is a complex problem in this instance as in others. Involved in the whole issue of homology vs. homoplasy, of the distinction between parallelism and convergence, is the problem of interpreting identities of

observed characters in terms of genetic identities or non-identities; hence the stress on the presence or absence, causative relevance or irrelevance of common ancestry. The second parallelism paper notes at its outset "the quasi-arbitrary aspect of all taxonomic procedures" (Oschinsky *et al.* 1964:105). The homology-homoplasy schemes of Simpson and Oschinsky may be regarded as two different quasi-arbitrary ways of conceptualizing the evolutionary phenomena of similar characters, both valid and both with certain merits and certain limitations.

Grades and *clades* as developed by Huxley (1958) and Simpson (1961:125-9) were considered very useful concepts for hominid taxonomy. Also considered important by Dr. Oschinsky was classification by two kinds of relationships, *vertical* and *horizontal* (Simpson 1961:129-132). Within the genus *Homo*, Dr. Oschinsky distinguished three grades — Erectus, Neanderthal and Sapiens — on the basis of cranial morphology. These grade distinctions were made by three major evaluations: the size and shape of the neurocranium, the positional relationship of the splanchnocranium to the neurocranium, and the degree and nature of facial flatness.

In the Erectus grade, the neurocranium is small (relative to Neanderthal and Sapiens) with a capacity of about 1,000 c.c. (cf. Le Gros Clark 1964:62), and is long, low-vaulted and flat-sided. The splanchnocranium, or facial skeleton, is anterior to the neurocranium. The upper face is flat transversely, but the lower face has alveolar prognathism.

In the Neanderthal grade, the neurocranium "balloons" (cf. Weidenreich 1946:35) to a size half as large again as in the Erectus grade with a capacity of 1,300 - 1,600 c.c. (cf. Le Gros Clark 1964:62). It is still long and low but the sides bulge out to give a transverse section that is rounder even than in early *H. sapiens*. The splanchnocranium is anterior to the neurocranium. The upper face is not flat transversely, the zygo-maxillary junction being rounded in basal view, while the lower face has alveolar propnathism which, coupled with the lack of transverse facial flatness, emphasizes the great total prognathism of the face due to the massive splanchnocranium being well in front of the neurocranium.

In the Sapiens grade, the neurocranium remains large in size (at 1,350 c.c. actually slightly smaller in mean capacity than in the Neanderthal grade), but the shape changes to a shorter, higher, more straight-sided form. The splanchnocranium is posteriorly oriented to recede under the neurocranium. The upper face is again flat transversely. The lower face is not as prognathic as in the Erectus and Neanderthal grades. The transverse facial flatness in the Erectus and Sapiens grades are different in structure, however. In the Erectus grade, the zygomatic process is long, the splanchnocranium being forward, and the maxillary process is short, while in Sapiens, the zygomatic process is short with the maxillary process variable in length. The above description is of the general trends shown in the Sapiens grade. There is more variation in the Sapiens grade than in the other two (by the relatively sparse evidence available for these latter) so that some recent Sapiens races like Causasoids and Negroids do not have transverse facial flatness and some like Negroids and Australoids may have greater alveolar prognathism than the Neanderthals.

The Neanderthal grade was of special interest taxonomically to Dr. Oschinsky. It provides the first good evidence within the genus *Homo* of one group evolving into another with intermediate forms such as Skhul (cf. Oschinsky 1963:134-5) and Jebel Qafzah. (An earlier instance of an intermediary form in hominid evolution, "Homo habilis", is here regarded as intermediate between the Australopithecines and the Hominines.) Neanderthal taxonomy also provides an instance of a faulty application of vertical classification which has led to an overdifferentiation of phylogenetic lines, namely, the "Generalized" leading to *H. sapiens* and the "Classic" as a dead end. The problemmatical Mauer mandible was judged by Dr. Oschinsky to be definitely Neanderthal in total morphological pattern rather than Erectus. He felt that the massive jaw represented an early expression of a robust form of Neanderthals exemplified by the later so-called Classic Neanderthals. By postulating the early occurrence of a robust Neanderthal form, 200,000 to 400,000 B.P., Dr. Oschinsky made Classic Neanderthal a less isolated and less distinct development within the Neanderthal grade than such writers as Le Gros Clark (1964:66, 76-8). Instead of having *H. sapiens* developing

from a special infra-grade group of "Pre-sapiens" Neanderthals, Dr. Oschinsky would have sapiens develop from the Neanderthal grade as a whole which includes a robust form of which the very late (40,000 years B.P.) Classic Neanderthal was a conservative population in a relic area in western Europe. The above hypothesis was perhaps already developed when Dr. Oschinsky (1963: 134) first interpreted the Mauer mandible as Neanderthal for he wrote:

> The fact that the so-called classic types of Neanderthal are later in time than the Steinheim, Fontéchevade, and Skhul does not mean necessarily that they developed from these so-called "sapiens-like" types. There is a possibility that their gerontomorphic ancestors have not yet been found, since material from the Mindel-Riss period is not too abundant. In any case, except for the Steinheim skull, these other crania are rather fragmentary. They consist mostly of calvaria and it is difficult to know such crucial relationships and features as splanchnocranial relationship to neurocranium, foramen magnum position, relative size of mastoid, and mandibular morphology.

In the Mauer mandible Dr. Oschinsky found, of course, a "gerontomorphic ancestor" for Classic Neanderthal.

Solo Man and Rhodesian Man (here including Saldanha) seemed to be regarded as persistent relic populations of the Erectus grade, persisting, with some modifications to be sure, through unequal rates of evolutionary change (cf. Mayr 1963b: 337-8). Dr. Oschinsky considered Solo Man a "souped-up pithecanthropine" following Weidenreich (1951) whose abundant and excellent illustrations, incidentally, were much admired (the comparative craniograms and figures 22 and 23 in particular were considered especially instructive). In connection with Rhodesian Man, Dr. Oschinsky wondered whether it, together with Chellean III, might not be evidence of an African clade of *Homo erectus* characterized by very massive supra-orbital ridge development.

3. TOTAL MORPHOLOGICAL PATTERN AND MOSAIC EVOLUTION

Total morphological pattern was the central unifying concept in Dr. Oschinsky's physical anthropology. Since it is so well explained by Le Gros Clark (1964), and since Dr. Oschinsky

agreed with him so whole-heartedly, no further explanation is necessary in the present exposition which is supposed to be just an outline.

A related matter which may be discussed, however, is Dr. Oschinsky's frequently reiterated criticism of the popular but often naive, taxonomically and otherwise, use of metrical and serological (or "haematological") data. Shortly after his arrival in Ottawa to work at the National Museum of Canada, he brought out a paper contrasting the "genotypical-serological school" and the "phenotypic school", championing the latter, of course (1959). With regard to serology, a question he posed, but did not get to answer, was: "Is there such a thing as a *total serological pattern,* as there is a total morphological pattern?" He also asked: "Is there a *total metrical pattern?*" Statistical approaches in the direction of the latter might be Penrose's Size and Shape analysis (1953), and Mahalonobis's D^2 analysis with which Dr. Oschinsky had some contact (East and Oschinsky 1958). But in such analyses, measurements are probably given equal taxonomic weight, and, of course, the particular measurements used must first be chosen on some non-mathematical basis. Furthermore, interpretations of the results must be made in taxonomic terms. Dr. Oschinsky constantly cautioned students against being blinded by numbers and believing that comparisons expressed in figures are by virtue of the quantification more valid than qualitative evaluations. Students were referred to discussions by Le Gros Clark (1964:24-39) of fallacies often present in applications of biometrics to taxonomic enquiries. In his criticism of misapplied biometrics Dr. Oschinsky at times seemed almost "anti-numbers," yet his first major work, *The Racial Affinities of the Baganda* (1954), was quite metrical and full of figures. He collaborated much with D. A. East to obtain statistical treatment for his qualitative morphological studies, and he continued to measure, most notably for transverse facial flatness, that area of special interest over several years of concentration upon Mongoloids. When he found new morphological features of crucial diagnostic value, such as the "flat nasal bridge" characteristic of Negroids,[3] he

[3] Gaherty can best explain Dr. Oschinsky's particular morphological insight into Negroid nasal bone structure and the method of measurement which he was contemplating for its quantified study.

sought ways to measure and quantify them. So Dr. Oschinsky's criticism of quantification is not to be regarded as merely negative and destructive.

Mosaic evolution, or "mosaicism", of which "... the *Hominidae* are a classical example ..." (Mayr 1963b:344), was another very central concept in Dr. Oschinsky's taxonomic thinking. It was closely associated with total morphological pattern and might be regarded as the latter's processual background. Mosaic evolution will be mentioned again under the selection on hybrid variation. A related critical concept developed in class was *inverse palaeontology.*[4] It refers to the rather common physical anthropological error of tracing racial origins back to the Upper Palaeolithic or even earlier fossil specimens. An example by Oschinsky *et al.* (1964:112) is given as follows:

> ... to apply the name of a contemporary subspecies to that of a variable character which was invariable in the past, as Coon has done in calling Sinanthropus' shovel-shaped incisors Mongoloid, as well as referring to Sinanthropus himself as Mongoloid, is confusing.

After mentioning facial flatness, prognathism and brow ridges as other misinterpreted archaic features, the writers state (p. 113):

> It seems more plausible to view the present day distribution of archaic traits in Homo sapiens subspecific groups as a mosaic of remnants of what was once a total morphological pattern which is now redistributed in several new total morphological configurations[5].

4. THE GAP IN RACIAL STUDIES: THE NEED FOR RACIAL OSTEOLOGY

As Emil Breitinger (1962:447) noted, there is a gap in physical anthropological studies between the past development of *Homo sapiens* and the modern situation since osteological analysis has not been carried on up to the present and modern races are studied in terms applicable only to the living by somatology and

[4] *Inverse palaeontology* was coined by Kettel, following Niemann's phrasing "reverse derivation. Previously Sally Wilson had spoken of ... making the subspecies older than the species".

[5] "Subspecific" originally read "specific", but the latter seems unsuitable in the context of the passage.

serology. Dr. Oschinsky criticized the present neglect of the osteological study of modern races and the consequent lack of time depth in racial studies. He sought to correct the situation, to fill in the above-mentioned "gap", by doing *racial osteology*. At the time of his death, he was trying to launch a program of studies which would encompass all of the living races on an osteological basis. Osteological definitions of the principal racial groupings were beginning to emerge, some more completely than others (e.g., Mongoloids: Arctic, Old World and New World), and it is hoped that these definitions (e.g., Negroids and Australoids) will be set forth in detail by Dr. Oschinsky's students. Indeed, it was Dr. Oschinsky's hope that his students would fully work out the osteological characterizations of the modern races with him since the undertaking was much too great for one person alone.

5. *HOMO SAPIENS* SUBSPECIFIC TAXONOMY BY TOTAL MORPHOLOGICAL PATTERN

Dr. Oschinsky's main theoretical contribution was perhaps his application of the concept of total morphological pattern to the subspecific taxonomy of *Homo sapiens,* in particular (methodologically), through the quantification of morphological features, as in *The Most Ancient Eskimos* (1964). By this approach, no one single character is racial, i.e., racially diagnostic; it cannot be said that such and such a character is a "racial character". A certain pattern of morphological characters is needed which is "sufficiently distinctive and consistent" (Le Gros Clark 1964: 27) to distinguish the subspecific group in question from others on the same taxonomic level. Speaking metaphorically one might say that there is no special "Mongoloid gene". A given individual may lack certain elements of the racially diagnostic pattern of characters, but he will show the major part of it and will still be within range of the "theme of variation" of his racial group. There are a number of features which have high frequency in a given population, but they are not all necessary conditions.

Le Gros Clark (1964:25) applies his concept of the total morphological pattern primarily on the species and genus levels.

He does not give much analytical attention to subspecies. He mentions biometrics as being of value in assessing degrees of affinity between groups which are already known to be closely related (by morphological evaluation presumably), e.g., subspecies or geographical races. Dr. Oschinsky seemed to feel that Le Gros Clark implicitly took biometrics to be more relevant for taxonomy on the subspecific level than total morphological pattern. Such a view may perhaps be supported by the failure of Le Gros Clark to see that Upper Palaeolithic *Homo sapiens* has a subspecifically consistent and distinct total morphological pattern different from those of modern races (Upper Palaeolithic man is here considered a temporal subspecies, of course). Le Gros Clark (1964:55) writes:

> ... the skeletal remains of Aurignacian and Magdalenian date which have so far been discovered in Europe not only are indubitably those of *H. sapiens* but are actually not distinguishable, on present evidence, from modern Europeans.

But there is a distinctive Upper Palaeolithic total morphological pattern, a finding which is one of Dr. Oschinsky's major insights.[6]

The main practical purpose of racial studies is, however, *racial identification* rather than description. An illustration is provided again by *The Most Ancient Eskimos* which answers the question, "What are the bones dug up by Dr. W. E. Taylor, Jr.

[6] "A major breakthrough", to use his expression. Supporting evidence is to be found in Morant's studies, notably those of 1926 and 1930-31. Christopher Meiklejohn, another student of Dr. Oschinsky, has examined Morant in this light. The establishment of a distinct Upper Palaeolithic total morphological pattern makes the differentiation of *Homo sapiens* into the present races a very recent development, for the Upper Palaeolithic pattern persists up to about ten thousand years ago. It is only with the advent of the Bronze Age about five or six thousand years ago in the Near East that skulls can be definitely distinguished as Causasoid, Mongoloid, etc. The intervening Mesolithic pattern seems to be a transitional one in which everything grew very big, the face being very long as well as very wide. The low rectangular orbits, so diagnostic for the Upper Palaeolithic, become square and more open vertically in the Mesolithic. Modern races, as mentioned in the text under evolutionary rates, have smaller, generally more gracile craniums with diminution greatest in the face, especially in the alveolar regions. There is differential retention of features of the Upper Palaeolithic total morphological pattern such as facial flatness, prognathism and brow ridges, and Dr. Oschinsky used to quickly characterize the major races by the presence or absence of these three features in each.

— Indian or Eskimo?" The sample to be identified is often small, at times just one individual. But large samples in comparative groups provide the detailed total morphological patterns with which the small sample in question can be evaluated. These large samples in the comparative groups make up for the insufficient size of the sample that is being identified. In the case of the "Indian or Eskimo?" question, such large comparative groups would be provided by *The Cranial Morphology of Arctic Mongoloids: A Statistical Morphological Study* (Oschinsky and East, in press).

6. SUBSPECIFIC LEVELS

Dr. Oschinsky distinguished a hierarchy of taxonomic levels below the species level as well as above it. In the absence of a satisfactory taxonomic terminology, he simply spoke of subspecies, sub-subspecies, sub-sub-subspecies and so on. Once in class he did consider S. M. Garn's system, illustrating the levels as shown in Table 1 (below).

Biometrics would become fully relevant in its own right for Dr. Oschinsky only at the sub-sub-subspecies level, the level exemplified in the classification of North American Indians into Lakotid, Lenapid, Deneid, etc. (Newman 1852). Below this level cultural data, rather than biological characteristics, would be more primary in demarcating groups. Thus, the Crow would first be demarcated by ethnology and after that be analyzed for any biological distinctiveness. "Tribe" was a unit comparable to the zoologist's breeding isolate or deme. Simpson (1961:177), however, says the demes are the basic population units but that they should not enter into classification or be named because they are highly evanescent and do not lend themselves to formal stable classification. And no doubt Dr. Oschinsky would not have attempted taxonomic classification on this level. But for the intervening levels between demes and subspecies which Simpson does not distinguish, Dr. Oschinsky did want classification in modern *Homo sapiens,* at least down as far as the sub-sub-subspecies level as in Neumann's attempt.

7. HYBRID VARIATION

In hybrid studies, the great variation of pattern observed in individuals was thought by Dr. Oschinsky to be due to the combination of features in an *individual mosaic* as opposed to a *population mosaic*. In a hybrid population, the means of separately considered features show normal distributions, and, when they are all pooled together, give a certain population mosaic. But the individuals would show different combinations of the characters involved, often at the extreme of their distributions. The important concept here is *mosaicism*. The above type of population was called *heteromorphic hybrid* in contrast to a *homomorphic hybrid* population in which the individual pattern is more stabilized and which is then, in effect, a new race. The latter, strictly speaking, is no longer a hybrid population although we may know that such was its origin.[7] The process of such stabilization of characters in hybrid populations was to be examined in Dr. Oschinsky's hybridization course. Unfortunately he was gone before this new course had really gathered momentum.

TABLE 1

Oschinsky's terms derived from Garn	*Example*	*Garn's equivalent terms*
species	Homo sapiens	(same)
subspecies	Mongoloid	(same)
macro race (sub-subspecies)	New World Mongoloid	geographical race
micro race (S_3-species)	Lakotid	local race
local race (S_4-species)	Plains	(level blurred in Garn)
tribe (S_5-species)	Crow	micro race

[7] Niemann was the one who came to this seemingly contradictory conclusion that a homomorphic hybrid population is not hybrid.

REFERENCES

BREITINGER, E.
1962 On the phyletic evolution of Homo sapiens. *In* Ideas on human evolution. W. W. Howells, ed. pp. 436-459.

CAIN, A. J.
1954 Animal species and their evolution. London, Hutchinson.

DARWIN, C.
1859 On the origin of the species by means of natural selection. London, John Murray.
1871 The descent of man and selection in relation to sex. London, John Murray.
1936 On the origin of the species *and* The descent of man. New York, Random House (Modern Library).

DOBZHANSKY, T.
1951 Genetics and the origin of the species. 3rd ed. New York, Columbia University Press.

EAST, D. A. and L. OSCHINSKY
1958 A comparison of serological and somatometrical methods used in differentiating between certain East African racial groups with special reference to D^2 analysis. Sankhya 20:31-68.

HOOTON, E. A.
1956 Up from the ape. Rev. ed. New York, Macmillan.

HOWELLS, W. W., ed.
1962 Ideas on human evolution: selected essays, 1949-1961. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press.

HUXLEY, J. S.
1958 Evolutionary processes and taxonomy with special reference to grades. Uppsala University Arsskrift 1958:21-38.

KURTEN, B.
1959 Rates of evolution in fossil mammals. Cold Spring Harbor Symposia on Quantitative Biology 24:205-215.

LE GROS CLARK, W. E.
1964 The fossil evidence for human evolution. Rev. ed. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

MAYR, E.
1963a Animal species and evolution. New York, Columbia University Press.

1963b The taxonomic evaluation of fossil hominids. *In* Classification and human evolution. S. L. Washburn, ed. pp. 332-346.

MORANT, G. M.
1926 Studies of Palaeolithic man, I: the Chancelade skull and its relation to the modern Eskimo skull. Annals of Eugenics 1: 257-276.

1930-31 Studies of Palaeolithic man, IV: a biometric study of the Upper Palaeolithic skulls of Europe and their relationships to earlier and later types. Annals of Eugenics 4: 109-214.

NEUMANN, G. K.
1952 Archeology and race in the American Indian. *In* Archeology of the Eastern United States. J. B. Griffin, ed. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

OSCHINSKY, L.
1954 The Racial affinities of the Baganda and other Bantu Tribes of British East Africa. Cambridge, Wm. Heffer.

1959 A reappraisal of recent serological, genetic and morphological research on the taxonomy of the races of Africa and Asia. Anthropologica 1:47-71.

1961 A short note on upper lateral incisor tooth crowding among the Eskimos. Anthropologica 3:90-94.

1962 Facial flatness and cheekbone morphology in Arctic Mongoloids: a case for morphological taxonomy. Anthropologica 4:349-377.

1963 The problem of parallelism in relation to the subspecific taxonomy of *Homo Sapiens*. Anthropologica 5:131-145.

1964 The most ancient Eskimos. Ottawa, University of Ottawa.

OSCHINSKY, L. and D. A. EAST
The cranial morphology of Arctic Mongoloids: a statistical morphological study. Ottawa (in press).

OSCHINSKY, L. et al.
1964 Parallelism, homology and homoplasy in relation to hominid taxonomy and the origin of *Homo Sapiens*. Anthropologica 6: 105-117.

PENROSE, L. S.
1953 Distance, size and shape. Annals of Eugenics 18:337-343.

SIMPSON, G. G.
1944 Tempo and mode in evolution. New York, Columbia University Press.

1951 The meaning of evolution. Rev. abr. ed. New York. Random House (Mentor Books).

1953 The major features of evolution. New York, Columbia University Press.

1961 Principles of animal taxonomy. New York, Columbia University Press.

WASHBURN, S. L., ed.

1963 Classification and human evolution. Wenner-Gren Foundation, Viking Fund Publications No. 37. Chicago, Aldine.

WEIDENREICH, F.

1946 Apes, giants and man. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

1951 Morphology of Solo man. Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History 43:205-222.

ANTHROPOLOGICA

N. S. VOL. XI, 1969

Table des matières — Contents

RENSEIGNEMENTS AUX AUTEURS

Les manuscrits doivent être dactylographiés à double interligne, sur papier 8½ x 11 pouces. Les notes doivent être numérotées consécutivement et incluses sur une feuille séparée à la fin du texte. La bibliographie doit énumérer les ouvrages dont il est fait mention dans le texte; elle doit inclure la liste des auteurs par ordre alphabétique, et par ordre chronologique pour chaque auteur (pour la disposition, se référer à un article dans ce numéro). Dans le texte, les renvois bibliographiques sont mis entre parenthèses en indiquant l'auteur, l'année et la page, v.g. (Mauss 1939:176). Les recensions et critiques d'ouvrages doivent donner le titre, l'auteur, le numéro de la série de la monographie s'il y a lieu, l'endroit de publication, l'éditeur, la date, le nombre de pages, les illustrations et le prix de la publication recensée.

Les auteurs sont priés de soumettre un résumé de leur article, en anglais si possible.

INFORMATION FOR AUTHORS

Authors are requested to submit all manuscripts on standard 8½ x 11 inch paper, double-spaced, and typed on one side only. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout the manuscript and submitted on a separate sheet of paper. All references within the text should be placed in parentheses, indicating the author's name, date of publication, and page number, e.g. (Jenness 1954:151). The bibliography must also be presented, double-spaced, on a separate sheet and in alphabetical order according to authors (for an illustration, refer to an article in this issue).

All articles must be accompanied by an abstract, in French if possible.

Book reviews are expected to include the title, author (Series number, if applicable), place of publication, publisher, date, pagination, illustrations, price.

C.P.S. (1955)

7928

IMPRIMERIE NOTRE-DAME, RICHELIEU, QUÉ.

IMPRIMÉ AU CANADA
PRINTED IN CANADA