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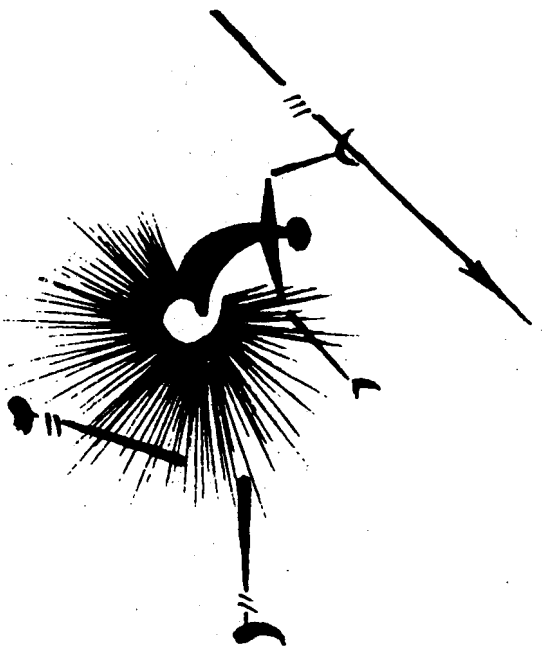

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WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY IN A GREEK PEASANT VILLAGE

REGINA DIONISOPOULOS

NORTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY - DE KALB

WITCHCRAFT AND ENVY STUDIES HAVE APPEARED WITH SOME REGULARITY WITHIN THE PAST FORTY YEARS. PROBABLY THE BEST KNOWN SCHOLARS WHO DEALT WITH ENVY ARE GEORGE M. FOSTER, WHO PERCEIVED "THE IMAGE OF LIMITED GOOD," ERIC R. WOLF, WHO REFERRED TO INSTITUTIONALIZED ENVY AMONG THE LATIN AMERICAN PEASANTS, AND CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, WHOSE WORK ON NAVAHO WITCHCRAFT IS CONSIDERED TO BE A CLASSIC. FOSTER AND WOLF DEALT WITH THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, AND WITCHCRAFT AS MANIFESTATIONS OF ENVY, AND EACH DISCUSSED THE FUNCTIONS OF INSTITUTIONALIZED ENVY AS METHODS OF SOCIAL CONTROL. KLUCKHOHN TREATED WITCHCRAFT AS A FORM OF SOCIAL CONTROL, AND HE ILLUSTRATED HOW IT WAS USED TO MAINTAIN STABILITY IN NAVAHO SOCIETY. KLUCKHOHN DESCRIBED THE MANNER IN WHICH PERSONS BECOME WITCHES. "PERSONS BECOME WITCHES IN ORDER TO WREAK VENGEANCE, IN ORDER TO GAIN WEALTH, OR SIMPLY TO INJURE WANTONLY - MOST OFTEN MOTIVATED BY ENVY" (1944:26). WOLF STATED THAT

> WITCHCRAFT AS WELL AS MILDER FORMS OF INSTITUTIONALIZED ENVY, HAVE AN INTEGRATIVE EFFECT IN RESTRAINING NON-TRADITIONAL BEHAVIOR, AS LONG AS SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS SUFFER NO SERIOUS DISRUPTION. IT MINIMIZES DISRUPTIVE PHENOMENA SUCH AS ECONOMIC MOBILITY, ABUSE OF ASCRIBED POWER OR INDIVIDUAL CONSPICUOUS SHOW OF WEALTH. ON THE INDIVIDUAL PLANE, IT THUS ACTS TO MAINTAIN THE INDIVIDUAL IN EQUILIBRIUM WITH HIS NEIGHBORS. ON THE SOCIAL PLANE, IT REDUCES THE DISRUPTIVE INFLUENCES OF OUTSIDE SOCIETY (WOLF 1955: 460).

THESE ANALYSES OF ENVY HAVE, IN MY OPINION, CORRECTLY SHOWN THE INTEGRATIVE FUNCTION OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF INSTITUTIONALIZED ENVY IN PEASANT SOCIETY. HOWEVER, NOT ALL ASPECTS ARE INTEGRATIVE. THE PEASANT SOCIETY WHICH I STUDIED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF DR. PIERRE B. GRAVEL FOR

ONE YEAR WAS HORA, KYTHNOS, GREECE. HORA IS A SMALL, ENDOGAMOUS VILLAGE WHICH WE STUDIED AS PART OF THE KYTHNOS PROJECT. THERE, THE "IMAGE OF LIMITED GOOD" IS A VERY REAL CONCEPT. DAILY, THE PEOPLE OF HORA MUST DEAL WITH THREE DYNAMICS OF POWER, THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, AND MAGIC, IN ANY ONE OF MANY POSSIBLE MANIFESTATIONS OF ENVY. HOWEVER, NOT ALL OF THE ASPECTS OF ENVY ARE CONTROLLABLE AND THEREFORE USEFUL AS DEVICES OF SOCIAL CONTROL. MANY ARE QUITE DISRUPTIVE, BOTH TO THE INDIVIDUAL AND TO THE SOCIETY.

FOR THE PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER, WITCHCRAFT IS DEFINED AS POTENTIALLY HARMFUL POWER, YET POWER THAT HAS A SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE ROLE AND WORKS TO PROMOTE SOME TYPE OF HARMONY IN THE SOCIETY. THE SOCIAL UTILITY STEMS EITHER FROM THE EXERCISE OF THESE POWERS OR FEAR THAT THEY WILL BE EXERCISED. WITCHCRAFT MAY BE PRESENT IN THE VILLAGE, IN THE HOME, OR IN THE FIELDS, AT ALL TIMES OF THE DAY OR NIGHT.

THE SECOND CATEGORY IS SORCERY, DEFINED AS INTENTIONALLY EVIL AND AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS, WHICH MAY CAUSE GREAT HARM TO INDIVIDUALS AND TO SOCIETY. ACTS OF THIS NATURE ARE MORE LIKELY TO HAPPEN AT TIMES OF RITES OF PASSAGE, WHEN THERE IS MUCH ANXIETY AND TENSION ALREADY, AND WHEN ENVY IS RAMPANT. IT IS AT THESE TIMES THAT ONE IS MORE VULNERABLE TO THE EFFECTS OF WITCHCRAFT AND MORE SUBJECT TO ATTACK BY SORCERY. THE NEW MOTHER AND CHILD (ESPECIALLY A BABY BOY AND HIS NEW PARENTS), THE NEWLY ENGAGED COUPLE, OR THE NEWLYWEDS MUST BE ESPECIALLY CAREFUL AS THE WHOLE VILLAGE IS FULL OF ENVIOUS, BARREN WOMEN, STERILE MEN, ENVIOUS UNMARRIED MAIDENS AND YOUTHS, AND ENVIOUS PARENTS OF UNMARRIED CHILDREN. ANY OF THESE PEOPLE COULD, FROM ENVY, EMPLOY WITCHCRAFT ON THE WELL-FORTUNED PERSON AND BY USING THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, OR MAGIC, SERIOUSLY HARM HIM. OR THE ENVIOUS PERSON COULD EMPLOY SORCERY IN

OPENLY AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS TO DESTROY THE GOOD FORTUNE OF THE ENVIED ONE AND HOPEFULLY ACQUIRE THAT GOOD FORTUNE.

I BELIEVE THESE TWO CATEGORIES TO BE ACCURATE, AND THEY ARE USEFUL DIVISIONS PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY ARE BROAD AND INCLUSIVE. CLYDE KLUCKHOHN'S WORK AMONG THE NAVAHOS LED TO HIS DEFINING WITCHCRAFT IN A BROAD AND INCLUSIVE MANNER. HE SAID

> THE TERM WITCHCRAFT IS NOT UNOBJECTIONABLE AS COVERING ALL THE MATERIALS TO BE TREATED HERE. A MORE PRECISE TITLE WOULD HAVE BEEN CUMBERSOME, BUT 'NAVAHO IDEA AND ACTION PATTERNS CONCERNED WITH THE INFLUENCES OF EVENTS BY SUPERNATURAL TECHNIQUES THAT ARE SOCIALLY DISAPPROVED' WOULD HAVE EXPRESSED RATHER ACCURATELY THIS STUDY (KLUCKHOHN 1944:5).

TURNER'S DEFINITION OF WITCHCRAFT HAS ALSO BEEN HELPFUL IN THIS ANALYSIS. IN HIS ARTICLE "WITCHCRAFT AS NEGATIVE CHARISMA," HE DEFINED WITCHCRAFT ANTHROPOLOGICALLY AS BEING "THE THREATENING STATEMENT ACCOMPANIED BY MISFORTUNE" (TURNER 1970:371).

I WILL TRY TO LIMIT THIS PAPER TO DISCUSSING THE WITCHCRAFT AND SORCERY THAT OCCURS AT THREE PARTICULAR RITES OF PASSAGE, THE PRE-ENGAGEMENT, THE ENGAGEMENT, AND THE WEDDING. FIRST, HOWEVER, IT WILL BE NECESSARY TO EXAMINE THE THREE DYNAMICS OF POWER, TO DEFINE THEM, AND TO DISCUSS THEIR CLASSIFICATION AS ACTIONS OF WITCHCRAFT OR ACTIONS OF SORCERY.

THEREFORE, FOR THIS PAPER, I HAVE CONSTRUCTED THREE CONTINUA, ONE FOR EACH DYNAMIC OF POWER. I THEN LOCATED SOME OF THE ASPECTS OF THE THREE DYNAMICS ON EACH OF THE CONTINUA ACCORDING TO STRENGTH OF SOCIAL VALUE. THE CONTINUA WERE THEN DIVIDED IN HALF, AND I LABELED ONE HALF WITCHCRAFT AND THE OTHER SORCERY ACCORDING TO THE PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF SOCIAL USE.

The Evil Eye

The first dynamic of power is that of the Evil Eye. This is a power of the eye (an admiring look), the thought, or a voiced complaint. It is a clear example of Turner's "threatening statement accompanied by misfortune" as the compliment is a threat, one expressing the envy of the complimenter for the admired one's good fortune. It is a threat covered with words of flattery and praise. It expresses the complimenter's desire, which will probably make the admired one nervous and defensive.

To form a continuum of the Evil Eye, one may rank the cases according to the strength of their social value. The people who occasionally show "an Evil Eye" are on the far left. Indeed, some informants say that anyone can have the Evil Eye, since everyone is envious at some time or another. Then come people who are believed to have the Evil Eye but who do not know they have it; therefore, they harm without intent or knowledge. These people were born with the Evil Eye, which is the most commonly understood way of acquiring it. People who believe that they were born with the Eye and try to employ various types of chants or customs to control their Evil Eye to keep from harming anyone else, may be placed a little farther to the right. These are all examples of witchcraft. People who possess the Evil Eye of the witchcraft category are described as being able to "matiazi" or bewitch with the Eye. The verb comes from the Greek word for eye, the "mati." Nearly everyone is afflicted by this at one time or another, especially children. One who is suddenly tired, depressed, or suffers headaches or is feverish or chilled, is undoubtedly suffering from the Eye. The diagnosis and the cure are the same. If during diagnosis it is determined that the person was afflicted by the Eye, he is instantly cured, the evil being dissolved.

There are numerous ways of becoming cured. Most rites involve oil, cloves, water, fire, and holy words. A person can cure himself by reciting the Lord's Prayer over and over, if there is no one else around to take care of the victim. Numerous types of charms and phylacteries can be worn for protection against the Eye. The Evil Eye falls into the category of sorcery, when there is a malicious and intentful employment of the Eye: a manipulation of the power to harm others, destroy or at least damage their health, children, and property. This type of bewitchment is "vascania." Vascania is such a strong force that often the cure requires the intervention of a priest as opposed to matiazma which can be cured by anyone. The priest reads a prayer against the Eye in the church while the victim stoops forward in front of the priest. The priest symbolically casts his garments over the victim to place him under the power and protection of the Church (Greek Orthodox Rite) and drive the evil from him. Although the victim may be cured by a person experienced in curing, there may be the need for many repeated rites before the victim is cured. Therefore, a strong force, such as the Church, is deemed necessary to combat and cure the sorcery.

When the cases of the Evil Eye are ranked, the following continuum will have been formed:

Everyone Occasionally	Possessor Does not Know	Possessor Tries to Control	Malicious and Intentional Use Rising from Envy and Greed
Matiazma			Vascania

Matiazma may be seen as having a socially acceptable role in preventing the accumulation of wealth, or at least in preventing the stressing of economic and social differences in a town. This tends to unite the town and, at least to an outsider's eye, the

VILLAGE WILL APPEAR TO BE FAIRLY UNIFORM IN SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STANDING. VASCANIA, HOWEVER, IS A HARMFUL AND DISRUPTIVE FORCE. PERSONS CAPABLE OF VASCANIA ARE SIMULTANEOUSLY MISTRUSTED, BUT KINDLY TREATED, AS NO ONE WANTS TO EVOKE THIS TYPE OF WRATH UPON HIMSELF.

GEORGIA, A WOMAN WITH WHOM I LIVED DURING THE COURSE OF MY FIELDWORK, WAS SAID TO HAVE THIS TYPE OF POWER. HER SISTER, THE WIFE OF A BAKER, WAS BELIEVED TO HAVE CAUSED THE ILLNESS AND EVENTUAL DEATH OF THE SINGLE RIVAL BAKER. BOTH WOMEN WERE BORN IN ASIA MINOR AND HAD SETTLED ON KYTHNOS WITH THEIR PARENTS AS REFUGEES OF THE BALKAN WARS. ALTHOUGH THEY LIVED ON KYTHNOS FROM THE 1920'S UNTIL TODAY, PEOPLE STILL REFERRED TO THEM AS BEING OUTSIDERS. GEORGIA WAS VERY VINDICTIVE. SHE RECALLED WRONGS DONE TO HER IN THE TWENTIES AND THIRTIES AND SHE DISCUSSED THOSE EVENTS OFTEN. WHEN ANGERED SHE WOULD NOT HESITATE TO RECALL PRIOR INCIDENTS AND SOUNDLY CHASTISE HER VICTIM FOR THE OLD AND THE NEW WRONGS. THE VILLAGE SECRETARY, A WELL EDUCATED, SOPHISTICATED GIRL, WAS SO FRIGHTENED OF THIS OLD LADY'S EVIL EYE THAT WHEN GEORGIA WENT TO THE MAYOR'S OFFICE FOR HER MONTHLY SOCIAL SECURITY CHECK, THE SECRETARY WOULD GIVE HER THE CHECK THE MOMENT THAT GEORGIA ENTERED THE ROOM SO SHE WOULD LEAVE IMMEDIATELY, RATHER THAN BECOME ANGRY AND VENGEFUL AT BEING REQUIRED TO WAIT WHILE THOSE AHEAD OF HER WERE GIVEN THEIR CHECKS FIRST. AFTER I MOVED TO ANOTHER HOUSE, PEOPLE TOLD ME THAT THEY HAD WANTED TO WARN ME NOT TO LIVE WITH HER, BUT THEY WERE AFRAID OF HER POWER. SEVERAL FAMILIES TOLD ME THAT WHEN THEY HEARD I WAS LEAVING HER HOUSE, THEY WOULD HAVE INVITED ME TO LIVE WITH THEM. HOWEVER, THEY WERE TERRIFIED OF WHAT SHE WOULD DO TO THEM IN RETALIATION FOR THEIR TAKING ME INTO THEIR HOME.

Gossip

The second dynamic of power is gossip. Gossiping is one of the main village preoccupations. Adults gossip at all places of social interaction: the coffee house, the store, the evening promenade, the wells, and within the church during service. So important is gossip that one woman told me that while her husband built a wash area for her in their garden, she preferred to go with the other women to the stream. There she heard gossip that she would have missed if she did her washing at home.

Children gossip among themselves, usually repeating what their parents said. Apparently, a child tells his parents what he has overheard while eavesdropping on other adults.

There are two types of gossip. Witchcraft gossip is koutsouboulio, and sorcery gossip is glossofeya. In normal conversation, Kythniotes inevitably refer to the koutsouboulio gossips. Witchcraft gossip may be equated with what society says. It may be harmful in that untruthful stories or incorrect interpretations of actions are attributed to individuals, it also has a social value, reinforcing the norms of society. Deviations from the norm are considered something to talk about. It is, in John Szwed's words, "a technique for summarizing community opinions . . . one draws on gossip to establish an opinion, but also uses it to influence others" (Szwed 1966:435). As such, the koutsouboulio are the village chorus. They not only maintain the social norms of a society but help instruct others in what these norms are; and they help keep others from being deviants. Hence, gossip regulates social interaction and helps stabilize and maintain the harmony of the village. Consequently, that which is a potentially harmful force also

HAS A SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE ROLE IN VILLAGE LIFE.

THE PEOPLE MOST OFTEN GOSSIPED ABOUT ARE THOSE WHO ARE OUTSIDERS. THE POLICEMEN AND THE SCHOOLTEACHERS WERE CONSTANTLY BEING DISCUSSED BY THE VILLAGERS, ESPECIALLY BY LINKING THEM WITH LOCAL GIRLS.

THE KIND OF CONCERN VILLAGERS HAVE MAY BE ILLUSTRATED. ONE SINGLE, MIDDLE-AGED WOMAN WOULD OFTEN REFUSE TO GO FOR EVENING WALKS WITH A FRIEND WHO WAS THE WIFE OF A POLICEMAN, AS THE POLICEMAN AND THEIR TWO CHILDREN WOULD GO WITH THE TWO WOMEN AND FREQUENTLY, A YOUNG, UNMARRIED POLICEMAN, WHO WAS HALF HER AGE, WOULD ACCOMPANY THEM. SHE WAS AFRAID OF WHAT THE VILLAGERS WOULD SAY, SEEING THEM TOGETHER. THERE WAS SOME REASON FOR HER FEAR IN THAT NEARLY EVERY GIRL OF MARRIAGEABLE AGE WAS LINKED TO THE THREE UNMARRIED POLICEMEN AND THE UNMARRIED DOCTOR BY GOSSIPS AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER. THERE WERE NUMEROUS WHISPERED STORIES ABOUT THE POLICE STATION AND THE CLINIC BEING USED AS BROTHELS.

EVERYONE PARTICIPATES IN KOUTSOUBOULIO AND NEARLY EVERYONE ADMITS TO IT IN A JOKING MANNER, HOWEVER, NO ONE DARES TO ADMIT THAT HE BELONGS TO THE SORCERY CATEGORY (GLOSSOFEYA) AND FEW PERSONS WERE EVER IDENTIFIED TO ME AS GLOSSOFEYA. INTERESTINGLY ENOUGH, TWO OF THE THREE WOMEN, WHOM I GREW TO INTENSELY DISLIKE AND LOOK UPON AS BEING MALICIOUS AND GREEDY BY NATURE, WERE IDENTIFIED BY THE VILLAGERS AS GLOSSOFEYA. THESE ARE GOSSIP-MONGERS, MALICIOUS GOSSIPS. THEY DEVOUR WITH THE TONGUE (GLOSSA MEANING TONGUE AND FEYA MEANING EATER). THEY MAY BE SPECIFICALLY NAMED AND FEARED FOR THEIR AGGRESSIVE AND MALICIOUS NATURES AND ABILITIES. THESE ARE PEOPLE WHO CAN CAUSE GREAT HARM BY EMPLOYING THEIR POWERS DIRECTLY. THEY ARE PEOPLE WHO SLANDER OTHERS, STARTING STORIES ABOUT ONE'S REPUTATION AND ACTIONS,

WITH THE INTENTION OF DOING HARM. ALTHOUGH PEOPLE FREQUENTLY COMPLAINED TO ME THAT THE ONLY THING WRONG WITH THEIR VILLAGE WAS THE KOUTSOUBOULIO, AND WHILE THEY INSTRUCTED THEIR CHILDREN TO ACT IN SUCH A MANNER AS TO KEEP FROM LETTING THEMSELVES BE VICTIMS OF THE KOUTSOUBOULIO, IT IS THE POWER OF THE GLOSSOFEYA WHICH IS REALLY FEARED. THE GLOSSOFEYA, IT WAS FREQUENTLY CLAIMED, EMPLOY MAGIC WITH THEIR THREATS AND AGGRESSIVE GOSSIP, AND SINCE THEY SPEAK WITH AN INTENT TO DO HARM, ONE CANNOT REALLY PROTECT ONESELF. THE GOSSIP MAY BE CALUMNY. THE VICTIM MAY NEVER HAVE COMMITTED THAT OF WHICH HE IS ACCUSED. NEVERTHELESS, HE IS TORMENTED BY THE GLOSSOFEYA.

BLUM AND BLUM EVIDENTLY FEEL THAT THE VILLAGERS OF THEIR STUDY AREA IN RURAL GREECE HAD A SIMILAR FEAR OF GOSSIP. HOWEVER, THEY DID NOT DISTINGUISH IN THEIR TEXTS BETWEEN KOUTSOUBOULIO AND GLOSSOFEYA. THEY SAY:

> GOSSIP MAY BE VIEWED BY THE OBSERVER AS A TRIPLE THREAT: THE WORDS HARM MAGICALLY BY THEMSELVES, THEY ALSO DO DAMAGE INSOFAR AS THEY ARE BELIEVED AND PRODUCE SOCIAL DAMAGE, AND FINALLY, THE MOTIVES REFLECTED IN GOSSIP MAY ALSO MOVE THE GOSSIPING PERSON TO DO SORCERY OR TO ENGAGE IN OTHER DESTRUCTIVE ACTS (BLUM AND BLUM 1970:169).

A CONTINUUM OF GOSSIP MAY BE CONSTRUCTED IN THE FOLLOWING MANNER:

MATCHMAKER GOSSIP	SOCIETY "SAYS"	INDIVIDUAL ACTIONS MISINTERPRETED	MALICIOUS AND INTENTIONAL GOSSIPMONGERING
KOUTSOUBOULIO			GLOSSOFEYA

MAGIC

FINALLY, THERE IS THE DYNAMIC FORCE OF MAGIC. TO THE LEFT OF THE CONTINUUM ARE PEOPLE WHO CAN CURE MANY TYPES OF EVIL AND VARIOUS DISEASES, AND THEY CAN ALSO CURE SPELLS OF MAGIC AND OF THE EVIL EYE. THEY ARE PRACTICING WITCHCRAFT IN THAT THEY ARE MANIPULATING

POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS POWERS. THE VILLAGERS MAY FEEL THAT THESE PEOPLE WHO ILLUSTRATE THEIR POWERS IN CURING RITUALS, MAY HAVE THE POTENTIALLY DANGEROUS POWERS OF THE SORCERER. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE OF THOSE WHO CURE BY USING CHANTS, WHICH CALL FOR EITHER A PAINFUL DEATH OR DISFIGURATION AS THE FATE OF THE ORIGINAL AFFLICTOR. FOR EXAMPLE, ONE OF THE MORE COMMONLY USED CHANTS AGAINST THE EVIL EYE CALLS UPON THE EVIL TO RETURN TO THE POSSESSOR OF THE EYE AND "IF IT IS A WOMAN CRUSH HER BREASTS AND IF IT IS A MAN CRUSH HIS GENITALS." CERTAINLY, THE PERSON USING THIS CHANT IS CALLING UPON A POTENTIALLY VIOLENT POWER. IT IS USED HERE FOR CURING. ON ANOTHER OCCASION, IT MAY BE USED IN ANGER.

IN GENERAL, IT WAS EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO GET ANYONE TO TALK ABOUT A "MAGISSA" OR WITCH. ONE PERSON SAID THERE MIGHT BE WITCHES IN THE NEXT VILLAGE. OTHERS SAID THE ONLY WITCHES ARE THE TURKOYIFTES OR TURKISH GYPSIES WHO OCCASIONALLY VISIT KYTHNOS. ONE MAN SAID HIS SISTER WHO HAD MARRIED A MAN FROM ANOTHER ISLAND WAS KILLED BY A WITCH WHO WAS THE SISTER OF THE HUSBAND. PEOPLE WERE SOMEWHAT RELUCTANT TO TALK ABOUT WITCHES FROM ELSEWHERE OR ABOUT CASES OF WITCHCRAFT WHICH HAD OCCURRED ELSEWHERE, BUT IT WAS MANY LONG MONTHS BEFORE ANYONE WAS WILLING TO TALK ABOUT LOCAL WITCHES. THEIR HESITATION WAS UNDOUBTEDLY DUE TO THEIR FEAR OF REPRISAL BY THE WITCH. BY NAMING THE WITCH, THEY WERE GIVING LIFE TO HIS POWER AND THEREBY EVOKING HIS WRATH AND INDIGNATION.

THERE ARE NUMEROUS WOMEN ON KYTHNOS WHO PERFORM CURING RITUALS. NEVER IN MY PRESENCE WERE PEOPLE WHO CURE REFERRED TO AS "MAGISSA." WHILE THIS IS USUALLY TRANSLATED AS "WITCH," IN FACT IT IS THE COGNITIVE OF "MAGICIAN." THEY WERE REFERRED TO AS "WOMEN WHO KNOW A LOT" OR AS "DOCTORS;" AND ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS I HEARD THEM REFER TO

THEMSELVES AS DOCTORS. THIS, OF COURSE, MAKES THEIR ROLE SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE. GREEK ORTHODOX PRIESTS MAY ALSO BE PLACED IN THE WITCHCRAFT CATEGORY. THEY ARE HIGHLY RELIGIOUS AND REPRESENT A LINK BETWEEN MAN AND GOD. ON KYTHNOS, THEY ALSO CLAIM TO HAVE TREMENDOUS POWERS, WHICH THEY USE IN SERVING GOD, AND IN INSURING GOOD CROP RETURNS, GOOD HEALTH, AND GOOD ANIMALS. THE ROLE OF THE PRIEST IS TO MAINTAIN HARMONY BETWEEN MAN AND GOD AND BETWEEN MAN AND MAN. THE PRIEST'S POWERS ARE MUCH FEARED BY MANY OF THE VILLAGERS, AND IT IS COMMONLY BELIEVED THAT IF THE PRIEST CURSES SOMEONE, THAT PERSON WILL NOT DIE PEACEFULLY. HIS BODY WILL NOT DECAY, AND HIS SOUL WILL WANDER THE EARTH AS A VIOLENT SPIRIT. THE PRIEST'S CURSE MAY BRING MUCH HARM AND GRIEF TO THE VILLAGERS. THE VILLAGE PRIEST ON KYTHNOS IS GREEDY, AND HE USED HIS PRIESTLY POWERS TO BLACKMAIL THE VILLAGERS INTO HIRING HIM FOR CARPENTRY WORK, WHICH IS HIS OTHER PROFESSION. WHEN A PRIEST EMPLOYS HIS POWERS TO DO HARMFUL OR DESTRUCTIVE WORK, HE IS CERTAINLY ENGAGED IN SORCERY. IT IS SAID BY MANY PEOPLE THAT THE WORST EYE IN ANY VILLAGE IS THAT OF THE PRIEST. GREEK-AMERICANS, FOR EXAMPLE, BELIEVE THAT IF A PRIEST PUTS ON CERTAIN OF HIS GARMENTS BACKWARDS, HE IS CURSING HIS PARISHIONERS.

THE MAKERS OF LOVE-POTIONS MAY BE PLACED IN EITHER THE WITCHCRAFT OR THE SORCERY CATEGORY DEPENDING ON THE INTENTIONS OF THE MAKER AND THE OUTCOME OF THE MATCH. THE FIRST INVOLVES THOSE WHO MAKE LOVE POTIONS WHICH PRODUCE AGREEABLE, HARMONIOUS AND HAPPY COUPLES. THE OTHER CATEGORY INCLUDES THOSE WHO MAKE LOVE POTIONS WHICH RESULT IN MATCHES OF COUPLES WHOSE FAMILIES ARE NOT HAPPY, AND WHICH MAY LATER END IN DIVORCE. OR IT MAY LEAD TO THE JILTING OF A SWEETHEART. HE OR SHE BECOMES THE VICTIM OF A POTION THAT CAUSES ONE TO FALL IN LOVE WITH

SOMEONE ELSE AND FORSAKE HIS SWEETHEART. THEREFORE, A PERSON MAY BE REFERRED TO AS BEING THE ONE WHO BROUGHT ABOUT THIS MATCH AND BE BLESSED BY ALL INVOLVED OR BE BLAMED FOR THIS MATCH AND CURSED FOR YEARS. SORCERERS ARE THOSE WHO HAVE CREATED A TENSE SITUATION OF HOSTILITY AND UNHAPPINESS IN THE SOCIETY WHICH WOULD INCLUDE THE RELATIVES OF THE TWO FAMILIES INVOLVED AND THEREFORE NEARLY THE WHOLE VILLAGE MAY BE BROUGHT DIRECTLY INTO PLAY. SORCERERS ALSO EMPLOY THEIR MAGIC TO HURT THOSE WHO ARE ABOUT TO UNDERGO OR WHO HAVE JUST UNDERGONE A RITE OF PASSAGE. THE NEW MOTHER AND CHILD, THE BRIDE AND GROOM, AND THE ENGAGED COUPLE MUST BE GUARDED AGAINST SORCERERS, WHO CAN EMPLOY MAGIC TO DO GREAT HARM AGAINST THEM.

TO RANK THE VARIOUS ASPECTS OF MAGIC ONE MIGHT FORM A CONTINUUM SUCH AS THE FOLLOWING:

CURERS OF VARIOUS DISEASES	PRIESTS	MAKERS OF LOVE POTIONS	MALICIOUS AND INTENTIONAL USE OF POWER, SORCERY
POSITIVE MAGIC			NEGATIVE MAGIC

THE THREE CONTINUA MAY BE ILLUSTRATED AS A GROUP IN THE FOLLOWING WAY:

WITCHCRAFT			SORCERY
POTENTIALLY HARMFUL POWERS, THESE POWERS HAVE A SOCIALLY ACCEPTABLE FUNCTION AND WORK TO PROMOTE HARMONY IN THE SOCIETY. THEY ARE EVIDENT DAILY IN ALL ASPECTS OF VILLAGE AND HOME LIFE.			INTENTIONALLY EVIL AND AGGRESSIVE ACTIONS WHICH MAY CAUSE GREAT HARM TO INDIVIDUALS PHYSICALLY, MENTALLY, EMOTIONALLY, AND FINANCIALLY. THESE ARE DISRUPTIVE POWERS AND THEY ARE MOST EVIDENT DURING RITES OF PASSAGE.
EVERYONE OCCASIONALLY.	POSSESSOR DOES NOT KNOW.	POSSESSOR KNOWS AND TRIES TO CONTROL.	MALICIOUS AND INTENTIONAL USE RISING FROM ENVY AND GREED.
MATIAZMA			VASCANIA
THE EVIL EYE			
MATCHMAKER GOSSIP	SOCIETY "SAYS"	INDIVIDUAL ACTIONS MISINTERPRETED	MALICIOUS AND INTENTIONAL GOSSIPMONGERING AND BACKBITING
KOUTSOUBOULIO			GLOSSOFEYA
GOSSIP			
CURERS OF VARIOUS DISEASES.	PRIESTS	MAKERS OF LOVE POTIONS RESULTING IN HARMONIOUS MATCHES.	MALICIOUS & INTENTIONAL USE OF POWER FOR DESTRUCTIVE PURPOSES UNHAPPY MATCHES.
POSITIVE SOCIAL RESULTS			NEGATIVE SOCIAL RESULTS

MAGIC.

I WILL NOW ANALYZE SOME OF THE DIFFERENT SITUATIONS IN KYTHNOS WHERE THESE DYNAMIC POWERS WERE CARRIED OUT ESPECIALLY IN REGARDS TO PRE-ENGAGEMENT, ENGAGEMENT, AND MARRIAGE. THE VILLAGE SECRETARY ONCE TOLD US HOW DIFFICULT IT WAS TO LEVY TAXES OR TAKE A CENSUS AS THE PEOPLE MAINTAINED THAT THEY HAD NOTHING. THEIR LANDS WERE POOR AND FEW, THEIR ANIMALS WERE DISEASED, OLD AND DYING, THEIR HEALTH WAS SO BAD THEY WERE UNABLE TO WORK REGULARLY. BUT WHEN A PEASANT FARMER IS TRYING TO IMPRESS ANOTHER ABOUT THE QUALITIES OF HIS CHILDREN IN REGARDS TO A POSSIBLE MARRIAGE MATCH, HE CANNOT PRAISE HIS WEALTH AND HEALTH ENOUGH.

WHILE IT MAY APPEAR TO BE INCONGRUOUS, THERE IS AN EXPLANATION. CONCERN ABOUT ASSESSMENTS AND FEARS ABOUT EVOKING THE EVIL EYE ARE REASONS FOR NOT BRAGGING ABOUT ONE'S WEALTH AND HEALTH. HOWEVER, WHEN THE ISSUE IS A MARRIAGE MATCH, MODESTY IS OUT. THIS, OF COURSE, MAKES THE POTENTIAL COUPLE AN OBJECT OF ENVY, AS THEIR DOWRIES ARE IN ORDER AND THEY ARE CONSIDERED TO BE DESIRABLE. AS SO FEW PERSONS AT ANY ONE TIME WOULD BE OF MARRIAGEABLE AGE AND READY TO BE MARRIED BECAUSE OF THE CONSIDERABLE FINANCIAL INVESTMENT, THOSE WHO ARE ELIGIBLE ARE VULNERABLE TO THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, AND MAGIC. THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE WHEN THEY HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AS BEING DESIRED AND MORE SO WHEN BOTH PARTIES ARE READY AND WILLING TO MARRY. DOWRY LINENS ARE KEPT IN CHESTS WITH BLUE BEADS AND FLOWERS FROM THE REPLICA OF THE TOMB OF CHRIST USED IN GOOD FRIDAY SERVICES. THESE PROTECT THE GOODS FROM EVIL AS DO THE CANDLE STUBS FROM THE EASTER SERVICE, WHICH ARE ALSO PUT INTO THE CHESTS. MARRIAGEABLE YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OFTEN WEAR A BLUE BEAD TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM THE EYE, AND THEY RELY GREATLY UPON THE CRUCIFIX THEY WEAR TO PROTECT THEMSELVES FROM A VARIETY OF EVILS, INCLUDING THE EVIL EYE AND MAGIC. PARTICULARLY DESIRABLE YOUTHS AND HENCE PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE YOUTHS MAY BE TOLD BY THEIR MOTHERS TO WEAR A CLOVE OF GARLIC

IN THEIR POCKETS OR TO PUT A SPOT OF SOOT BEHIND THEIR EARS.

THE LOOMS ON WHICH DOWRY ARTICLES ARE WOVEN HAVE A BLUE CHARM HANGING FROM THEM TO PROTECT BOTH THE GOODS AND THE WEAVER FROM THE EYE. THE FINEST OF THE ANIMALS HAVE BLUE BEADS AND TASSELS ON THEIR BRIDLES AND MAY HAVE OTHER TYPES OF CHARMS ON THEM AS WELL.

THE KOUTSOUBOULIO GOSSIPS HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN THE PRE-ENGAGEMENT ARRANGEMENTS. GOSSIP ACTS AS A PRECURSOR. IN THIS SENSE IT IS THE SAME AS THE GREEK CHORUS. THE VILLAGERS ARE AWARE OF WHAT IS ABOUT TO HAPPEN OR WHAT HAS HAPPENED. ONE INFORMANT TOLD ME THAT HER SON AND HIS GIRLFRIEND WANTED TO MARRY. NOW HER HUSBAND WOULD SEND A "PROXINOU" OR MATCHMAKER TO BEGIN THE SUBJECT OF AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE TWO FAMILIES. SHE THEN ADDED THAT THE GIRL'S FAMILY WOULD KNOW THE MATCHMAKER WAS COMING, WHO HE WAS, AND WHAT HIS MISSION WAS BECAUSE THE GOSSIPS, THE KOUTSOUBOULIO, WOULD INFORM THEM.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF HOW PRE-ENGAGEMENT RUMORS BY THE KOUTSOUBOULIO INFLUENCED THE OUTCOME IS SEEN IN THE FOLLOWING. IT WAS RUMORED THAT A YOUNG, BACHELOR FARMER, NICKOS, HAD GONE TO SEEK THE HAND OF A VILLAGE MAIDEN, ERINI, THE SEAMSTRESS. THERE WERE CONFLICTING STORIES ABOUT THE OUTCOME. SOME PEOPLE ADMITTED THAT THEY DID NOT KNOW THE OUTCOME OF THE PROPOSAL, WHILE OTHERS ARGUED THAT THE SUITOR HAD BEEN REJECTED. STILL OTHERS CLAIMED THAT HE HAD BEEN ACCEPTED. FINALLY, THE GIRL WAS INTERVIEWED. SHE STATED THAT SHE HAD HEARD THE RUMOR BUT IT WAS NOT TRUE. NICKOS HAD NOT COME. SHE ALSO MAINTAINED THAT SHE WAS HAPPY THAT HE DID NOT COME, AS HE WAS NO MATCH FOR HER. HE WAS UGLY, POOR, AND A FARMER, AND SHE WOULD NEVER AGREE TO THE MATCH. AT THE LAST INTERVIEW WITH HER, SHE STILL MAINTAINED THAT HE HAD NOT COME, AND THAT SHE WOULD NOT ACCEPT HIM IF HE DID COME. IT IS MY CONTENTION THAT ONE OF THE ROLES OF GOSSIP

IS TO ALLOW FOR AMPLE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE PROS AND CONS OF THE MATCHES TO BE AIRED. THE GIRL'S FAMILY INDICATED THAT THERE WAS NO HOPE OF EVEN MEETING FOR A DISCUSSION ABOUT A POSSIBLE MATCH, AS ERINI HAD LEFT NO DOUBT IN ANYONE'S MIND THAT SHE WAS NOT INTERESTED. THE YOUNG MAN'S FAMILY FOUND OUT THAT HE HAD NO CHANCE TO GAIN THIS PARTICULAR GIRL FOR A BRIDE. SHE HAD VOICED HER OBJECTIONS QUITE LOUDLY AND IN SUCH A WAY AS TO EMBARRASS AND INSULT HIM.

ERINI HAD BEEN LINKED BY THE GOSSIPS (KOUTSOUBOULIO) WITH ANOTHER YOUNG MAN, YANNIS. WHILE IT WAS RUMORED THAT YANNIS HAD SOUGHT ERINI, IT WAS MORE OFTEN RUMORED THAT ERINI WAS INTERESTED IN YANNIS. ERINI SPOKE OF HIM IN VERY HIGH TERMS. SHE SAID THAT HE WAS A GOOD MAN AND WOULD BE A FINE HUSBAND. TO SPEAK OF A YOUNG MAN IN FINE TERMS DOES NOT MEAN THAT THE MATCH WOULD BE AUTOMATICALLY AGREED TO BY THE TWO FAMILIES. IT DOES MEAN THAT A MATCH WOULD BE CONSIDERED BY THE GIRL'S FAMILY. ALL THE MORE INTERESTING IN THIS CASE, YANNIS HAD BECOME UNOFFICIALLY ENGAGED TO ELLI, WHO WAS HAVING AN AFFAIR WITH A MARRIED MAN. ACCORDING TO THE VILLAGE GOSSIPS, ON THE EVE OF THE OFFICIAL ENGAGEMENT PARTY, YANNIS WAS TOLD BY ERINI'S MOTHER THAT ELLI WAS HAVING THE AFFAIR. YANNIS WAS THEN LED TO A PLACE WHERE ELLI WAS HAVING A RENDEZVOUS WITH HER LOVER. BY DOING THIS, THE MOTHER COMMITTED AN ACT OF GLOSSOFEYA, INTENTIONALLY TELLING YANNIS SOMETHING TO PRODUCE HARMFUL RESULTS TO THE ALREADY EXISTING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN YANNIS AND ELLI, IN ORDER TO SATISFY HER GREED AND DESIRES. ALTHOUGH YANNIS RENOUNCED HIS INTENTIONS OF MARRYING ELLI, HE DID NOT GO TO ERINI. ERINI TOLD ME THAT SHE HAD HEARD THAT YANNIS WAS INTERESTED IN HER, BUT HE HAD NOT COME. ERINI'S MOTHER, WHO HAD ACTED AS A MALICIOUS GLOSSOFEYA, WAS CRITICIZED BY THE VILLAGERS FOR HER ACTIONS. BUT EVERYONE AGREED THAT YANNIS WAS

LUCKY TO HAVE FOUND OUT ABOUT ELLI BEFORE THEY HAD MARRIED. ONE WOMAN SAID THAT ERINI'S MOTHER HAD NO RIGHT TO INFORM ON ELLI, SINCE SHE HAD TWO UNMARRIED DAUGHTERS AND HAD, THEREFORE, SUBJECTED HERSELF TO REVENGE AND HER DAUGHTERS TO CRITICISM ABOUT THEIR ACTIONS.

THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, AND MAGIC, IN REGARDS TO MARRIAGE, DEAL MAINLY WITH "PHILOTIMO" AND "DROPI." PHILOTIMO IS THE "LOVE OF HONOR," WHICH AMONG MEN IS CONSIDERED A LOVE OR RESPECT FOR MASCULINITY. THEREFORE, ONE'S MASCULINITY IS INCREASED BY LESSENING THAT OF OTHER MEN, AS THOUGH MASCULINITY IS IN LIMITED SUPPLY. IF ONE GAINS, SOMEONE ELSE MUST LOSE (FOSTER 1965:301). AT THE COFFEE HOUSE, VILLAGE MEETINGS, SPORTS EVENTS, THE EVENING PROMENADE, THE STORE, THE CHURCH AND DURING ALL PERIODS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION, EACH MAN IS PITTED AGAINST THE OTHERS. IF NOT OPENLY AGGRESSIVE, HE IS AT LEAST ON HIS GUARD TO SEEK OUT EVERY POSSIBLE CHANCE TO LOWER SOMEONE ELSE'S MASCULINITY AND BUILD UP HIS OWN. PHILOTIMO MAY BE APPLIED TO WOMEN AND THEIR HONOR OR LACK OF HONOR DISCUSSED. MORE OFTEN, HOWEVER, THE QUALITY OF "DROPI" OR SHAME IS DEALT WITH. A WOMAN WHO IS NOT CHASTE, IS UNFAITHFUL TO HER HUSBAND, OR DOES NOT ACT AS A GOOD WOMAN SHOULD, BRINGS SHAME TO THE MEN AROUND HER. HERE, SHAME REFLECTS UPON THE HONOR OF THE MEN - HER FATHER, HER BROTHERS, AND HER HUSBAND. WOMEN ARE FEARED AND CENSORED BY THEIR MALE KINSMEN BECAUSE OF THE SHAME THEY CAN BRING UPON THEIR MEN THROUGH THEIR ACTIONS.

IN 1968, A YOUNG COUPLE ELOPED. MANOLI WAS ONLY 18 AND HIS BRIDE KATINA WAS ONLY 14. MANOLI'S FAMILY WAS ECONOMICALLY AND SOCIALLY MORE PROMINENT THAN KATINA'S. KATINA HAD THREE SISTERS AND HER FAMILY WAS POOR. CONSEQUENTLY, HER DOWRY PROSPECTS WERE LIMITED. MANOLI'S FATHER KNEW HE WAS INTERESTED IN KATINA. ONE OF HIS AUNTS TOLD ME THAT WHEN SHE HEARD THAT MANOLI WAS PLANNING TO ELOPE WITH KATINA, SHE TRIED TO TALK BOTH PARTIES OUT OF IT. THE KOUTSOUBOULIO HAD INFORMED MANOLI'S

FATHER THAT MANOLI WAS CONSIDERING MARRIAGE. THE FATHER ALSO TRIED TO PERSUADE MANOLI NOT TO MARRY KATINA. THE FATHER FELT THAT HIS SON HAD BEEN BEWITCHED. AS MANOLI HAD EATEN AT THE GIRL'S HOUSE, HIS FAMILY FELT THAT SOMEONE THERE MUST HAVE PUT A LOVE POTION IN HIS FOOD.

THE COUPLE RAN OFF TO THE MOUNTAINS FOR A FEW DAYS. AFTER RETURNING TO THE VILLAGE, THEY MARRIED AND THEY LIVED WITH THE GROOM'S PARENTS, AS THE BRIDE'S FAMILY, IN ACCORDANCE WITH CUSTOM, WOULD HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH HER. ALTHOUGH EACH HAD CARRIED SUCH PROPHYLACTICS AS BLUE AGAINST THE EYE, A TINY GOSPEL TO DISPEL EVIL, AND SCISSORS TO "CUT THE MAGIC" THAT SOMEONE MIGHT TRY TO CAST ON THEM (I.E., SORCERY AT THE WEDDING), IT WAS OBVIOUS TO THE VILLAGERS THAT THE COUPLE HAD BEEN BEWITCHED DURING THE WEDDING SERVICE. THE GROOM WAS UNABLE TO CONSUMMATE THE MARRIAGE. IT WAS BELIEVED THAT WHEN THE BEST MAN PASSED THE WEDDING CROWNS OVER THE COUPLE'S HEADS THREE TIMES, SOMEONE PRESENT HAD UTTERED MAGIC WORDS AND HAD TIED THREE KNOTS IN A STRING, THEREBY ACQUIRING POWER OVER THE COUPLE. THE GROOM REPEATEDLY TRIED TO CONSUMMATE THE MARRIAGE (HIS TESTIMONY). IN A SOCIETY WHERE THE WEDDING SHEETS ARE PUBLICLY DISPLAYED, THIS BECAME A WELL-KNOWN FACT. THE GROOM WAS ILL AND BEDRIDDEN FOR FOUR MONTHS. HE BEGAN TO WASTE AWAY, AND THE PRIEST WAS SUMMONED DAILY TO BLESS HIM AND THE HOUSE. A RELATIVE SUGGESTED THAT A WITCH IN ATHENS BE CONSULTED AND HE, HIS PARENTS, AND HIS WIFE WENT TO ATHENS. THE WITCH PERFORMED A CURING RITUAL AND INSTRUCTED THEM TO RETURN TO KYTHNOS AND BE REMARRIED AT AN OUTLYING CHAPEL. THIS WAS DONE. AT THIS SERVICE, KNOWN AS REVERSING THE CROWNS, THE MAGIC SPELL WAS BROKEN. MANOLI BECAME WELL QUICKLY. AFTER TWO YEARS, MANOLI WENT INTO THE SERVICE AND HIS WIFE CONTINUED TO LIVE WITH HER PARENTS-IN-LAW. HER PARENTS THEN GAVE HER THE DOWRY HOUSE AND GOODS THAT THEY HAD WITHHELD FOR THE FIRST THREE YEARS OF MARRIAGE. SHE MOVED INTO THE HOUSE

AND HAD ONE OF HER YOUNGER SISTERS LIVE THERE ALSO. SOON THE GOSSIP BEGAN. MANY PEOPLE WERE CRITICAL OF KATINA AND THEY FELT SHE HAD ULTERIOR MOTIVES IN LEAVING HER PARENTS -IN-LAW'S HOUSE WHILE HER HUSBAND WAS AWAY IN SERVICE. A NEW, YOUNG POLICEMAN ARRIVED AND HE ASKED HER TO DANCE OFTEN AT EACH OF THE FESTIVALS. IT WAS RUMORED THAT HE DAILY ACCOMPANIED HER TO HER FIELDS, WHICH WERE AN HOUR AND A HALF AWAY. ALL OF THESE ACTIONS WERE DISCUSSED BY THE KOUTSOUBOULIO, WHO WERE PRESENTING SOCIAL COMMENTARY ON ACTIONS THEY FELT DEVIANT. FINALLY, IT WAS RUMORED THAT KATINA AND THE POLICEMAN HAD AN AFFAIR. HER FATHER-IN-LAW SUMMONED HER HUSBAND. WHEN HER HUSBAND ARRIVED, HE, HIS FATHER, HIS FATHER-IN-LAW, AND HIS WIFE'S UNCLE WENT TO THE POLICE STATION AND FACED THE POLICEMAN. SHORTLY THEREAFTER, THE POLICEMAN WAS CALLED BEFORE HIS SUPERIORS AND SOON WAS GIVEN A TRANSFER TO ANOTHER AREA. MANOLI BEGAN DIVORCE PROCEEDINGS. SINCE HE COULD NOT PROVE THAT KATINA HAD COMMITTED ADULTERY, BOTH HE AND KATINA AGREED TO A DIVORCE ON THE GROUNDS OF MUTUAL INCOMPATIBILITY. MANOLI RETURNED TO ATHENS TO FINISH HIS FINAL TWO MONTHS OF SERVICE. KATINA'S REPUTATION WAS DAMAGED. SHE WAS CALLED NAMES EVERYWHERE IN THE VILLAGE AND SHE WAS INVOLVED IN A HAIR-PULLING, FIST FIGHT WITH ONE WOMAN WHO CALLED HER NAMES. SOON THE STORY WAS SLIGHTLY ALTERED. IT WAS SAID THAT HER SISTER, WHO LIVED WITH HER, HAD ALSO HAD AN AFFAIR WITH A POLICEMAN. MANOLI'S RELATIVES HAD BEEN QUITE VOCAL IN DISCUSSING HIS BAD FORTUNE, AND MANY BLAMED HIS MOTHER-IN-LAW FOR THE WHOLE TROUBLE. INDEED, BOTH HE AND HIS BROTHER MAINTAINED THAT KATINA'S MOTHER HAD BEWITCHED MANOLI INTO MARRYING KATINA. MANOLI SAID THAT IT MUST HAVE BEEN WITCHCRAFT. OTHERWISE, HE WOULD HAVE LISTENED TO HIS FATHER AND WAITED. HE ADDED, "WHY ELSE WOULD I HAVE MARRIED DURING THE BEST YEARS OF MY LIFE?" SUDDENLY, A NEW RASH OF RUMORS BEGAN, INITIATED MAINLY BY KATINA'S

RELATIVES AND NEIGHBORS. THEY CLAIMED THAT KATINA WAS SUING FOR DIVORCE AS HER MARRIAGE HAD NEVER BEEN CONSUMMATED. A FEW SAID THAT THEY THOUGHT KATINA HAD HAD AN AFFAIR WITH THE POLICEMAN, BUT ONLY BECAUSE HER HUSBAND WAS IMPOTENT. THIS WAS AN OBVIOUS EFFORT TO RATIONALIZE HER DEEDS AND MAY BE SEEN AS A BACKLASH. KATINA WAS SHAMED AND HER REPUTATION RUINED. THE MOST EFFECTIVE ATTACK AGAINST MANOLI WAS TO RUIN HIS REPUTATION BY CONDEMNING HIS MASCULINITY. A FINAL RUMOR WAS PASSED ABOUT BY MANOLI'S FRIENDS AND RELATIVES. THEY SAID THAT KATINA'S MOTHER (ALREADY BRANDED AS THE SORCERESS WHO HAD ADMINISTERED THE LOVE POTION), HAD HAD AN AFFAIR WITH A POLICEMAN, HAD A BABY, WENT TO ATHENS TO LIVE WHERE SHE PUT THE BABY UP FOR ADOPTION. A FEW YEARS LATER, SHE MARRIED AND HAD FOUR DAUGHTERS. THEREFORE, HER DAUGHTERS' ACTIONS WERE REALLY HER OWN SINS REVISITED. MANOLI TOLD ME THAT HE BORE NO GRUDGE AGAINST HIS WIFE, AS HE FELT THAT SHE HAD DONE WHAT SHE DID BECAUSE OF HER MOTHER. HE ALSO HELD NO GRUDGE AGAINST HIS FATHER-IN-LAW WHOM HE RESPECTED.

PUBLIC OPINION ALLOWS US TO FORM THE FOLLOWING ANALYSIS. THE COUPLE WAS MARRIED BECAUSE OF A LOVE POTION, MAGIC, WHICH IN THIS CASE WAS AN ACT OF SORCERY AS THE COUPLE AND THEIR FAMILIES WERE NOT HAPPY WITH THE MATCH. THE GROOM'S FAMILY BELIEVED THAT THE MATCH HAD BEEN DUE TO SORCERY AND THEY BELIEVED THAT THE SORCERER HAD BEEN MANOLI'S MOTHER-IN-LAW. AT THE WEDDING, AN UNIDENTIFIED SORCERER HAD CAUSED THE GROOM TO BE IMPOTENT AND ILL. THIS MAGIC SPELL WAS CAST AT A RITE OF PASSAGE AND TIME OF GREAT TENSION AND ANXIETY. LATER, A WITCH, USING A CURING RITUAL AND THE PRIEST, ALSO A WITCH BY OUR DEFINITION, USING MAGIC WERE ABLE TO CURE THE GROOM AND BREAK THE SPELL. KATINA LEFT THE HOME OF HER PARENTS-IN-LAW, THUS LEAVING HERSELF OPEN TO GOSSIP, AS SHE WAS

UNCHAPERONED. WHILE SHE HEARD THE KOUTSOUBOULIO ABOUT HERSELF, SHE HAD NOT TAKEN APPROPRIATE ACTION TO PROTECT HERSELF. SHE COULD HAVE MOVED IN WITH HER OWN PARENTS, MOVED BACK WITH HER PARENTS-IN-LAW, OR AT LEAST REFUSED TO DANCE WITH THE POLICEMAN. BECAUSE SHE DID NOT TAKE ACTION TO STOP THE KOUTSOUBOULIO ABOUT HER CONDUCT, HER REPUTATION WAS RUINED BECAUSE OF THE GLOSSOFEYA. IN RETALIATION, HER FRIENDS AND RELATIVES UNDERMINED MANOLI'S BY ATTACKING HIS MASCULINITY, AN OPENLY AGGRESSIVE ACT OF GLOSSOFEYA. THE FINAL ASPECT WAS THE GOSSIP ABOUT KATINA'S MOTHER. SAID TO BE TRUE, IT WAS A STORY WE HEARD ONLY AFTER THE DIVORCE PROCEEDINGS BEGAN. IT WAS TOLD SPECIFICALLY TO DAMAGE KATINA'S MOTHER'S REPUTATION AND KATINA'S.

THE ABOVE CASES ILLUSTRATE A SMALL PORTION OF THE VARIETY OF SOCIAL FUNCTIONS THAT THE EVIL EYE, GOSSIP, AND MAGIC, AS FORMS OF WITCHCRAFT, PERFORM. AS CONTROLLED DYNAMICS OF POWER, THEY STRESS THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC UNITY OF THE SOCIETY AND REINFORCE THE NORMS. DEVIANT SOCIAL ACTION, INCLUDING CONSPICUOUS CONSUMPTION, IS MINIMIZED EITHER THROUGH FEAR OF THE EXERCISE AS IN FEAR OF THE EVIL EYE OR IN AN ACTUAL ATTACK BROUGHT ON BY BRAGGING. SOME ASPECTS OF THESE SERVE AS FACE-SAVING DEVICES. WHEN THE KOUTSOUBOULIO INFORM A FAMILY OF THE INTENTIONS OF A POSSIBLE SUITOR, THE FAMILY EITHER PREPARES TO MEET HIM AND DISCUSS A MATCH, OR WILL COUNTERACT WITH RUMORS TO PREVENT HIS ARRIVAL. THIS MAY BE SEEN AS FACE-SAVING, SINCE POSSIBLE CONFLICTS MAY BE ELIMINATED IF THE YOUTH REALIZES THAT HE WILL NOT EVEN BE CONSIDERED AND NEED NOT GO TO THE HOME. ALSO, INDIVIDUALS WHO REALIZE THAT THEY OR THEIR FAMILIES ARE BEING GOSSIPED ABOUT DUE TO DEVIANT ACTIONS MAY TAKE STEPS TO END THE DEVIANT ACTIONS AND THEREBY STOP OR AT LEAST MINIMIZE THE GOSSIP. THE PRIEST AND THE CURERS MAY BE KNOWN AS STABILIZERS OF VILLAGE TENSIONS AND CONFLICTS. THEY MAY BE WELL

RESPECTED FOR THEIR ACTIONS. THEIR POWERS MAY BE HELD IN AWE AS THEY ARE POWERS OF ALMOST UNLIMITED POSSIBILITIES. HOWEVER, THE VERY NATURE OF THESE POWERS MAKES THE VILLAGERS FEARFUL OF THEM AS WELL.

THE BELIEVED MAKER OF LOVE-POTIONS MIGHT BE SUCCESSFUL IN ARRANGING A HAPPY MATCH WHICH WILL RESULT IN HARMONIOUS CONDITIONS AMONG THE RELATIVES. AS LONG AS ALL OF THESE POWERS ARE HELD IN CHECK, OR AT LEAST THE ATTEMPT TO CONTROL THEM IS EVIDENT, THESE POWERS WILL PROVIDE SYSTEMS OF SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE VILLAGE AND HELP TO STABILIZE THE SOCIETY. THIS IS IN ACCORD WITH WOLF'S, KLUCKHOHN'S, AND FOSTER'S FINDINGS. BUT KLUCKHOHN'S DEFINITION OF "WITCH" WOULD ACTUALLY BE WHAT I CALL A SORCERER AND AT THIS LEVEL WE SEE THE BREAKDOWN OF FAMILY AND VILLAGE STABILITY. EACH OF THE ASPECTS OF WITCHCRAFT, IF WILLFULLY EMPLOYED TO CAUSE DESTRUCTION, MAY BE SO INTENSE THAT TOTAL VILLAGE DISHARMONY MAY RESULT. IT IS AT RITES OF PASSAGE, WHERE TENSIONS ALREADY EXIST, THAT ATTACKS OF SORCERY, INTENTIONALLY MANIPULATED, AND EVIL ACTS APPEAR MOST FREQUENTLY AND DO THE MOST DAMAGE. THE HARM DONE BY WITCHCRAFT MAY BE GUARDED AGAINST AND ALMOST COMPLETELY CORRECTED. BUT THE DAMAGE DONE BY THE SORCERER MAY BE FINAL, AS SOME THINGS CANNOT BE REPAIRED. A DIRECT ASSAULT ON ONE'S REPUTATION, A BROKEN HOME, AND A JILTED SWEETHEART, ARE ONLY A FEW EXAMPLES OF THE FINALITY OF THE DAMAGE CAUSED BY SORCERERS.

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THE NEW CAPITALISTS OF THE NEW GUINEA HIGHLANDS

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RECENT STUDIES IN THE NEW GUINEA HIGHLANDS HAVE REVEALED A GROUP OF PEOPLES WHO HAVE REACTED TO WHITE ADMINISTRATION IN A WAY QUITE UNCHARACTERISTIC OF PEOPLES ELSEWHERE IN MELANESIA. TRIBES IN THE HIGHLANDS, WHO WERE STILL LIVING A STONE AGE EXISTENCE AND HAD RARELY, IF EVER, SEEN A WHITE MAN UNTIL AFTER WORLD WAR II, HAVE ENTHUSIASTICALLY GREETED THE WHITE MAN, QUICKLY LEARNING SOME OF HIS TECHNIQUES (SUCH AS COFFEE GROWING AND ROAD BUILDING), HAVE TURNED THEMSELVES INTO CAPITALISTICALLY MINDED CASH-CROPPERS AND INVESTORS, AND ARE DYING LEAVING ESTATES OF UP TO $35,000. THE PICTURE GIVEN BY DR. SORENSON DEALING WITH ONE TRIBE, THE FORE, IN A RECENT ISSUE OF CURRENT ANTHROPOLOGY, IS PERHAPS OVER-SIMPLIFIED, BUT WITH SOME QUALIFICATIONS THE FORE PICTURE SEEMS TO BE GENERAL IN THE HIGHLANDS (SORENSON, 1972). DR. FINNEY, DEALING WITH "TEN BIGFELLOW MEN BELONG BUSINESS" WHOM HE CALLS THE GOROKANS, THOUGH GOROKA IS A TOWN, NOT A TRIBE, SUBSTANTIATES THIS AND INDEED GOES BEYOND DR. SORENSON BY DEPICTING THE MOST SUCCESSFUL OF HIS HIGHLAND BUSINESSMEN AS NOW RUNNING FOR THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY AND TALKING OF THEIR DESIRE TO ENGAGE IN BANKING OR THE OWNERSHIP OF AIRLINES (FINNEY, 1968).

TO THOSE ACCUSTOMED TO THINKING OF NEW GUINEA AS A LAND OF CARGO CULTS, THE HIGHLAND SITUATION MAY BE SURPRISING, BUT CARGO CULTS ARE RELATIVELY RARE AND GENERALLY WEAK AND SHORT-LIVED IN THE HIGHLANDS. DR. FINNEY GOES AS FAR AS TO SUGGEST THAT CARGO-CULTISM AND CASH-CROPPING ARE COMPETITIVE WITH EACH OTHER AND ARE THEREFORE ALMOST MUTUALLY

EXCLUSIVE. HE SAYS, "WHERE SIGNIFICANT AND REASONABLY RAPID RETURNS FROM CASH-CROPPING AND COMMERCE ARE POSSIBLE, RATIONAL ECONOMIC EFFORT PREVAILS OVER THE CARGO CULT" (FINNEY, 1968:329). THIS WOULD SEEM TO SUGGEST THAT THERE WERE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE HIGHLANDS (WHICH FACILITATED RATIONAL ECONOMIC EFFORT IN THE IMMEDIATE POST-WHITE SITUATION) AND THE LOWLANDS AND ISLANDS (WHERE CARGO CULTS, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS WERE PREFERRED).

THIS PAPER IS AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLORE THE REASONS FOR THIS: THAT IS, TO TRY TO DISCOVER WHY THE NATIVE REACTION TO THE WHITES SHOULD BE SO DIFFERENT IN THE HIGHLANDS WHEN COMPARED TO THE REST OF NEW GUINEA. WE MUST PRESUME THAT IN THE PRE-WHITE SITUATION THERE WAS SOMETHING IN THE HIGHLAND IDEOLOGY WHICH WAS PARTICULARLY AMENABLE TO THE ADOPTION OF CAPITALISTIC ACTIVITIES. THE MAIN THESIS OF THIS PAPER IS THAT IT WAS THE IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES CONCERNING LEADERSHIP QUALIFICATIONS OF THE HIGHLAND "BIG MEN" AND THE "BIG MEN" OF THE SEABOARD AREAS WHICH CAUSED THE DIFFERENCES IN THEIR ACCEPTANCE OF WESTERN IDEOLOGY.

SO FAR THERE HAVE BEEN FEW SYSTEMATIC ATTEMPTS BY ANTHROPOLOGISTS TO EXPLORE THE CULTURAL OR IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TWO AREAS AND THEN TO FORMULATE SOME COHESIVE RESULTS FROM THE SCATTERED UNINTEGRATED STUDIES. THE PERSON WHO HAS GONE FARTHEST IN TRYING TO FIND DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE HIGHLANDS AND LOWLANDS IS DR. PETER LAWRENCE WHO, IN A PAPER GIVEN AT THE HONOLULU CONFERENCE IN 1965, COMES CLOSE TO WHAT WE ARE SEEKING. "AN IMMEDIATE, IF ROUGH COMPARISON CAN BE MADE," HE SAYS, "BETWEEN THE TWO AREAS..." (LAWRENCE, 1967:73). HE GOES ON TO SAY THAT THERE IS EVIDENCE THAT THE COGNITIVE SYSTEMS OF THE HIGHLANDERS RELY HEAVILY ON PURELY SECULAR THOUGHT. HERE WE BEGIN TO GET INTO DIFFERENCES IN THE IDEOLOGIES OF THE TWO GROUPS. BY WAY OF CONTRAST, LAWRENCE SAYS

OF THE SEABOARD SOCIETIES, "THERE SEEMS LITTLE DOUBT THAT IN MOST CASES RELIGION DOMINATES THE COGNITIVE SYSTEM AT THE EXPENSE OF PURELY SECULAR THOUGHT" (LAWRENCE, 1967:73). HE THEN GOES ON TO RELATE THIS SECULAR-RELIGIOUS DISTINCTION TO DIFFERENCES IN REACTION TO DEVELOPMENT. HE STATES THAT IN THE HIGHLANDS SEVERAL FACTORS, WHEN COUPLED WITH THE EMPHASIS ON SECULAR THOUGHT, PRODUCE A LOW INCIDENCE OF CARGO CULT AND A FAIRLY PRACTICAL APPROACH TO WESTERN CONCEPTS OF ECONOMICS AND EDUCATION. BY WAY OF CONTRAST, THE SEABOARD SOCIETIES, WHERE THE COGNITIVE SYSTEMS ARE DOMINATED TO A GREATER EXTENT BY RELIGION, SHOW A HIGH INCIDENCE OF CARGO CULT AND ALSO "AN UNREALISTIC RESPONSE TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND EDUCATION" (LAWRENCE, 1967:74). HE SAYS MANY STUDENTS IN THE SEABOARD AREAS ARE STILL SEARCHING FOR THE MAGICAL KEY TO THE WEALTH OF THE WESTERNER.

THIS FORMULATION AT LEAST BRINGS THE CONTRAST INTO THE FOREGROUND, BUT BECAUSE IT IS A PURELY PSYCHOLOGICAL ANALYSIS, ANTHROPOLOGISTS CAN SCARCELY BE SATISFIED TO LEAVE IT THERE. WHAT WE ARE SEEKING ARE BASIC IDEOLOGICAL EXPLANATIONS FOR THE DIFFERENCES IN MENTALITY BETWEEN THE PEOPLES OF THE HIGHLANDS AND THOSE OF THE SEABOARD. IN OTHER WORDS, WE NEED TO FIND SOME SIGNIFICANT IDEOLOGICAL VARIABLE WHICH WILL HELP TO EXPLAIN <u>WHY</u> COGNITION IN ONE AREA IS MORE RECEPTIVE TO WESTERN POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC IDEAS THAN IT IS IN THE OTHER.

A HINT OF WHERE TO LOOK FOR SUCH A SIGNIFICANT VARIABLE IN IDEOLOGY IS GIVEN BY DR. FINNEY. DISCUSSING THE HIGH DEGREE OF BUSINESS ENTERPRISE SHOWN BY HIS TEN LEADING GOROKANS, HE SAYS:

> "THIS DEVELOPMENT SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, COME AS A SURPRISE TO ANTHROPOLOGISTS WHO KNOW NEW GUINEA, WHERE THE EMPHASIS ON INDIVIDUAL ACHIEVEMENT IS SO MARKED IN TRADITIONAL SOCIETY. INDEED, OF THE FIRST TWO ANTHROPOLOGISTS [TO WORK NEAR GOROKA], READ

> (1959:435-436) foresaw the ready acceptance of innovations by ambitious and leading men and Salisbury (1962:137) virtually predicted their emergence as modern entrepreneurs. (Finney, 1968:328)

"Ambitious and leading men" refers of course to the so-called "big men" found in the highlands and elsewhere in Melanesia. Like most students, my knowledge of "big men" in Melanesia was first gained from reading Dr. Sahlins' well-known article, "Poor Man, Rich Man, Big Man, Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia," which has been reprinted in several of the recent books of readings. As soon as I began reading the monographs on the highlands, I had a strong feeling that somehow, much of what Sahlins says about "big men" in Melanesia in general did not fit the highlands "big man" pattern. I have since been encouraged to pursue that line of argument upon discovering that at least three of the recent workers in the highlands explicitly reject parts of Dr. Sahlins' formulation, as far as their own tribe is concerned. Dr. Ploeg, working with the Wangulam says firmly that Sahlins' "formulation is not applicable in Wangulam society" (Ploeg, 1969:77-78), and Dr. Rappaport, working with the Maring says that they show no pattern "in which certain individuals, having achieved the status of 'big men', command or coerce the activities of the subordinates and vie with each other in feast giving" (Rappaport, 1967:28), thus repudiating one of the generalities made by Dr. Sahlins concerning all Melanesian "big men". The third highland critic of Sahlins is Dr. Meggitt, whose criticism follows exactly the same lines as I will take later in this paper; namely, that the highland "big men" confer benefits on their followers to a much greater extent than the Sahlins formulations would suggest, (Meggitt, 1967).

Thus encouraged, I have continued to look for differences between the "big man" pattern in the highlands and that described by Dr. Sahlins as general for all of Melanesia. The variations I have found are rather subtle and therefore difficult to put into satisfactory words, due to the fact that they are ideological differences. The first of these involves an ideological atmosphere in which the concepts of egalitarianism and innovativeness are seen in conjunction with each other in the highlands. The second difference between the two areas is related to those qualities which are sought in terms of choosing leaders. Lastly, a discussion of the importance of status and reputation in the highlands will hopefully provide a third contrast.

Egalitarianism and Innovativeness

Authors like Salisbury, Lawrence, Read, and Sorenson have come quite close to expressing the point I wish to make here; however, they seem to have confused the issue for at least some of their readers. Dr. Claessen, for example, recently questioned Sorenson's reasoning when, in the article in Current Anthropology, Dr. Sorenson links egalitarianism with "an attitude of tolerance toward innovation" or "migration into a new land" (Sorenson, 1972:350). At first glance, the coupling of egalitarianism with innovativeness does appear to be incongruous. Upon closer examination, however, the relationship is not nearly as antithetical as it appears. If we take egalitarianism to mean the acceptance of innovations on the part of associated individuals, as long as they do not infringe to any great degree on the rights of others, then we can see how equality may be associated with individuality. In this respect, innovativeness is less likely to become selfish or

DESTRUCTIVE. IN EFFECT, THE HIGHLAND TRIBES, FOR THE MOST PART, REPRESENT A SORT OF COMBINATION OF COMMUNAL SPIRIT AND CAPITALISTIC ENDEAVOR. INNOVATIVE INDIVIDUALISM WITHOUT REGARD TO THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS IS APT TO RESULT IN AN ATTEMPT TO DOMINATE. ON THE OTHER HAND, PURE EGALITARIANISM HAS NEVER BEEN PROVED TO EXIST, AT LEAST NOT TO MY SATISFACTION, BUT EVEN IF IT DID EXIST IN ITS PUREST AND MOST IDEALISTIC FORM, LITTLE WOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED IN TERMS OF INNOVATIVE PRODUCTION AND SUBSEQUENT ADVANCEMENT.

SEVERAL OF THE AUTHORS HAVE BEEN CONSCIOUS OF THIS RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN EGALITARIANISM AND INNOVATIVENESS, AS I PREVIOUSLY STATED, BUT THEY HAVE FREQUENTLY BEEN MISUNDERSTOOD BECAUSE NONE OF THEM HAS STRESSED CLEARLY ENOUGH THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EGALITARIAN COUNTERPART TO HIGHLAND INNOVATIVENESS. EGALITARIANISM, IT WOULD SEEM, IS EXCEPTIONALLY STRONG IN THE HIGHLANDS AND VIRTUALLY ABSENT IN THE COASTAL AND ISLAND GROUPS, PARTICULARLY AS IT APPEARS IN THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SEABOARD LEADERS AND THEIR FOLLOWERS. WITHOUT RESPECT FOR ONE'S CONTEMPORARIES, INNOVATIVENESS MAY GET OUT OF HAND, AS IT APPEARS TO HAVE DONE IN MANY OF THE SEABOARD AREAS.

EGALITARIANISM SHOWS UP AS A CULTURAL PHENOMENON IN THE RESULTS OF A HIGHLY QUANTITATIVE STUDY MADE BY DR. LANGNESS ON SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AMONG THE NUPASAFA GROUP OF THE BENA BENA. IN AN ACTUAL COUNTING OF HEADS IN EACH OF THE NUPASAFA RESIDENCE GROUPS, LANGNESS DETERMINES THAT ABOUT FIFTY PERCENT OF ALL THE KNOWN AGNATES OF EACH GROUP ARE APPARENTLY RESIDING AND PARTICIPATING ELSEWHERE. HE CONCLUDES THEN, THAT AROUND FORTY-EIGHT PERCENT OF THE NUPASAFA GROUP ARE NON-AGNATES, MAKING IT IMPRUDENT TO SAY THAT THE NUPASAFA RESIDENTIAL GROUP IS PATRILINEAL IN A STATISTICAL SENSE AT LEAST. ONE OF THE CONCLUSIONS WHICH HE DRAWS

FROM HIS DETAILED STUDY IS THE FACT THAT "THE MAINTENANCE OF THE GROUP STRENGTH IS AS MUCH A PART OF THE IDEOLOGY AS THE NOTION OF PATRILINEAL DESCENT," THAT "THE COMMITMENT TO MAINTAIN THE GROUP STRENGTH CAN AND DOES OVERRIDE DESCENT AS A RECRUITMENT PRINCIPLE," AND "THAT RIGHTS CONFERRED BY RESIDENCE EQUAL THOSE ESTABLISHED BY BIRTH" (LANGNESS, 1964:169). THESE KINDS OF STATEMENTS CLEARLY POINT OUT THE IMPORTANCE OF AN EGALITARIAN VIEW TOWARD NON-AGNATES MOVING INTO OR RESIDING IN A CLAN OR RESIDENCE GROUP, AND THE FACT THAT THEY HAVE OPPORTUNITIES EQUAL TO THOSE OF THE AGNATIC MEMBERS OF THE GROUP. FINALLY, DR. LANGNESS SAYS OF THE BENA BENA, "WHICH GROUP A MAN ELECTS TO RESIDE IN IS A PERSONAL MATTER, AS ARE THE CHOICES HE MAKES WITH RESPECT TO OTHER KINDS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION" (LANGNESS, 1964: 171). IN THIS STATEMENT WE SEE CULTURAL TRADITION INFLUENCED BY THE IDEAS OF INNOVATIVENESS, IN THAT A MAN IS FREE TO MAKE HIS OWN DECISION CONCERNING HIS PLACE OF RESIDENCE. THE IMPORTANT THING TO NOTE HERE IS THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE TWO IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS IN TERMS OF RESIDENCE PATTERNS. THERE WOULD BE NO SIGNIFICANCE TO HAVING THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE IF THE AGNATIC MEMBERS OF THE GROUP REFUSED TO ACCEPT THE NON-AGNATES ON EQUAL TERMS. CONVERSELY, THERE WOULD BE NO PURPOSE IN A FLUID RESIDENTIAL PATTERN COMBINED WITH EQUAL RIGHTS FOR NON-AGNATES, IF NO ONE IN THE HIGHLANDS WERE INNOVATIVE ENOUGH TO MOVE INTO A NEW RESIDENCE GROUP.

SPEAKING OF THE MENDI, DR. RYAN DISCUSSES THE FAILURE OF CLAN AND RESIDENCE AFFILIATION TO COINCIDE AND THE GENERAL FLUIDITY OF HIGHLAND SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND HE SAYS, "I MUST STRESS HERE, AS IN MOST OTHER ASPECTS OF MENDI LIFE THE IMPORTANCE OF INDIVIDUAL CHOICE" (RYAN, 1959:275).

DR. MARIE DE LEPERVANCHE EXPANDS THE IDEAS CONCERNING GROUP SOLIDARITY AND RESIDENTIAL FLUIDITY BY SAYING THAT THE "BIG MEN," NOT THE ANCESTORS, ARE THE FOCAL POINTS FOR HIGHLAND RESIDENCE GROUPS.

Speaking of the Gururumba village wards she states, "the sources of community integration, Newman says, lie in the power structure and not in the kinship structure: people think of themselves as a group because of their ties of reciprocity and allegiance to a Big Man (1965:59-61)" (De Lepervanche, 1968:177). She makes it perfectly clear, however, that the principle of reciprocity applies equally to the "big men" in egalitarian highland societies where "no man has absolute authority over others" (De Lepervanche, 1968:176).

Dr. Read discusses "two largely antithetical orientations in Gahuku-Gama culture" which he refers to as "the value of 'strength' on the one hand and 'equivalence' on the other" (Read, 1959:427). He also refers to these two values as being the criteria for choosing leaders. In discussing beliefs of the Gahuku-Gama, Read appears to be using these values once again when he states that the Gahuku-Gama believe that the supernatural power or force is simply <u>there</u>, although it is neither named nor personified in their language. However, they believe also that this power has to be tapped by the application of individual skill and knowledge to be useful. The power, they believe, is available to everyone (i.e. "equivalence" or egalitarianism), but that the power is useless to the individual who makes no effort to learn the means of access to it by personal effort (i.e. "strength" or innovativeness).

Sorenson provides us with another example of the operation of egalitarianism in conjunction with innovativeness when he discusses the receptive reaction of the Highland Fore to Western presence. He describes the Fore as being happy to use the Australian patrol officers as an excuse to stop warring, and thus give all those involved equal

ACCESS TO THE GOODS AND IDEAS BEING INTRODUCED BY THE NEWCOMERS. HE SAYS THAT AT THE SAME TIME, THE FORE READILY SEIZED THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH ARRIVED WITH THE AUSTRALIANS SINCE THEY WERE ALREADY ADAPTED TO EXPLORATORY AND INNOVATIVE BEHAVIOR.

A DUTCH ANTHROPOLOGIST, DR. OOSTERWAL, WRITING ON THE PEOPLE OF THE TOR, FURTHER EMPHASIZES THE IMPORTANCE OF THE EGALITARIANISM ENCULTURATED INTO THE LIVES OF THE HIGHLANDERS. DR. OOSTERWAL STRESSES THE NEED FOR WHAT HE TERMS "CONSENSUS" BY "BIG MEN" OF THE TOR, WITHOUT WHICH THESE LEADERS ARE RELUCTANT TO ACT AT ALL. HE GIVES SEVERAL DETAILED INSTANCES OF HOW ACTION WAS PARALYZED, SOMETIMES FOR AS MUCH AS A YEAR, BECAUSE NO AGREEMENT COULD BE REACHED AS TO WHICH OF SEVERAL POSSIBLE LINES OF ACTION SHOULD BE FOLLOWED. BECAUSE THERE WAS NO CONSENSUS, THE "BIG MEN" ABSTAINED FROM LEADING (OOSTERWAL, 1961). THIS POINT HAS ALSO BEEN MADE BY DR. RAPPAPORT IN HIS ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE TSEMBAGA (RAPPAPORT, 1967).

HOPEFULLY, THIS DISCUSSION AND THE SUBSEQUENT EXAMPLES HAVE HELPED TO EXPLAIN WHY THE IDEOLOGICAL CONCEPTS OF EGALITARIANISM AND INNOVATIVENESS, WHICH WERE ALREADY WORKING TOGETHER IN TRADITIONAL HIGHLAND CULTURE, MADE THE PEOPLES OF THE HIGHLANDS MORE RECEPTIVE THAN THE SEABOARD MELANESIANS TO THE OPPORTUNITIES AND IDEAS PROVIDED BY THE WHITE MAN.

ORATORY SKILLS AND MANAGEMENT ABILITY

THE SECOND CONSIDERATION OF IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE HIGHLAND LEADERS AND THOSE OF THE SEABOARD, AND THE SUBSEQUENT EXPLANATION OF THE GREATER RECEPTIVITY TO THE WHITE MAN'S WAYS BY THE HIGHLANDERS CENTERS AROUND ORATORY SKILLS AND MANAGEMENT

ABILITY. WE SHALL NOW ATTEMPT TO SHOW AN IDEOLOGICAL SIMILARITY BETWEEN WESTERN CONCEPTS OF LEADERSHIP AND ECONOMICS AND THOSE OF THE HIGHLAND PEOPLES, AND FURTHER TO COMPARE LEADERSHIP QUALIFICATIONS IN THE HIGHLANDS WITH THOSE DESCRIBED BY DR. SAHLINS FOR MELANESIA IN GENERAL. MY RESEARCH HAS TENDED TO POINT UP ORATORY SKILLS AND MANAGEMENT ABILITY AS BEING THE TWO MOST PREVALENT QUALITIES OF LEADERSHIP SOUGHT IN THE HIGHLANDS. IN REFERENCE TO ORATORY SKILLS, FOR EXAMPLE, DR. RAPPAPORT SAYS OF THE TSEMBAGA:

> "WHETHER OR NOT A MAN IS A BIG MAN DEPENDS UPON HIS PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES. BIG MEN, IT IS SAID, HAVE 'TALK' (ČEP)... THEY HAVE OPINIONS... WHICH THEY CAN EXPRESS ARTICULATELY AND WHICH THEIR AUDITORS RESPECT." (RAPPAPORT, 1967:29)

IN TERMS OF MANAGEMENT ABILITY, RAPPAPORT DEFINES "BIG MEN" AMONG THE TSEMBAGA AS "THOSE WHO MORE FREQUENTLY THAN OTHER MEN INITIATE THE COURSES OF ACTION TO WHICH A GROUP COMMITS ITSELF" (RAPPAPORT, 1967:29).

DR. MARIE REAY CALLS THE SUBCLAN LEADERS OF THE KUMA "RHETORIC THUMPERS" AND SAYS THAT, "THE MEN WHO FILLED THESE ROLES PRACTISED A GENERALIZED LEADERSHIP WITH TWO FACETS, MANAGEMENT AND ORATORY" (REAY, 1964:244).

DR. SAHLINS' "BIG MEN," ON THE OTHER HAND, ARE DEFINITELY DESCRIBED AS COERCIVE ALMOST WITHOUT EXCEPTION, OFTEN TO THE POINT OF BEING EXTORTIONISTS. HIGHLANDS LITERATURE CONSISTENTLY DENIES THE EXISTENCE OF THIS TYPE OF LEADERSHIP BY ITS "BIG MEN," STATING MOST OFTEN THAT LEADERS IN THE HIGHLANDS DO NOT COERCE, DEMAND, OR REQUIRE THE CAPITAL OR LABOR OF THEIR FOLLOWERS. GIVING ORDERS, IN FACT, IS CONSIDERED TO BE AN INSULT IN THE HIGHLANDS, ACCORDING TO DR. SORENSON. TRADITIONALLY, HIGHLAND LEADERS SUGGEST COURSES OF ACTION RATHER THAN GIVE ORDERS. AS TRADITIONAL "BIG MEN" BEGIN TO

LOOK MORE LIKE BUSINESS ENTREPRENEURS, IN THE POST-WHITE SETTING, WE BEGIN TO SEE SOME EXCEPTIONS TO THIS FORM OF LEADERSHIP. FOR EXAMPLE, DR. FINNEY SAYS OF HIS GOROKANS THAT ON OCCASION SOME HAVE USED THEIR GOVERNMENT-APPOINTED POSITIONS TO FORCE LABOR OR MONETARY SUPPORT FROM THEIR FOLLOWERS, BUT THIS HAS ONLY OCCURRED RARELY, AND "THE LEADERS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO MAINTAIN THE FLOW OF FREE LABOR FOR LONG" (FINNEY, 1968:325).

DR. PAULA BROWN HAS REPORTED WHAT SHE TERMS "DESPOTISM" AMONG SOME POST-WHITE CHIMBU LEADERS WHO WERE APPOINTED TO POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP BY THE AUSTRALIANS, BUT ACCORDING TO THE BULK OF HIGHLAND LITERATURE, THIS PHENOMENON, IF IT OCCURS AT ALL, APPEARS TO BE THE EXCEPTION RATHER THAN THE RULE. FURTHERMORE, SHE, LIKE FINNEY, IS REFERRING TO THE POST-WHITE SITUATION. FROM ALL INDICATIONS, DESPOTIC LEADERSHIP CONTINUES TO FAIL IN THE HIGHLANDS BECAUSE THESE PEOPLE REFUSE TO FOLLOW THIS SORT OF DICTATORIAL RULE. MOREOVER, THE GOVERNMENT-APPOINTED HEADMEN (LULUAIS) CAN BE FORCED INTO ACTION NOW BY THE WHITE PATROL OFFICERS; WHEREAS, IN PRE-WHITE DAYS, AS WE HAVE ALREADY SAID, NO ONE COULD COMPEL THE "BIG MAN" TO ACT UNLESS HE WANTED TO.

AT ANY RATE, NO WRITER IN THE HIGHLANDS HAS DESCRIBED A "BIG MAN" EVEN HALF AS DESPOTIC AS THE LEADER, BUMBU, DESCRIBED BY DR. HOGBIN IN HIS ETHNOGRAPHIC ACCOUNT OF THE COASTAL BASUMA VILLAGE (HOGBIN, 1951).

ALL THIS EVIDENCE SEEMS TO FURTHER POINT UP MY CONTENTION THAT "BIG MEN" IN THE HIGHLANDS ARE MOST FREQUENTLY THOSE WHO ARE THE MOST GIFTED ORATORS AND THE MOST SUCCESSFUL MANAGERS, <u>BUT</u>, LEADERS IN THE HIGHLANDS DO NOT MAKE IT TO THE TOP RUNG UNLESS THEY EXPRESS THE INHERENT PERSONALITY TRAITS ASSOCIATED WITH EGALITARIAN AND INNOVATIVE IDEOLOGY.

IF WE WISH TO GET INTO A CULTURAL CHANGE STUDY OF HIGHLAND LEADERSHIP, A LOOK AT SPECIFIC HIGHLAND LEADERS DURING THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD BETWEEN THE TRADITIONAL TIME AND THE TIME OF THE INTRODUCTION OF AUSTRALIAN RULE IS ENLIGHTENING. THIS IS ESPECIALLY HELPFUL WHEN WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO ANALYZE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIGHLAND "BIG MEN" AND THOSE OF THE COASTAL REGIONS. READ CONTRASTS A TRADITIONAL LEADER, MAKIS, WITH A TRANSITIONAL LEADER-TYPE, GOLUWAIZO, IN HIS DISCUSSION OF THE GAHUKU-GAMA (READ, 1965). MARIE REAY MAKES A SIMILAR CONTRAST BETWEEN TRADITIONAL KUMA LEADER, KONANGIL, AND POST-AUSTRALIAN LEADER, NOPNOP (REAY, 1964). A THIRD CONTRAST IS MADE BY PAULA BROWN BETWEEN TRADITIONAL CHIMBU LEADER, KONDOM, AND A MORE WESTERNIZED LEADER, SIWI (BROWN, 1972). IN ALL CASES, THE TRADITIONAL LEADER WAS AS WE HAVE DESCRIBED HIM, BUT THE THREE POST-WHITE LEADERS APPOINTED BY THE AUSTRALIANS WERE CLEARLY INCLINED TO ACT DIFFERENTLY - MORE DESPOTIC, AS IN THE CASE OF GOLUWAIZO, OR MORE PERSONALLY AMBITIOUS, AS IN THE CASES OF NOPNOP AND SIWI.

IN PRE-WHITE DAYS, SOME OF THE MAIN FUNCTIONS OF A "BIG MAN" WERE TO ARRANGE AND MANAGE PIG-FEASTS (WHERE AN INDIVIDUAL IN ONE GROUP EXCHANGED WITH AN INDIVIDUAL IN ANOTHER GROUP), TO ARRANGE THE EXCHANGE OF BRIDE WEALTH, AND TO ORGANIZE INITIATION CEREMONIES AND OTHER RITUAL ACTIVITIES. SINCE, IN THESE FUNCTIONS, ONE OF THE MAIN PROBLEMS WAS A MATTER OF TIMING, THE PURPOSE BEING TO GET ALL THE EXCHANGES CORRELATED IN TERMS OF DATE AND LOCATION, THE BEST LEADERS WERE THOSE ABLE TO DEMONSTRATE MANAGERIAL SKILL OF A HIGH ORDER.

BY WAY OF EXAMPLE, DR. DARCY RYAN SAYS THAT AMONG THE MENDI HE HAS SEEN UP TO A THOUSAND PIGS SLAUGHTERED FOR ONE OF THESE INTER-GROUP DISPLAYS ATTRACTING THOUSANDS OF VISITORS, AN OCCASION

WHICH MAY NECESSITATE FIVE YEARS OF COMPLICATED GIFT TRANSACTIONS BY THE INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANT DONORS, IN ORDER TO ACQUIRE THE NECESSARY PIGS (RYAN, 1959). THIS IMPLIES THAT THE "BIG MEN" RESPONSIBLE FOR THE FINAL SLAUGHTER OF A THOUSAND PIGS AND THE COORDINATING OF THE ACTIVITIES OF THE THOUSANDS OF ATTENDANTS HAVE TO DEMONSTRATE A VERY HIGH LEVEL OF ORGANIZATIONAL ABILITY, AND WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT ORATORY PLAYED A TREMENDOUS PART IN THE SUCCESS OF THESE OCCASIONS.

STATUS AND REPUTATION

THIRDLY, AND FINALLY, THE "BIG MEN" IN THE HIGHLANDS IN PRE-WHITE DAYS SHOWED AN EXTREME DESIRE TO ACHIEVE STATUS AND TO ENHANCE THEIR REPUTATIONS AS GREAT LEADERS OR SUCCESSFUL INNOVATORS. THEIR ATTITUDES IN THIS RESPECT WERE MUCH MORE AKIN TO THE HIGH DEGREE OF STATUS-CONSCIOUSNESS WHICH WE KNOW TO BE PREVALENT IN THE UNITED STATES THAN WERE THOSE OF THE "BIG MEN" OF THE SEABOARD AREAS. HOWEVER, THE HIGHLAND ATTITUDES TOWARD STATUS, AS OPPOSED, I BELIEVE, TO THE ATTITUDES IN THE UNITED STATES FALL WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF EGALITARIAN IDEOLOGY. ALL OF THE LABELS THAT ARE COMMONLY USED TO TRY TO DESCRIBE THE WESTERN ACHIEVEMENT-SYNDROME CAN BE APPLIED TO THE PRE-WHITE ACTIVITIES OF THE HIGHLANDERS, AND, INDEED, MANY OF THOSE LABELS HAVE BEEN USED ALREADY BY ANTHROPOLOGISTS. THUS, MARIE REAY, AND SHE WAS ONE OF THE FIRST TO WORK IN THE HIGHLANDS, SAYS OF THE KUMA:

> "THE KUMA 'BIG MEN' OR 'MEN OF STRENGTH' WHO CAN COMMAND MUCH WEALTH ARE ENTREPRENEURS..THEIR PROFIT IN THESE TRANSACTIONS (I.E. PIG-FEASTS) IS INCREMENTAL REPUTATION. INTANGIBLE AS REPUTATION MAY SEEM, IT IS THE ULTIMATE THAT THE KUMA SEEK THROUGH THE PURSUIT OF SECULAR VALUES." (REAY, 1959:96)

Says Dr. Bulmer of the Kyaka:

> "Moka exchanges are a particularly important field for individual enterprise in gaining power and prestige in a social system where leadership and influence are almost entirely achieved rather than ascribed." (Bulmer, 1960: 252)

Space does not permit any more examples, but those given surely show how important it was in pre-white days for highland leaders to seek reputation and prestige fairly, through what Finney calls "conspicuous investment," as opposed to Veblen's term "conspicuous consumption" in reference to the display of wealth in America.

CONCLUSIONS

In light of statements such as those just mentioned and others already quoted in this paper, I believe we can go further than Dr. Lawrence (1967) has gone in defining the ideology of the highlands. He said that in the highlands, cognitive systems placed a great deal of emphasis on secular thought. My conclusions are that the emphasis on secular thought can be broken down into at least three ideological components: (1) egalitarianism associated with innovativeness, (2) oratorical skills coupled with management ability, and (3) flexibility in the pursuit of status and reputation. Westerners may have difficulty understanding an ideological system in which these three elements are combined, but this is why exploring highland ideology is so frustrating and yet so fascinating to many anthropologists.

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SISALA MARRIAGE[1]

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ABSTRACT

SISALA MARRIAGE IS SIMILAR TO MARRIAGE AMONG OTHER TRIBAL GROUPS IN NORTHERN GHANA (CF. FORTES 1949, GOODY 1967). THE AGNATIC LINEAGE IS THE IMPORTANT UNILINEAL DESCENT GROUP VIS-A-VIS MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE PAYMENTS ARE PAID BY THE GROOM'S LINEAGE TO THE LINEAGE OF THE BRIDE. THIS IS NOT ONLY A STRUCTURAL IDEAL, BUT A REALITY OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION. PATRILOCAL RESIDENCE FACILITATES THE UNITY OF THE AGNATIC DESCENT GROUP WHILE IT STRAINS A WOMAN'S PATRILINEAL TIES (CF. MURDOCK 1949:202).

Sisala Social Structure

The Sisala live mainly in the Tumu District in Northern Ghana. The environment is African savanna which is primarily bush due to the relatively low population density. The Sisala show cultural uniformity with the other tribes of the Ashanti hinterland; that is, they are patrilineal with a Guinea-type social structure and they practice hoe-horticulture to produce a subsistence diet of millet, sorghum, maize, yams and rice. Cattle are kept in small numbers for sacrificial and marriage purposes.

Agnatic kinship is the keystone of Sisala social structure. Their society is divided into a number of patri-clans (-viara) which form localized ritual units having a common interest in a parish. The clan is an exogamous unit made up of several villages or sometimes village segments. The village (tang or jang) is the important focal point of identification for an individual. Patrilocal residence dictates, therefore, a divided sense of identification for the woman, while men remain firmly rooted in their natal villages. A village is normally divided into a series of lineages (jechiking) which is arranged to form two reciprocal burial groups; viz., the village is divided into two halves. While the entire village considers itself to be one body of kinsmen, kinship increases in intensity as the units of the segmentary system become smaller and therefore the reciprocal burial groups are felt to be "brother" groups. The lineage (jechiking) is the important corporate unit. It is the subsistence-residential homestead or walled enclosure inhabited by an agnatic extended family. This unit is further divided into compounds or yards (kaala) made up of joint families who farm together. Each kaala is divided into houses (diasang) and rooms

(DIA). IN THIS SEGMENTARY SYSTEM THE DEVELOPMENTAL CYCLE IS A CONTINUAL ENLARGEMENT OF THE SINGLE ROOM (DIA), DUE TO MARRIAGE AND CHILDBIRTH, INTO HIGHER ORDER UNITS WHICH MAY EVENTUALLY RESULT IN FISSION AND THE REPETITION OF THE PROCESS.

TODAY THE ISALUNG-SPEAKERS ARE GOVERNED BY A PARAMOUNT CHIEF (THE TUMUKUORO) AND VARIOUS VILLAGE CHIEFS (KUORO) OF WHICH TWELVE ARE DIVISIONAL CHIEFS. THIS SYSTEM WAS INITIATED BY THE BRITISH DURING THEIR COLONIAL EFFORTS IN NORTHERN GHANA AND ALTHOUGH THESE POLITICAL UNITS DID NOT CORRESPOND TO TRADITIONAL ONES THEY HAVE BECOME REALITIES SINCE. THE MOST IMPORTANT PRE-COLONIAL POLITICAL UNIT WAS THE VILLAGE (JANG) UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF THE VILLAGE TINTEINTINA (CUSTODIAN OF THE EARTH) AND THE ELDERS (NIHISING). SINCE THERE WERE NO "CHIEFS," THE TINTEINTINA WIELDED POLITICO-RITUAL POWER BASED ON HIS CONTROL OF THE ANCESTRAL SHRINES. TODAY THE VILLAGE CHIEF (KUORO) HAS TAKEN ON THE POLITICAL FUNCTIONS WHILE THE TINTEINTINA HAS REMAINED CONCERNED WITH RITUAL MATTERS SUCH AS THE FERTILITY OF THE EARTH AND THE FECUNDITY OF WOMEN.

SISALA SOCIETY IS A GERONTOCRACY AND LIFE IS A SERIES OF AGE-BASED STAGES OR GRADES. THERE ARE TWO IMPORTANT RITES DE PASSAGE FOR A MAN OR WOMAN; NAMELY, MARRIAGE (JAANUNG) AND DEATH (SUUNUNG). THE FIRST ALLOWS THE PASSAGE FROM THE STATUS OF SMALL BOY (HENMIE; GIRL=HANTOLOWIE) TO ADULT (NIWANG). THIS TRANSITION IS FURTHER ENHANCED WHEN THE MARRIAGE PRODUCES LIVING OFFSPRING. THE SECOND RITE OF PASSAGE COMES AT A PERSON'S DEATH, NECESSITATING THE PERFORMANCE OF ELABORATE FUNERARY RITES MARKING PASSAGE FROM THE STATUS OF LIVING ADULT OR PREFERABLY ELDER (NIHIANG) TO A REMEMBERED ANCESTOR (LELUNG).

Marriage

It is the dream of all bachelors to get a wife. They are derided in many stories which point out their lonely deficiencies and when, e. g., married men hear the cry of the rock-pigeon (jempuriwe) in the night it is said they laugh and insult the bachelors since the cry of the bird is thought to sound like the phrase, "a bachelor sleeps without anything covering his anus." The bird insults the bachelors every night and the married men are happy that they do not have to sleep alone. It would, of course, be in bad taste for a married man to actually ridicule an unmarried man, but the story points out the fact that to be married is one of the most important events of life.

Because of polygyny, there are often young men in the lineage who do not have wives while older men have several and thus the period of jural-minority is extended for men, while women enter into the marriage arrangement quite young, sometimes before, but usually after the first menstruation (cf. Table 1).

TABLE 1. AGE OF FEMALES AT MARRIAGE

	AGE IN YEARS					
	Before Birth	Birth-6	7-12 (No Breasts)	13-18 (Breasts)	19-25	Above 25
N	6	6	105	230	135	4
%	12.4	12.4	21.6	47.3	27.8	8.23

N = 486

As soon as a girl begins to develop breasts (yilaa) and pubic hair (mengpunaa) she may begin to entertain lovers (helaa). Attractive girls attract many lovers very soon, but no girl goes long without some sort of suitor. Young men are always on the lookout for marriageable girls and it is one of the functions of the market (yobo)

AND THE FUNERAL (YOHO) TO PROVIDE MEETING PLACES IN CROWDED CONDITIONS FOR THE YOUNG LOVERS. A BOY MAY ROAM IN SEARCH OF A WIFE (A DUURUNG HAALA NE) AND WHEN HE SEES A GIRL HE IS ATTRACTED TO, HE ASKS A MALE OF THAT TOWN, "IS THAT GIRL A DAUGHTER OR A WIFE?" IF HE REPLIES THAT SHE IS A DAUGHTER, THE BOY APPROACHES HER AND TELLS HER THAT HE HAS BEEN WATCHING HER AND NOW LOVES (CHONG)^2 HER (CF. MARRIAGE HISTORY 1). IF SHE HAS RECIPROCAL FEELINGS SHE ACCEPTS A SMALL GIFT HE PRESENTS TO HER, FORMERLY A FEW PESEWAS BUT NOW ONE OR TWO CEDIS, AND RECIPROCATES WITH A SMALL GIFT OF HER OWN, USUALLY OF LESSER VALUE. THEY ARE NOW LOVERS (HELAA) MEANING THAT AT A FUNERAL OR MARKET THEY CAN MEET AND TALK. IF THE CHANCE PRESENTS ITSELF, OR THEY MAKE PREPARATIONS, THEY WILL HAVE SEX (PENG HAALA). THIS IS NOT THOUGHT TO BE IMMORAL AND PREGNANCIES THAT RESULT ARE NOT CONSIDERED UNFORTUNATE UNLESS THE GIRL MUST LEAVE SCHOOL. HOWEVER, THIS APPLIES MAINLY TO TUMU AND LARGER VILLAGES WITH SCHOOLS. IN SUCH A PLACE THERE ARE MANY MORE MARRIAGEABLE PARTNERS LIVING IN CLOSE PROXIMITY TO EACH OTHER, WHEREAS IN THE RURAL VILLAGE, EXOGAMY DICTATES THAT THE MAN MUST SEEK HIS WIFE FROM OUTSIDE THE CLAN. FOR THE VILLAGE OF BUJAN, THIS MEANS A YOUNG MAN MUST TRAVEL SEVERAL MILES TO SEE HIS LOVER, CONSEQUENTLY THE NUMBER OF SUCH CONTACTS IS MUCH LESS FREQUENT THAN IN A PLACE LIKE TUMU WHERE A BACHELOR ONLY HAS TO WALK ACROSS TOWN TO THE ZONGO (STRANGER'S PLACE) TO FIND LOVERS.

MARRIAGE HISTORY 1. THE MARRIAGE OF CEDU

NAME: CEDU
LINEAGE: FUOJANG OF BUJAN
AGE: CA. 50
CONDITION: GOING BLIND, BUT STILL ABLE TO FARM.
1ST WIFE: HATONMIE
HER VILLAGE: VANJANG
MARRIAGE DATE: CA. 1951 BEFORE TIME OF INDEPENDENCE.
HIS AGE AT MARRIAGE: CA. 30
HER AGE AT MARRIAGE: CA. 15
HOW ACQUIRED: HE ACCOMPANIED HIS BROTHER TO THAT SAME VILLAGE WHILE HE WAS IN SEARCH OF A WIFE AND MET HATONMIE. HE TOOK HER AS A LOVER AND LATER WENT BACK WITH THE HAALAKIAA "MANY TIMES."
AGE FIRST PREGNANT: STRAIGHTAWAY.
CHILDREN: SIX LIVING. FIVE DIED.
BRIDEWEALTH: PAID

AS TIME PASSES THE RELATIONSHIP DEVELOPS TO THE POINT WHERE THE BOY WISHES TO MARRY (JAA) THE GIRL. IF HE CAN PERSUADE HIS FATHER TO PROVIDE THE MARRIAGE PAYMENTS (HAALAKIAA) HE CAN BEGIN TO PRESENT THEM. IF HE HAS SOME MONEY OF HIS OWN, WHICH IS HIGHLY UNLIKELY, HE CAN USE THIS, BUT IN MOST CASES HE IS DEPENDENT ON THE WILL OF HIS FATHER, OR LACKING A REAL FATHER, HIS KAALATINA (COMPOUND ELDER) WHOSE PERMISSION TO MARRY IS MANDATORY SINCE HE, IN MOST CASES, IS THE ONLY SOURCE OF THE HAALAKIAA.

THE HAALAKIAA ARE PAID IN A SERIES OF INSTALLMENTS OVER APPROXIMATELY A YEAR'S TIME. IF A GIRL'S FATHER IS ANXIOUS TO MARRY HIS DAUGHTER OFF (BUGE)[3] HE MAY LET HER GO AFTER TWO OR THREE MONTHS, BUT THIS IS NOT THE NORM. THE PAYMENTS ARE MADE BY THE YOUNG MAN, WHO IS ACCOMPANIED BY A KINSMAN OF HIS VILLAGE AND THE SIPATORO (GO-BETWEEN) FOR HIS VILLAGE. WHEN THE PARTY ARRIVES AT THE BRIDE'S VILLAGE THEY ARE GIVEN WATER AND FOOD. THE HAALAKIAA INSTALLMENT IS PAID DIRECTLY TO THE JECHIKINTINA (LINEAGE ELDER) BUT MUST NOT BE PAID DIRECTLY TO HIM IF HE IS THE FATHER OF THE BRIDE, IN WHICH CASE ONE OF THE BRIDE'S BROTHERS

WILL RECEIVE IT FOR THE JECHIKINTINA. THE FATHER SHOULD NOT RECEIVE IT DIRECTLY SO AS NOT TO APPEAR TO SELL (YALLE) HIS DAUGHTER, WHEREAS IT IS ACCEPTABLE FOR A BROTHER TO BE CONCERNED WITH THE MARRIAGE OF HIS SISTER. LIKEWISE, WHEN THE FINAL PAYMENT IS MADE AND THE GIRL IS COLLECTED TO HER HUSBAND'S VILLAGE, THE FATHER DOES NOT GIVE HER AWAY; IT MUST BE ONE OF HER BROTHERS WHO PERFORMS THIS CEREMONY.

THE HAALAKIAA PAYMENTS HAVE CHANGED THROUGH THE YEARS (CF. RATTRAY 1932:500), AND TODAY IT IS FELT THAT EACH INSTALLMENT SHOULD INCLUDE BETWEEN FIFTY AND ONE HUNDRED KOLA NUTS (GUOURI), SOME NATIVE GIN (APETISHI) AND TOBACCO (TOBA). THE FOLLOWING IS AN ACTUAL ACCOUNTING OF THE ITEMS BROUGHT AS A FIFTH AND FINAL MARRIAGE PAYMENT TO THE LINEAGE OF FORKOJANG IN BUJAN. THEY WERE BROUGHT BY A MAN FROM MANDUONG, WHO ON HIS NEXT VISIT WAS GIVEN THE GIRL. THE ITEMS WERE RECEIVED BY THE GIRL'S BROTHER, DAJAN, WHO DISTRIBUTED THEM TO THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE LINEAGE:

FIFTY KOLA NUTS
1 LARGE BOTTLE OF APETISHI
LARGE CONTAINER OF TOBACCO[4]

THESE ITEMS WERE DISTRIBUTED AS FOLLOWS: ONE-HALF BOTTLE OF GIN WENT TO THE JECHIKINTINA AND THE OTHER HALF WENT TO THE ELDEST MAN OF THE LINEAGE WHO IS THE TINTEINTINA OF THE VILLAGE. THE KOLA NUTS WERE DIVIDED AMONGST THE CLASSIFICATORY FATHERS OF THE GIRL, WITH THE LARGEST AMOUNT GOING TO THE JECHIKINTINA, AND SOME WENT TO THE GIRL'S CLASSIFICATORY BROTHERS. PAINS WERE TAKEN TO MAKE SURE EVERY ADULT MALE IN THE LINEAGE RECEIVED SOME OF THE TOBACCO BUT NONE OF THE HAALAKIAA LEFT THE LIMITS OF THE JECHIKING.

THE NEXT DAY THE PROSPECTIVE GROOM AND HIS PARTY GOES TO THE FATHER'S FARM AND WORKS THERE AND THE FOLLOWING DAY THIS IS REPEATED.

On the third morning the groom begs (sul) to take his leave and returns to his home village. He returns again several times and repeats the process and if he is lucky, for there may be other suitors doing the same thing, after four or five journeys he is given permission to return for the girl, and only then does a marriage ceremony take place.

If a man pursues a girl and makes several payments of the haalakiaa and the girl's father is greedy or stubborn, the young man may decide to abduct the girl (cf. Marriage History 2). The couple will take up patrilocal residence as is normal, and the husband will send a message to the wife's father informing him of the whereabouts of his daughter.

Marriage History 2. The Marriage of Baton

Name: Baton
Lineage: Forkorjang
Age: ca. 35
Condition: Healthy farmer.
1st wife: Nimuna
Her village: Jana
Marriage date: ca. 1962.
His age at marriage: ca. 26
Her age at marriage: ca. 15
How acquired: Collusive capture. He had taken the girl as a lover, but the parents were against the marriage. So he arranged with one of the girl's brothers to steal her away. Later Baton returned to her village with placation gifts and eventually paid the full hajarikiaa.
Age first pregnant: Straightaway, but she has great difficulty in childbirth.
Children: Two living, one died.
Bridewealth: not yet paid.

Often the husband will have enlisted the aid of one of the girl's brothers in the elopement, and he will act as mediator in the affair.

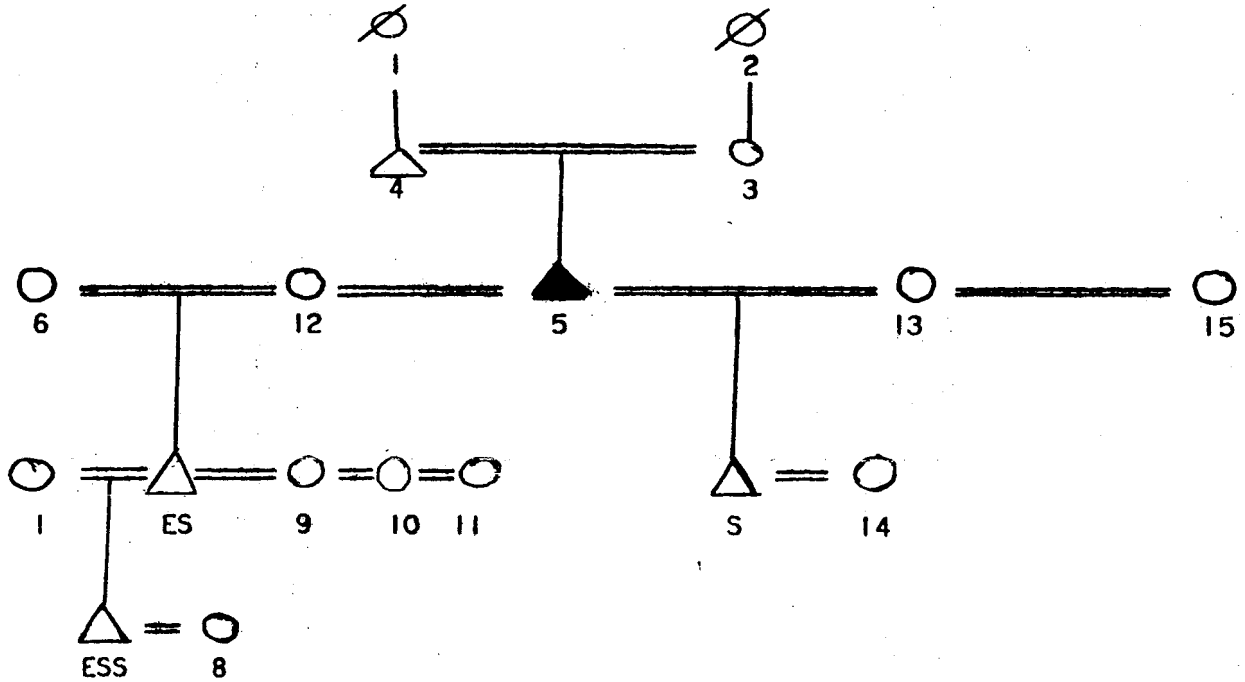
UNLESS A FATHER IS DEFINITELY AGAINST THE UNION, HE ONLY ASKS FOR THE REMAINING HAALAKIAA AND THE PERFORMANCE OF THE CUSTOMARY SACRIFICE OF THE GIRL'S NATAL COMPOUND SHRINE. SOMETIMES A MOTHER AIDS HER DAUGHTER TO ESCAPE WITH THE MAN SHE LOVES OVER AND AGAINST THE WISHES OF THE FATHER. A MOTHER IS THOUGHT TO UNDERSTAND HER DAUGHTER BETTER THAN THE FATHER, AND TO UNDERSTAND "LOVE" (CHONG) BETTER. ONCE, WHILE DISCUSSING THIS WITH AN OLD MAN IN THE VILLAGE, I ASKED HIM IF THIS WAS ACCEPTABLE, VIZ., FOR A MAN'S WIFE TO SIDE WITH HER DAUGHTER IN SUCH A CASE, AND HE UNDERSTANDABLY SAID, "NO, SHE SHOULD ALWAYS SUPPORT HER HUSBAND." HOWEVER, JUST THEN HIS WIFE STUCK HER HEAD OUT FROM HER ROOM AND SAID, "OH YES SHE CAN!"

MARRIAGE AND SEX WITHIN LINEAGE AND CLAN ARE IDEALLY FORBIDDEN. EGO'S MOTHER'S CLAN IS ALSO TABOO FOR MARRIAGE PURPOSES. A MAN CANNOT MARRY INTO ANY KAALA (COMPOUND) FROM WHICH HIS FATHER HAS A WIFE OR FROM THE KAALA OF HIS FATHER'S MOTHER. HE SHOULD ALSO NOT TAKE ANY WIFE FROM A KAALA INTO WHICH HIS DAUGHTER HAS MARRIED. THIS IS VIEWED AS AN EXCHANGE OF DAUGHTERS IN MARRIAGE, WHICH IS EXPRESSLY FORBIDDEN. INFORMANTS ALWAYS STRESSED THIS POINT; THAT A MAN CANNOT EXCHANGE A DAUGHTER FOR A WIFE. IDEALLY ONE SHOULD NOT MARRY ANY PERSON WITH THE SAME TOTEMIC TABOO, EVEN IF THEY ARE NOT FROM THE SAME CLAN. ALSO WHEN A VILLAGE IS COMPOSED OF MANY CLAN SEGMENTS, MEMBERS OF THOSE CLAN SEGMENTS SHOULD NOT EXCHANGE MARRIAGE PARTNERS WITHIN THE VILLAGE LIMITS. THESE ARE ALL IDEALS. IN ACTUAL FACT, I FOUND CASES OF BREACH IN EVERY INSTANCE, THOUGH MOST COMMUNITY MEMBERS FOLLOW THE RULES. TODAY THE MOST FIRM RULE SEEMS TO BE VILLAGE EXOGAMY, WHERE THE MEMBERS OF THAT VILLAGE ARE ALL FROM ONE CLAN AND THE MAJORITY OF PERSONS MARRY OUTSIDE THEIR OWN CLAN. THE EXCEPTIONS TO THIS RULE SEEM TO BE PERSONS OF DUBIOUS GENEALOGICAL BACKGROUND SUCH AS DESCENDANTS OF SLAVES (YOMO)

AND STRANGERS (NIHUORO). THE OTHER DOCUMENTED EXCEPTIONS ARE CHIEFS, WHO OFTEN ABUSED THEIR POWER IN A SEARCH OF LARGE NUMBERS OF WIVES. IT HAS BEEN KNOWN TO HAPPEN THAT A CHIEF HEARING A COURT CASE OF A MARRIAGE DISPUTE, SETTLED THE AFFAIR BY TAKING THE PRETTY YOUNG WIFE FOR HIMSELF. APPARENTLY IN THE RUSH FOR WIVES SOME OF THE RULES WERE BROKEN, BUT, BY AND LARGE, MOST PERSONS OBSERVE THE RULE OF EXOGAMY FOR THE VILLAGE AND CLAN.

THERE ARE NO PREFERRED FIRST MARRIAGE PARTNERS AND A MAN WILL SEEK ANY GIRL WHO IS NOT IN A PROHIBITED CLASS AND WHO IS PROXIMATE AND ACCESSIBLE (MEN TEND TO MARRY INTO THOSE NON-PROHIBITED VILLAGES IMMEDIATELY SURROUNDING THEIR VILLAGE OF BIRTH (CF. MARRIAGE HISTORY 3 AND MAP).)

MARRIAGE HISTORY 3. MARRIAGE HISTORY OF THE EXTENDED FAMILY OF BAADI



Baadi's Kin	Village of Kin	Clan of Kin
1. FM	Nansijang*	Gangachomo?
2. MM	Jana (nabiewale)	Weme we tan
3. M	Dolbizan (kpang)	Gangachomo
4. F	Bujan	Nyiba
5. Baadi	Bujan (resided Chinchan)**	Nyiba
6. EW	Natolo	Kasena village
7. ESEW	Tumu	Gilingang
8. ESESW	Pina	Kampoa
9. ES2W	Tumu (katiing to #7)	Gilingang
10. ES3W	Kowie	Gangachoho and nyiba
11. ES4W	Kowie (katiing to #10)	Gangachoho and nyiba
12. 2W	Natolo (katiing to #6)	Kasena village
13. 3W	Tumu	Gilingang
14. SW	Pina	Kampoa
15. 4W	Kowie	Gungachoho and nyiba

*Defunct Village
**Baadi was born in the village of Bujan but was brought to the village of Chinchan by his father. Chinchan was Baadi's FFMB village.

However, for second marriages, and subsequent ones, wife's younger sister is the most preferred union and often she will come at a very early age to be a katiing or "servant" to her elder sister (cf. Tables 2 and 3).

Table 2. KATIING MARRIAGES

	Katiing Marriages	Non-Katiing Marriages	Total
N	163	323	486
%	33.6	66.4	100

Table 3. AGE OF BECOMING A KATIING

	Age in years												
	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	Total
N	1	7	3	5	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	1	22
%	4.6	31.8	13.6	22.7	0	0	9.1	13.6	0	0	0	4.6	100

THIS NORMALLY OCCURS AFTER THE ELDER SISTER HAS BORNE A SECOND CHILD AND NEEDS HELP WITH THE CHILDREN AND THE DOMESTIC CHORES. IF AFTER THE GIRL HAS SPENT A NUMBER OF YEARS AS A KATIING IN THAT KAALA AND HER ELDER SISTER'S HUSBAND WISHES TO MARRY HER, HE PRESENTS THE HAALAKIAA AND TAKES HER AS A FORMAL WIFE. IF THE GIRL IS OLD ENOUGH TO HAVE SEX AT THE TIME SHE COMES AS A KATIING, THE HUSBAND MAY TAKE HER AS A LOVER (HELA) AND SLEEP WITH HER IN HIS VILLAGE BUT NEVER THE VILLAGE OF HER FATHER. IF SHE HAS SEX WITH ONE OTHER THAN THE HUSBAND OF HER SISTER, IT IS A BAD THING (BIZONG). TAUXIER (1912:345) NOTES THAT THE HUSBAND COULD DEMAND A PAYMENT OF 10,000 COWRIES FROM THE LOVER WHICH INDICATES THAT A MAN HOLDS RIGHTS IN UXOREM OVER A KATIING. IF THERE IS A MAN IN THAT SAME KAALA IN NEED OF A WIFE, THE HUSBAND OF HER SISTER MAY GIVE HER TO THE MAN WHEN SHE IS GROWN. CONFLICTS OVER THE AFFECTIONS OF A KATIING ARE SOMETIMES A SOURCE OF INTRA-LINEAGE CONFLICT. SHE SHOULD OBEY HER ELDER SISTER IN EVERY WAY AND TO CAUSE TROUBLE IN THE KAALA IS A GRAVE WRONG. IF SUCH A THING HAPPENS AND THE ELDER SISTER WANTS TO GET RID OF THE KATIING SHE WILL BLOW ASH (TWORUNG) ON THE GIRL, DRIVING HER OUT OF THE HUSBAND'S KAALA. THE SISALA BELIEVE THAT SUCH AN ACT WILL CAUSE THE KATIING TO BE A STERILE WOMAN (HAPURUNG), OR TO SUFFER SOME OTHER UNFORTUNATE FATE. WHEN A FUOJANG WOMAN DROVE AWAY HER KATIING, AND DIED HERSELF SHORTLY THEREAFTER, ONLY TO BE FOLLOWED IN DEATH BY HER KATIING WITHIN A FEW DAYS, THE PEOPLE INTERPRETED THIS AS DUE TO THE BLOWING OF ASH. SOMETIMES THE KATIING RUNS AWAY WITH A LOVER TO BE MARRIED IN ANOTHER VILLAGE, BUT THE RELATIONSHIP STILL REMAINS IN THEORY UNLESS THE ASH IS BLOWN ON HER BY HER ELDER SISTER.

RATTRAY (1932) REPORTS THAT ANOTHER PREFERRED SECONDARY MARRIAGE PARTNER IS A WIFE'S BROTHER'S DAUGHTER. THIS IDEAL WAS CONFIRMED BY MY INFORMANTS, BUT TABLE 5 SHOWS NO SUCH MARRIAGES. THE HUSBAND CALLS THIS GIRL "MY WIFE'S SERVANT" (MI HAAL KATIING) AND IN THE ABSENCE OF A YOUNGER SISTER TO COME AS A KATIING SHE MAY BE SUBSTITUTED (CF. TABLES 4 AND 5). THE WIFE'S SISTER'S DAUGHTER IS A PROHIBITED MARRIAGE PARTNER, AND THE HUSBAND CALLS HER DAUGHTER (TOLO).

TABLE 4 WOMEN WITH KATIING

	WOMEN WITH KATIING*	WOMEN WITHOUT KATIING	TOTAL
N	116	370	486
%	23.9	76.1	100

*OF THE 116 WOMEN WITH KATIING, 109 HAD ONE, 7 HAD TWO.

TABLE 5 RELATION OF WIFE TO HER KATIING

	KATIING STATUS				
	N/A	YZ, SAME LINEAGE	YZ, SAME VILLAGE	WBD	TOTAL
N	1	114	1	0	116
%	.85	98.3	.85	0	100

ALTHOUGH MOST MEN CANNOT AFFORD MANY WIVES SORORAL POLYGYNY IS SEEN AS A PREFERRED FORM OF MARRIAGE (CF. MARRIAGE HISTORY 4). SOME MEN FEEL THIS LEADS TO EXTRA TROUBLE IN THE KAALA. THEY SAY THAT AN ELDER SISTER WILL TEND TO BE MORE SEVERE WITH A YOUNGER SISTER-WIFE AND BEAT HER CAUSING CONFLICT IN THE KAALA. THEY ALSO SAY THAT IF THE SENIOR WIFE DECIDES TO DIVORCE THE MAN, THAT THE JUNIOR WIFE WILL MOST OFTEN

LEAVE TOO, THUS A MAN HAS A CHANCE OF LOSING TWO WIVES INSTEAD OF ONE. A MAN WITH SORORAL WIVES MAY SEEK ANOTHER WIFE FROM A DIFFERENT PLACE AS INSURANCE AGAINST BEING LEFT ALONE. INFORMANTS TOLD ME THAT IN THE OLD DAYS THE MARRIAGE PAYMENTS (HAALAKIAA) AND PROGENY-PRICE (HAJARIKIAA)[5] WERE REDUCED BY HALF FOR A SORORAL WIFE, BUT TODAY THIS IS NOT DONE. WHEN I ASKED THEM WHY THE CHANGE HAD TAKEN PLACE, THEY COULD ONLY ANSWER THAT "TODAY MEN ARE GREEDY AND WANT A FULL HAJARIKIAA." IF THIS WERE THE CASE IN FORMER TIMES, IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A BIG FACTOR IN MAKING SORORAL POLYGYNY A PREFERRED FORM OF MARRIAGE DESPITE THE FEELING THAT SISTERS QUARREL MORE READILY.

THERE ARE NO ELABORATE MARRIAGE CEREMONIES AMONG THE SISALA, BUT MARRIAGE (JAANUNG) IS AN IMPORTANT RITE OF PASSAGE NONETHELESS. OFTEN WHEN I WOULD ASK INFORMANTS IF THERE WERE ANY CEREMONIES TO MARK THE PASSAGE OF A YOUNG MAN OR WOMAN INTO ADULTHOOD THEY WOULD ANSWER, "NO, ONLY IF A PERSON IS GROWN, THEN THEY GET HIM A WIFE." BECAUSE OF POLYGYNY, FINDING A MARRIAGE PARTNER IS DIFFICULT FOR A YOUNG MAN. IT IS THEREFORE POSSIBLE TO ASK FOR A VERY YOUNG GIRL IN MARRIAGE OR EVEN TO ASK FOR AN UNBORN CHILD, VIZ., IF A MAN IN SEARCH OF A WIFE SEES A PREGNANT WOMAN HE MAY APPROACH HER AND SAY, "IF YOUR CHILD IS A BOY, LET HIM BE MY FRIEND. IF IT IS A GIRL, LET HER BE MY WIFE." IF THE WOMAN AGREES HE WILL GIVE HER A SMALL GIFT, USUALLY 10 TO 20 PESEWAS.[6] IF IT TURNS OUT TO BE A GIRL THE MAN BRINGS A BASKET OF MILLET (MIA) AND SALT (YISING) FOR THE MOTHER WHEN THE GIRL IS ABOUT FOUR YEARS OLD. THIS IS REPEATED THREE TIMES AND THE GIRL IS INFORMED OF HER "HUSBAND'S" CALL EACH TIME. WHEN THE GIRL IS OLD ENOUGH TO GO AWAY WITH THE "HUSBAND," HE WILL BEGIN TO BRING THE FORMAL HAALAKIAA PAYMENTS AND EVENTUALLY TAKES THE GIRL TO HIS VILLAGE.

OLDER INFORMANTS REMEMBERED THE OLD DAYS WHEN THE SISALA BOUGHT WIVES (YO HAALA) FROM THE SLAVERS. THEY WOULD EVEN CHECK THE HEALTH OF THE WIFE AND ESPECIALLY CHECK HER TEETH AND HER LIMBS TO SEE IF SHE COULD CARRY HEAVY LOADS, BUT TODAY EVEN HINT THAT A MAN WOULD BUY A WIFE IS TO INSULT HIM. IF ONE SUGGESTS THAT THE PAYMENT OF HAALAKIAA CONSTITUTES WIFE PURCHASE, ONE IS IN FOR A HEATED DISCUSSION.

MARRIAGE HISTORY 4. THE MARRIAGES OF BREMA-LURI

NAME: BREMA-LURI
LINEAGE: FORKORJANG (HE IS JECHIKINTINA).
AGE: CA. 65
CONDITION: BLIND AND OLD
1ST WIFE: KADUA
HER VILLAGE: PINA
MARRIAGE DATE: CA. 1926
HIS AGE AT MARRIAGE: CA. 20
HER AGE AT MARRIAGE: SHE HAD MARRIED HIS ELDER BROTHER AT THE AGE OF SEVEN YEARS. BREMA-LURI INHERITED HER AT THE DEATH OF HIS ELDER BROTHER. HER AGE AT THIS TIME UNDETERMINED.
CHILDREN: TWO ALIVE, MANY DIED.
BRIDEWEALTH: PAID
2ND WIFE: BODONGOCHU
HER VILLAGE: PINA
MARRIAGE DATE: CA. 1926
HIS AGE AT MARRIAGE: CA. 22
HER AGE AT MARRIAGE: CA. 7
HOW ACQUIRED: SHE CAME AS A KATIING TO THE FIRST WIFE.
AGE FIRST PREGNANT: CA. 15
CHILDREN: THREE LIVING
BRIDEWEALTH: PAID DURING WORLD WAR II.
3RD WIFE: BANYEAFI
HER VILLAGE: TUMU
MARRIAGE DATE: CA. 1930
HIS AGE AT MARRIAGE: CA. 24
HER AGE AT MARRIAGE: CA. 15
HOW ACQUIRED: HE SAW HER AT TUMU MARKET AND ASKED IF SHE WAS A DAUGHTER. THEN HE TOOK HER AS A LOVER. LATER HE MARRIED HER.
AGE OF FIRST PREGNANCY: STRAIGHTAWAY
CHILDREN: TWO LIVING. MANY DEAD.
BRIDEWEALTH: PAID AFTER WORLD WAR II
4TH WIFE: HALURI
HER VILLAGE: CHINCHAN
MARRIAGE DATE: CA. 1945

His age at marriage: ca. 39
Her age at marriage: ca. 15
How acquired: He saw her in Chinchan and took her as a lover.
Age of first pregnancy: Straightaway
Children: Two living. Many dead.
Bridewealth: Paid ca. 1961
5th Wife: Basemini
Her village: Pieng
Marriage date: ca. 1951
His age at marriage: ca. 45
Her age at marriage: ca. 15
How acquired: Saw her in her village and took her as a lover.
Age first pregnant: doesn't know. She had difficulty becoming pregnant.
Children: Four living
Bridewealth: Not yet paid. He was reluctant to discuss this. He said, "She is not really my wife yet because I have not paid the bridewealth (hajarikiaa)."

Marriage by capture was also known in former times. Older informants remembered these times, but said that such behavior was risky business. Rather than outright theft of a wife, it was better to arrange for her brother, or sometimes mother, to aid in her "capture." Since a brother is thought to be able to give away his sister, he is the most likely person to "steal" her from her father. Rattray (1932:502) reports that it was most common for the brother to be of a different clan settlement or from another village altogether. It would be arranged for him to steal the daughter, and later make peace between the husband and the girl's father. For this he would demand a payment of one thousand cowries from the husband. This payment was called banduokiaa, but the husband still paid the haalakiaa and hajarikiaa to the father.

In all marriage transactions there is a go-between (sipatoro) for each side. He is present at all negotiations between husband and girl's father and will be called to account all payments in the case of a dispute. He is ideally a clansman of the groom who is

MATRILATERALLY RELATED TO THE GIRL'S FATHER (CF. ALSO MANOUKIAN 1951:38 AND RATTRAY 1932:501). MOST OFTEN HE IS A SON OF A WOMAN FROM THE GIRL'S CLAN WHO HAS MARRIED INTO THE VILLAGE OF THE GROOM. EACH VILLAGE HAS A SIPATORO IN EVERY VILLAGE WITH WHICH FREQUENT MARRIAGE TRANSACTIONS OCCUR. THIS SIPATORO IS KNOWN BY ALL MEMBERS OF A VILLAGE AS A GO-BETWEEN, AND HIS ROOM (DIA) IS NEUTRAL TERRITORY. IN CASE OF A DISPUTE A PERSON FROM A DIFFERENT VILLAGE MAY FLEE TO THE ROOM OF HIS SIPATORO FOR SAFETY. IF A WOMAN IS ABOUT TO DELIVER A CHILD IN HER FATHER'S HOUSE, SHE WILL BE MOVED TO THE HOUSE OF THE SIPATORO OF HER HUSBAND'S VILLAGE IF POSSIBLE. IT IS ALSO OFTEN THE CASE THAT WHEN A HUSBAND BRINGS HIS NEW WIFE TO HIS VILLAGE, SHE IS HOUSED FOR ABOUT A WEEK WITH THE SIPATORO OF HER VILLAGE. HE PREPARES HER TO MOVE IN WITH HER HUSBAND AND MAY FORMALLY ESCORT HER TO HER HUSBAND'S BEDCHAMBER ON THE FIRST NIGHT THEY SLEEP TOGETHER.

AN INCIDENT THAT HAPPENED IN BUJAN CLEARLY SHOWS THE FACT THAT THE SISALA THINK IN TERMS OF A SIPATORO AS A LINK BETWEEN VILLAGES. A SMALL BOY FROM THE VILLAGE OF NAKPOWIE WAS VISITING MY KAALA IN BUJAN ONE DAY. WHILE I WAS DOING SOME WORK IN ANOTHER PART OF THE VILLAGE, HE CLIMBED THROUGH MY WINDOW AND WAS HIDING IN MY ROOM WHEN I RETURNED. A SMALL CHILD HAD SEEN HIM ENTER AND CAME TO INFORM ME. WHEN I RETURNED I FOUND HIM HIDING UNDER MY BED. HE HAD BEEN TRYING TO STEAL THE FOOD AND I WAS CONTENT TO DRIVE THE BOY AWAY, BUT THE LEADERS SAID HE SHOULD BE TAKEN TO THE NAKPOWIE SIPATORO. IT WAS ABOUT DARK AND THE BOY COULD NOT MAKE THE JOURNEY TO HIS VILLAGE THAT NIGHT, AND SO AFTER MUCH PALAVER, HE WAS TAKEN TO BAPULA OF THE LINEAGE OF YELIWIEJANG WHO IS THE SIPATORO TO NAKPOWIE SINCE HIS FATHER'S MOTHER HAD COME FROM THAT VILLAGE AND BECAUSE HE IS THE ELDEST MALE WITH MATRILATERAL LINKS TO NAKPOWIE.

ONCE THE HAALAKIAA PAYMENTS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE GIRL'S FATHER, HE INFORMS THE GROOM TO COME FOR HIS WIFE ON A GIVEN DAY. THE GROOM, ACCOMPANIED BY THE SIPATORO AND POSSIBLY SOME OF HIS BROTHERS OR FRIENDS, JOURNEYS TO THE BRIDE'S VILLAGE AND TAKING GIFTS OF TOBACCO (TOBA), KOLA-NUTS (GUORI) AND GIN (APETISHI) THEY WILL BE EXPECTED TO WORK ON THE FARM OF THE GIRL'S FATHER FOR ONE OR TWO DAYS BEFORE RECEIVING THE GIRL. AFTER THIS THE HUSBAND WILL TELL THE SIPATORO TO BEG (SUL) THE FATHER FOR THE GIRL, BUT THE FATHER CAN ONLY GIVE HIS CONSENT, HE CANNOT ACTUALLY HAND OVER HIS DAUGHTER. IN FACT, MOST OF THE TIME HE PUTS ON A SHOW OF BEING UNCONCERNED OR HOSTILE TO THE AFFAIR. IN THE ONE SUCH TRANSACTION THAT I WATCHED, THE ACTUAL FATHER WAS NOT EVEN PRESENT, BUT STAYED IN HIS ROOM OR ON THE PERIPHERY OF THE CEREMONY. IF THE FATHER HAS A YOUNGER BROTHER HE MAY GIVE THE GIRL AWAY, BUT IT IS BETTER FOR A BROTHER OF THE GIRL TO DO IT. WHEN A MANDUONG MAN CAME TO CLAIM HIS WIFE FROM BUJAN IT WAS NOT TIAWANG, THE FATHER, WHO GAVE HER AWAY BUT DAJAN, A CLASSIFICATORY BROTHER TO THE GIRL. HE HAD HANDLED ALL THE HAALAKIAA TRANSACTIONS, HAD TAKEN THE MANDUONG PEOPLE TO HIS FARM TO WORK AND FINALLY ACTUALLY HANDED THE GIRL OVER TO THE HUSBAND. WHEN IT CAME TIME TO GIVE AWAY THE GIRL ALL HER BROTHERS FROM HER JECHIKING GATHERED FOR THE CEREMONY. THE GIRL WAS DRESSED IN HER FINEST CLOTHES AND SAT ON A SKIN OPPOSITE THE HUSBAND AND THE SIPATORO. DAJANG THEN TOOK THE GIRL BY THE ARM AND HANDED HER TO THE SIPATORO SAYING, "HERE IS YOUR WIFE." THE MEN TOOK THE WIFE AND RETURNED TO THEIR VILLAGE. AS THE GIRL IS BEING TAKEN, ANY CLANSMAN OF THE GIRL CAN STOP THE PARTY AND SAY, "WHERE ARE YOU TAKING MY DAUGHTER?" WHEREUPON A MOCK BATTLE IS OFTEN STAGED. IN ANY CASE THE HUSBAND MUST GIVE THE CLANSMAN A FEW COWRIES OR PESEWAS TO ALLOW THEM TO PASS.[7]

UPON ARRIVAL AT THE HUSBAND'S VILLAGE THE PARTY GIVES THE MEN'S WAR

CRY, WHICH IS LOUD AND SHRILL. IT DOES NOT MATTER WHAT TIME OF THE NIGHT THEY RETURN. ONCE A PARTY RETURNED TO BUJAN AT 2:25 A. M., AND BEGAN TO GIVE THE MEN'S CRY AT THE EDGE OF THE VILLAGE WHICH THEY CONTINUED TILL THEY REACHED THEIR HOMESTEAD. WHEN THE OTHER LINEAGES HEARD THIS CRY, THEY RESPONDED WITH LIKE CRIES BECAUSE "NOW BUJAN HAS ONE MORE WIFE." IT WAS EXPLAINED TO ME THAT WITH MORE WIVES THEY HAVE MORE CHILDREN, WHICH MEANS THE VILLAGE WILL PROSPER.

SHORTLY AFTER A NEW WIFE COMES TO HER HUSBAND'S VILLAGE, SHE IS GIVEN A NEW NAME BY THE JECHIKINTINA OR AN OLD WOMAN OF THE LINEAGE. MEMBERS OF HER HUSBAND'S CLAN CANNOT ADDRESS HER BY HER NATAL NAME, AND THEREFORE, SHE IS GIVEN A MARRIAGE NAME. THIS NAMING CEREMONY IS OFTEN ACCOMPANIED WITH MUCH FEASTING, DRINKING AND DANCING IF THE FAMILY CAN AFFORD IT.

IF THERE IS A DALUNO (MEDICINE) SHRINE IN THE KAALA TO WHICH THE GIRL COMES, IT IS SACRIFICED AS SOON AS POSSIBLE SO THAT SHE WILL BE ABLE TO TAKE SOME OF THE MEDICINE AND BE THEREBY PROTECTED, AS ARE THE REST OF THE COMPOUND MEMBERS. THIS IS A RITUAL OF INCORPORATION WHICH SYMBOLIZES HER TRANSITION FROM BEING A STRANGER TO BEING A MEMBER OF THE KAALA. WHEN FATI CAME TO THE LINEAGE OF KPEJANG IN BUJAN, GBENMIE SACRIFICED HIS DALUNO SHRINE TWO DAYS AFTER HER ARRIVAL. SHE WAS GIVEN SOME OF THE MEDICINE (DALUSUNG)"TO MAKE HER STRONG," AND I WAS TOLD THAT THE MEDICINE WAS TO "PROTECT HER FROM ANY HARM THAT DOESN'T COME FROM GOD."

THE WIFE IS EXEMPT FROM WORK FOR FOUR DAYS AFTER ARRIVING SINCE DURING THIS TIME SHE IS ON DISPLAY. ALL MEMBERS OF THE VILLAGE VISIT AND GREET (LOLLE) HER, AND, IN PARTICULAR, FRIENDS OF THE HUSBAND ARE REQUIRED BY CUSTOM TO PRESENT A GIFT TO THE HUSBAND UPON SEEING HER FOR THE FIRST TIME. SHE IS TAKEN TO GREET THE CHIEF OF THE VILLAGE BY AN OLD WOMAN OF THE KAALA. AFTER THIS PERIOD THE NEW WIFE TAKES UP HER

CHORES UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE SENIOR WIFE, OR THE SENIOR WOMAN OF THE KAALA. ON THE MORNING OF THE FIFTH DAY THE NEW WIFE COOKS FOOD FOR HER HUSBAND FOR THE FIRST TIME. SHE MAY HAVE COOKED FOR HIM BEFORE AS A SIGN OF ACCEPTANCE OF HIS MARRIAGE PLEDGE, BUT THIS IS THE FIRST TIME AS A WIFE.

A WIFE IS EXPECTED TO BE A GOOD COOK AND WORKER AND MUST DO HER SHARE OF THE WORK IN THE KAALA AND AVOID FIGHTING WITH THE OTHER WOMEN THERE. SHE MUST AT ALL TIMES TAKE A SUBMISSIVE ROLE WITH REGARD TO MEN, AND COMES DIRECTLY UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE HUSBAND AND THE KAALATINA. THIS AUTHORITY IS ENHANCED BY THE BELIEF IN THE POWER OF SHRINES TO PUNISH A DISOBEDIENT WIFE. IF SHE ACTS WRONGLY OR OTHERWISE COUNTERS THE AUTHORITY OF MEN, SHE IS LIABLE TO THE WRATH OF THE ANCESTRAL SHRINES OF THE LINEAGE AND VILLAGE. THE FOLLOWING CASE SHOWS HOW THIS BELIEF IN SHRINE SANCTIONS CAN REINFORCE MALE AUTHORITY: A CERTAIN MAN FROM BUJAN HAD SEVERAL WIVES AND KEPT ONE IN THE VILLAGE OF TUMU. AFTER AN ARGUMENT SHE RAN AWAY IN THE NIGHT AND WAS MAKING HER WAY TOWARDS HER NATAL VILLAGE OF MANDUONG. WHEN SHE CAME NEAR BUJAN IT WAS ALREADY DAY SO SHE LEFT THE ROAD AND ATTEMPTED TO SKIRT AROUND THE VILLAGE. SHE KNEW THAT IF SHE WERE SEEN SHE WOULD BE DETAINED AS A "RUNAWAY WIFE" (HAALA FA VIRI). SHE WAS UNFORTUNATE IN THAT WHILE GOING THROUGH THE BUSH SHE CHANCED UPON A GROUP OF BUJAN WOMEN ON THE WAY TO THE RIVER TO FETCH WATER. THEY RECOGNIZED HER IMMEDIATELY, AND REALIZED WHAT SHE WAS ATTEMPTING, SINCE SHE HAD BEGUN TO RUN UPON SEEING THEM, BUT THEY CHASED HER AND CAUGHT HER. THEY WERE WOMEN FROM THE CHIEF'S LINEAGE, SO THEY TOOK HER TO THE CHIEF WHO PUT HER UP FOR THE NIGHT AND THEN INFORMED THE JECHIKINTINA OF HER HUSBAND'S LINEAGE TO FETCH HER. WHEN I TALKED TO SEVERAL OF THE WIVES WHO HAD HELPED CAPTURE HER I ASKED THEM WHY THEY DID SUCH A THING.

Was she not a fellow wife and woman? Why did they return her to her husband if she wanted to flee? Every woman said the same thing: Since the woman had a "child of Bujan" on her back, the clan VENE shrine would kill them if they allowed her to escape with the son.

Marriage creates a bond between a man and a woman as well as a jural bond with prescribed rights and duties between the two descent groups, but at the interpersonal level man and wife are not close. Polygyny is a factor in this, but, even where there is only one wife, a man does not spend much time with his wife nor concern himself with her affairs. She operates in a separate domestic sphere while his domain includes the activities of other men, especially brothers, viz., the sibling bond is much stronger than the tie of marriage.

The Sisala themselves view marriage as a procreative arrangement. They say LA JAA LA LUL BIRING NE (we marry to give birth to children). They usually follow with the corollary, "and we own the children because we have married their mothers" (LA NE TI LA BIRING WE LA SI TI LA NE JAA BA NAANG BA). This is one of the main reasons why polygyny is highly valued since a man with many wives will have a greater chance of leaving many offspring when he dies. It is also seen as good to leave many wives. When one old TINTEINTINA died and only left one wife the villagers said it was not good because he was an important figure in the community. Chiefs are especially supposed to have many wives, as well as other big men (KIAATINA). Polygyny is permitted in any household that can afford to take another wife and is only limited by economic factors, although some wealthy men choose to remain monogamous (cf. Table 6). Christianity has had little influence among the Sisala and has not, as yet, affected their ideas about plural marriage.

Table 6. Polygynous Marriages

	Number of Wives											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Over 10	Total
N	77	138	155	78	22	3	10	2	0	1	0	486
%	15.8	28.4	31.9	16	4.5	.6	2.1	.4	0	.21	0	100

The pressure to secure another wife may come from the first wife. After the birth of one or two children she sometimes finds the domestic tasks required of her burdensome and often begs her husband to take a second wife. This is most often done by securing a wife's sister to come as a KATIING (cf. Tables 2 and 4). If a husband desires to take another wife he does not have to consult his first wife but when another wife is brought into the household, the first wife is the senior wife (HAALAHIANG), and, as such, she has certain rights and duties, e. g., she is always shown deference and respect because of her seniority; she is given the first basket of millet distributed by the husband after the harvest; she is responsible for training young wives with little experience; she is expected to run the household in the absence of the husband. I have seen compounds with efficient senior wives which were always models in cleanliness and order merely because of the efficiency of the senior wife, yet other compounds were disorganized and full of quarreling because the senior wife was lazy or could not maintain order in the absence of her husband. The Sisala fully recognize the desirability of getting a good woman for the senior wife and realize that if she maintains order in the compound, the husband will be free to get on with his work without being harassed by women's problems.

A man with many wives fears quarreling and conflict within the compound (KAALA), and some even possess DALUNO shrines[8] which are for

THE EXPRESS PURPOSE OF PREVENTING SUCH CONFLICT. SOME OF THE REASONS FOR QUARRELING BETWEEN CO-WIVES ARE AS FOLLOWS: FAVORITISM IN SEX; GIFT GIVING OR FOOD DISTRIBUTION ON THE PART OF THE HUSBAND; STEALING BETWEEN WIVES; ONE WIFE ENTERING THE ROOM OF A CO-WIFE (HAADONHUNG) IN HER ABSENCE; ONE WIFE DISCIPLINING THE CHILDREN OF ANOTHER. OFTEN, ACCUSATIONS OF WITCHCRAFT REVOLVE AROUND THESE CONFLICTS WITHIN THE POLYGYNOUS FAMILY AS WELL AS BETWEEN WIVES OF BROTHERS IN A JOINT FRATERNAL FAMILY YET THERE IS, IN EVERYDAY INTERACTION, MUCH SHARING OF WORK. RECIPROCITY AND ACCOMMODATION ARE THE NORMS MOST OF THE TIME, BUT OCCASIONALLY GRUDGES COME TO THE SURFACE CAUSING A BREAK IN THE HARMONY OF THE FAMILY. THERE ARE TWO THINGS THAT CO-WIVES RARELY SHARE; COOKING AND EATING UTENSILS AND FIREWOOD. FOOD IS IDEALLY SHARED, BUT IN FACT WOMEN PREPARE FOOD SEPARATELY FOR THEIR OWN CHILDREN AND GIVE A PORTION TO THE HUSBAND. WOMEN EXPRESS FEAR THAT A CO-WIFE MIGHT TRY TO POISON HER CHILDREN AND THERE ARE MANY STORIES OF SUCH INCIDENTS WHICH SERVE TO REINFORCE THEIR BELIEFS.

DIVORCE IS RELATIVELY SIMPLE, BUT, IN GENERAL, MEN DESIRE WIVES AND RECONCILIATION IS MUCH PREFERRED TO DIVORCE (CF. TABLES 7, 8).

TABLE 7. NUMBER OF DIFFERENT MARRIAGES PER WOMAN

	NUMBER				
	N/A	1	2	3	TOTAL
N	2	360	120	4	486
%	.4	74.1	24.7	.8	100

Table 8. Reason for Marriage Termination

	Divorce	Husband Died	Total
N	23	135	158
%	14.6	85.4	100

From the male standpoint, the biggest problem is wives who run away (haala fa viri) from their husbands (cf. Marriage History 5). A woman can always find another husband, but it is difficult and expensive for a man to find another wife. Tauxier (1912:344-5) says that women may inform their husbands of divorce by placing the leaves of the tree from which they select their pubic coverings at his door, and then returning to their natal village. Today leaves are not worn, and the woman just runs away (fa viri). One woman informant said that a clever way is to purposefully displease the husband causing him to beat his wife and then justify leaving on these grounds. If the husband wants to get rid of his wife he can merely tell her to go, but if he too wants to be subtle, he will not allot her enough food from the granary. One woman said, "And who will sit in hunger?" Her alternative is to return home (cf. Table 9). Ideally the husband should divorce his wife for adultery or being a sterile woman (hapurung). Lack of fecundity on the woman's part is often the cause of divorce, but usually a fiction must be created rather than openly sending her away for that reason.

MARRIAGE HISTORY 5. THE MARRIAGE OF BAYBOKO

NAME: BAYBOKO
LINEAGE: KPEJANG
AGE: CA. 55
CONDITION: BLIND, LEPER, CRIPPLED
1ST WIFE: NAME UNKNOWN
HER VILLAGE: KASENA VILLAGE OF TASIS
MARRIAGE DATE: CA. 1936
HIS AGE AT MARRIAGE: CA. 20
HER AGE AT MARRIAGE: CA. 15
HOW ACQUIRED: WHILE TRAVELING THROUGH KASENA-COUNTRY HE TOOK HER AS A LOVER. LATER HE SENT A PARTY OF HIS KIN WITH THE HAALAKIAA AND THEY BROUGHT HER BACK. HE CONSUMMATED HIS MARRIAGE BUT SHE RAN AWAY AFTER ONLY ONE MONTH. HE AGAIN SENT HIS BROTHERS TO TASIA TO BRING HER BACK BUT SHE REFUSED TO RETURN.
CHILDREN: NONE
BRIDEWEALTH: OF COURSE NONE IS PAID IN A CASE LIKE THIS.
MARRIAGE FUTURE: NIL, DUE TO ILLNESS.

A WIFE CAN ALSO BE DIVORCED FOR PUTTING HER HAND INTO THE HUSBAND'S MILLET GRANARY (BAALA VIRI), BUT IN FACT MOST DIVORCES ARE OVER PERSONALITY INCOMPATIBILITIES EITHER BETWEEN HUSBAND AND WIFE OR BETWEEN A WIFE AND HER CO-WIVES (CF. TABLE 9). ONE MYTH THAT IS TOLD ABOUT ADULTERY AS A CAUSE OF DIVORCE IS AS FOLLOWS:

> ONCE THERE LIVED A MAN IN THE OLD DAYS AT THE VILLAGE OF NABULO CALLED BUKARI. HIS WIFE WAS CALLED HAMINA. ONE DAY WHEN THIS MAN HAD GONE TO THE FARM HIS WIFE RAN AWAY TO HER VILLAGE OF DU. SO BUKARI FOLLOWED HER TO SEE WHAT WAS THE MATTER. HER FATHER TOLD HIM THAT HIS DAUGHTER HAD RETURNED BUT WOULD NOT SAY WHAT THE MATTER WAS. BUKARI RETURNED TO HIS VILLAGE AND IN THREE DAYS' TIME RETURNED TO DU WITH SOME TOBACCO, KOLA-NUTS AND SOME DRINK FOR THE WIFE'S PARENTS AS IS THE SISALA CUSTOM. WHEN HE HAD GIVEN THESE THINGS HE ASKED FOR HIS WIFE BACK. THE WOMAN'S FATHER CALLED HER OUT AND ASKED HER WHAT THE MATTER WAS. BUT SHE REFUSED TO SAY ANYTHING. ON THE WAY BACK TO NABULO THE HUSBAND ALSO QUESTIONED HIS WIFE, BUT COULD NOT GET HER TO GIVE THE REASON FOR HER RETURN TO HER NATAL VILLAGE. UPON ARRIVING AT THE VILLAGE BUKARI CALLED TWO OF HIS FRIENDS TO INQUIRE OF HIS WIFE WHAT THE PROBLEM WAS. THEY DID SO, BUT WERE UNABLE TO FIND OUT THE CAUSE OF HER DISTRESS. IN ABOUT A WEEK'S TIME SOMEONE TOLD THE HUSBAND THAT HIS WIFE

HAD HAD SEXUAL INTERCOURSE WITH A MAN AND RAN HOME BECAUSE OF SHAME. THIS IS BECAUSE IT IS TABOO FOR A MAN TO HAVE SEX WITH A WOMAN IN HER HUSBAND'S OWN HOUSE. SO HE DIVORCED THE WOMAN THAT SAME DAY SENDING HER TO HER VILLAGE. IF HE HAD NOT DONE THIS AND HAD SEX WITH HER AGAIN, HE WOULD DIE.

TABLE 9. REASONS FOR DIVORCE GIVEN BY WOMEN

N = 23	N	%	EXACT CAUSE OF DIVORCE	N	%
WIFE-INITIATED	7	30.4	GOT NO FOOD; DID NOT LOOK AFTER ME	2	9
			I DIDN'T WANT HIM ANY MORE	4	17.4
			HE FORCED ME TO BE A PAGAN INSTEAD OF MOSLEM	1	4.0
HUSBAND-INITIATED	4	17.4	HE SENT ME AWAY	1	4.0
			HUSBAND LEFT HER	1	4.0
			HE REFUSED TO PAY BRIDEWEALTH; FATHER COLLECTED HER	1	4.0
			HE REFUSED TO COME WHEN MY FATHER CALLED HIM AND FATHER COLLECTED HER	1	4.0
INITIATION UNDETERMINED	12	52.2	QUARREL	6	26.3
			HEB TRIED TO STEAL HER AWAY	1	4.0
			"TROUBLE"	3	13.3
			DON'T KNOW	2	9.0
TOTALS	23	100		23	100

STORIES SUCH AS THESE REVEAL THE IDEAL, BUT IN ACTUAL FACT WHEN A WOMAN IS CAUGHT IN ADULTERY THE HUSBAND MOST OFTEN BEATS HER AND LETS IT GO AT THAT. SOME MEN IN THE VILLAGE OF BUJAN WERE AWARE OF THEIR WIVES' ADULTERY AND JUST IGNORED IT WHILE OTHERS CHOSE TO ASK THE LOVER (HELA) TO BRING GIFTS AND A SACRIFICE TO RECEIVE INSTITUTIONALIZED RIGHTS TO THE SEXUAL CAPACITY OF THE WOMAN. THIS MAKES ALL OFFSPRING OF THE UNION LEGITIMATE AND CREATES AN INSTITUTIONALIZED "MENAGE À TROIS." THE LOVER ALSO RECEIVES RIGHTS; E. G., AFTER THE PAYMENT, HE MAY BEAT HIS LOVER WHEREAS BEFORE THIS WOULD NOT BE PERMISSIBLE; HE CAN ENTER HER ROOM AND EVEN HAVE SEX WITH HER IN HER HUSBAND'S HOUSEHOLD, SOMETHING UNHEARD OF IN ANY OTHER INSTANCE. THE LOVER ALSO

INCURS DUTIES AS WELL; WITH REGARD TO THE HUSBAND, WHOM HE CALLS MI HELA BAALA (MY LOVER'S HUSBAND), HE MUST TREAT HIM WITH RESPECT AT ALL TIMES. IF THE HUSBAND, WHO CALLS THE LOVER MI HAALA HELA (MY WIFE'S LOVER), WANTS THE LOVER TO WORK HIS FARM, FIX HIS GRASS ROOF OR HELP BUILD A WALL, ETC., HE CAN RIGHTFULLY EXPECT FULL COMPLIANCE. ALSO, BETWEEN THE LOVERS, RECIPROCAL DEMANDS CAN BE MADE ON LABOR AND RESOURCES AND AT THE FUNERAL OF EITHER LOVER, THE OTHER MUST BRING COWRIES AND A CHICKEN AND LEAVE THEM AT THE FUNERAL BENCH (DAAPALANG). ALL THIS NOTWITHSTANDING, ADULTERY MAY STILL BE USED AS AN EXCUSE FOR DIVORCE. ONE INFORMANT WITH WHOM I WAS VERY CLOSE TOLD ME THAT HE HAD ASKED ONE OF HIS FRIENDS (NANDONGO) TO SPY ON HIS WIFE WHOM HE SUSPECTED OF SLEEPING WITH ANOTHER MAN. HE COULD NEVER ASK ONE OF HIS BROTHERS, HE SAID, SINCE THEY WOULD NOT CONSENT TO A DIVORCE. HIS FRIEND HAD BEEN UNABLE TO FIND ANY INCRIMINATING EVIDENCE AND HENCE MY INFORMANT DID NOT DIVORCE HIS WIFE, AND IT MIGHT APPROPRIATELY BE MENTIONED THAT HE WAS A LOVER HIMSELF TO TWO OTHER MARRIED WOMEN IN THE VILLAGE.

MARRIAGES TEND TO BE UNSTABLE IN THE FIRST YEAR OR SO, BUT WHEN THE WIFE BECOMES PREGNANT AND BEARS CHILDREN THERE IS MORE PRESSURE ON HER TO STAY EVEN IF CONDITIONS ARE LESS THAN DESIRABLE (CF. TABLES 10 AND 11). IT IS SO COMMON FOR A YOUNG WIFE TO RUN BACK TO HER NATAL HOME THAT IT IS ALMOST EXPECTED AND WHEN IT HAPPENS THE PROCEDURE IS WELL KNOWN FOR RETRIEVING HER. I RECORDED THE FOLLOWING CASE IN THE VILLAGE OF BUJAN: HABA OF THE LINEAGE OF FORKORJANG WAS A YOUNG AND NUBILE GIRL OF FIFTEEN YEARS OR SO. EARLY DURING MY STAY IN THE VILLAGE THE HAALAKIAA PAYMENTS WERE COMPLETED AND I WAS FORTUNATE TO BE PRESENT AT THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY. HOWEVER, HER CHARACTER WAS SUCH THAT MANY PEOPLE EXPECTED HER TO CAUSE TROUBLE FOR HER HUSBAND AND WE WERE NOT

TABLE 10. AGE AT FIRST COITUS & PREGNANCY

		AGE IN YEARS																
		N/A	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26+	TOTAL
FIRST COITUS	N	31	1	1	12	73	65	51	76	111	43	8	4	3	1	2	4	486
	%	6.4	.2	.2	2.5	15.0	13.4	10.5	15.6	22.8	8.8	1.6	.8	.6	.2	.4	.8	100
PREGNANCY	N	21	0	0	1	16	65	56	74	54	126	37	16	8	4	2	6	486
	%	4.3	0	0	.2	3.3	13.4	11.5	15.2	11.1	25.9	7.6	3.3	1.6	.8	.4	1.2	100

TABLE 11. LENGTH OF INTERIM BETWEEN FIRST COITUS AND FIRST PREGNANCY

	TIME IN YEARS				
N=486	N/A	9 MONTHS TO ONE YEAR	TWO	THREE	TOTAL
N	42	322	107	5	486
%	9.0	66.3	22.0	.07	100

SURPRISED WHEN SHE RETURNED IN ABOUT TWO MONTHS' TIME. WHILE HER HUSBAND AND HIS YARD PEOPLE (KAALANIAA) WENT TO THE FARM THEY LEFT HABA IN THE KAALA TO POUND SOME MILLET, BUT AS SOON AS THEY HAD GONE, SHE BEGAN TO WALK BACK TO BUJAN. SHE WENT TO HER FATHER'S COMPOUND AND TOLD HIM THAT SHE HAD COME ON A "VISIT." THE VERY NEXT DAY HER HUSBAND AND THE SIPATORO ARRIVED FROM THE VILLAGE MANDUONG AND TOLD THE STORY OF HOW HABA HAD RUN AWAY AND ASKED FOR HER BACK. EVERYONE IN THE LINEAGE, AND EVEN THE VILLAGE, REPROACHED HABA WHEN THEY SAW HER AFTER THAT. PEOPLE WOULD IMPRESS UPON HER THE NEED TO BE FAITHFUL TO HER HUSBAND AND NOT TO CAUSE HIM TROUBLE, ESPECIALLY DURING HARVEST TIME WHEN HE SHOULD BE AT THE FARM. IT WAS AGREED THAT SHE WOULD REMAIN AT HER NATAL HOME FOR A WEEK AND THEN WOULD MEET HER HUSBAND AT NABUGUBELI MARKET WHICH IS HALFWAY BETWEEN THE TWO VILLAGES. THE HUSBAND PRESENTED SOME TOBACCO AND KOLA-NUTS TO THE FATHER AND RETURNED TO MANDUONG TO AWAIT NABUGUBELI MARKET-DAY. HABA RETURNED TO HER HUSBAND TO TRY AGAIN.

MARRIAGE WITH OTHER TRIBES SUCH AS THE KASENA IS QUITE COMMON, AND ALSO THE SISALA TO THE WEST INTERMARRY WITH THE DAGARTI BUT THE SISALA ABHOR MARRIAGE WITH THE MOSSI OR THE FULANI, BUT APPARENTLY OTHER TRIBES ARE ACCEPTABLE, ESPECIALLY THE FRA FRA AND GONJA WITH WHOM THE SISALA HAVE JOKING RELATIONS. GOODY (1970:133) SAYS "IN THE PAST, THE ISALA (OR "GRUNÇHI") WERE OFTEN RAIDED FOR SLAVES AND SO FORM A SIGNIFICANT, THOUGH MAINLY CONCEALED, PORTION OF THE POPULATION OF GONJA, AS OF ASHANTI. THESE GROUPS HAVE, THEREFORE, A STRONG INCENTIVE TO ASSIMILATE AND THE GONJA DO NOT REJECT THEIR ADVANCES." HE FOUND THE SISALA TO HAVE A HIGH PROPENSITY TOWARDS MARRYING OUTSIDE OF THE BOLE ZONGO. THIS IS SEEN AS INDICATING A LACK OF HOMEWARD IDENTIFICATION;

THE PERMANENCY OF THEIR MIGRATION; AND A DESIRE, OR AT LEAST WILLINGNESS, TO INTERMARRY WITH THE LOCAL PEOPLE.

CHILDREN ARE THE LEGITIMATE OFFSPRING OF THE JECHIKING AS A GROUP, AND THE HUSBAND (BAALA) AS A REPRESENTATIVE OF THAT GROUP SINCE THE JECHIKINTINA OR THE HUSBAND'S FATHER HAS SUPPLIED THE MARRIAGE PAYMENTS (HAALAKIAA)AND WILL LATER PAY THE PROGENY PRICE (HAJARIKIAA)WHEN THE WOMAN HAS BORNE CHILDREN FOR THE LINEAGE. ANY TIME AFTER THE WOMAN HAS BORNE CHILDREN, SHOULD SHE DIE, THE HUSBAND'S LINEAGE IS LIABLE TO PAY THE HAJARIKIAA AT HER FUNERAL AND THEY MUST PERFORM HER FUNERAL BEFORE HER NADIMA BRACELET CAN BE PLACED ON THE LELE (ANCESTOR) SHRINE OF HER HUSBAND'S LINEAGE WHICH IS SYMBOLIC OF THE PASSAGE OF HER ROAMING GHOST (NEDIMA) INTO A REMEMBERED ANCESTOR (LELE). MARRIAGE ESTABLISHES RIGHTS AND DUTIES, AND MOST IMPORTANT OF ALL IS THE RIGHT TO REAR LEGITIMATE CHILDREN. IF A WOMAN RUNS AWAY WITH A CHILD SHE WILL BE ASKED TO RETURN, BUT, IF SHE REFUSES, THE RETURN OF THE CHILD IS ALWAYS DEMANDED AND SHE MUST GIVE UP HER CHILD, WHO WILL BE RAISED BY ANOTHER WOMAN OF THE HUSBAND'S LINEAGE. LINEAGE SOLIDARITY, WITH REFERENCE TO A WIFE, IS SEEN IN THEIR TERMINOLOGY. ANY YOUNGER BROTHER OF THE HUSBAND IN THE LINEAGE CAN CALL HER MI HAALA (MY WIFE) AND SHE CAN BE INHERITED BY HIM UPON THE DEATH OF HER HUSBAND (CF. TABLE 12). OFTEN ONE HEARS THE TERM, IN REFERENCE TO ANY GIVEN WIFE OF THE LINEAGE, LA HAALA (OUR WIFE). ONCE THE GIRL'S FATHER CONSENTS TO THE MARRIAGE BY ACCEPTING THE HAALAKIAA PAYMENTS, THE MARRIAGE IS LEGITIMATE AND THE RIGHTS IN UXOREM AND RIGHTS IN GENETRICEM PASS TO THE CORPORATE LINEAGE OF THE HUSBAND.[9] IF THE HUSBAND DIES AND THE WOMAN IS INHERITED BY HIS YOUNGER BROTHER OR SON, HE INHERITS THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF THE FORMER HUSBAND INCLUDING THE DUTY TO PAY THE HAJARIKIAA, IF UNPAID.

EVEN IF THE WOMAN CHOOSES TO MARRY ELSEWHERE, OR CHOOSES NOT TO MARRY AT ALL, THE LINEAGE IS STILL LIABLE TO PAY HER HAJARIKIAA IF SHE HAS BORNE A LIVING CHILD TO THE LINEAGE. A LEGITIMATE CHILD IS ONE FOR WHICH THE MARRIAGE PAYMENTS (HAALAKIAA) AND THE PROGENY-PRICE (HAJARIKIAA) HAVE BEEN PAID. AN ILLEGITIMATE CHILD (MENGMORIBIE LIT. "CHILD OF THE VAGINA") IS ONE WHOSE MOTHER HAS STAYED IN HER FATHER'S HOUSE AND FOR WHOM NO MARRIAGE PAYMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE. SUCH A MOTHER IS BURIED BY HER FATHER'S PEOPLE AND HER NADIMA BRACELET IS PLACED ON HER FATHER'S LELE SHRINE. I HAD SEVERAL LONG DISCUSSIONS WITH SISALA ABOUT THIS POINT AND ONE INFORMANT REMARKED THAT EVEN IF A YOUNG GIRL SLEPT WITH MANY MEN AND WAS OBVIOUSLY PREGNANT WHEN SHE FINALLY MARRIED A MAN WHO HAD NEVER HAD SEX WITH HER, THE CHILD BELONGS TO HIM BECAUSE IT IS HE WHO HAS PAID THE HAALAKIAA AND WILL EVENTUALLY HAVE TO PAY THE HAJARIKIAA.

TABLE 12. RELATION OF SUBSEQUENT HUSBAND TO DEAD HUSBAND

	Status of Subsequent Husband								
	N/A	Real YB	Compound YB	Lineage YB	From another village	Real Son	Not Remarried	Other	Total
N	22	32	56	15	9	14	8	2	158
%	13.9	20.3	35.4	9.5	5.7	8.9	5.0	1.3	100

UPON THE DEATH OF HER HUSBAND A WIFE CAN BE INHERITED BY A YOUNGER BROTHER OF HER HUSBAND , OR LACKING THAT, A SON OF HER HUSBAND, OTHER THAN HER OWN SON OR THE ELDEST SON (CF. TABLE 12). TAUXIER (1912:339, 341) SAYS THAT THE ELDEST BROTHER ALWAYS TOOK THE YOUNGEST WIFE AND THAT THE REST WERE DIVIDED AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE KAALA, BUT I FOUND NONE OF THIS. IN FACT, THIS IS WHAT THE SISALA SEEM TO BE AVOIDING; I. E., THE ABUSE OF AUTHORITY BY THE SENIOR MALE WHEN THEY

RESTRICT WIDOW INHERITANCE TO JUNIORS. THE WIFE HAS A CHOICE IN THE MATTER SINCE SHE CAN REFUSE TO MARRY ANY MAN, BUT IF SHE WISHES TO MARRY A JUNIOR BROTHER OR SON OF THE DECEASED HE MUST MARRY HER, AND, IF HE DOES NOT, THE DEAD HUSBAND WILL KILL HIM. IF THE WOMAN CHOOSES NOT TO REMAIN IN THAT LINEAGE AND MARRIES OUTSIDE THE JECKIKING THE NEW HUSBAND HAS TO PAY HAALAKIAA FOR HER BUT IF SHE IS INHERITED BY ANYONE INSIDE THE LINEAGE, NO SUCH NEW PAYMENT IS NEEDED. INFORMANTS DIFFERED AS TO WHO SHOULD RECEIVE THE HAALAKIAA IN THIS CASE. SOME SAID THE WOMAN'S FATHER'S LINEAGE SHOULD RECEIVE IT, BUT IF THE HAJARIKIAA WAS TO BE PAID BY THE FIRST LINEAGE, THEY SHOULD RECEIVE THE PAYMENTS. IF THE WIDOW WANTS TO REMAIN IN HER HUSBAND'S LINEAGE EVEN THOUGH SHE CHOOSES NOT TO MARRY ANYONE HER OWN AGE, SHE CAN MARRY A SMALL CHILD OF THE JECHIKING AND THIS IS COMMON FOR VERY ELDERLY WIDOWS (CF. TABLE 13). THIS WAS THE CASE AT THE DEATH OF BACHENE OF THE LINEAGE OF FUOJANG IN BUJAN. HIS ELDERLY WIDOW, YIRIDERUNGDE, DID NOT WANT TO MARRY ANYONE, SO CHOSE TO MARRY HER HUSBAND'S CLASSIFICATORY YOUNGER BROTHER'S SON, NAMED BATIE. SHE IS CA. 70 YEARS OF AGE AND HE IS THIRTEEN OR SO. IN ANY CASE OF WIDOW REMARRIAGE THE WIDOW MUST OBSERVE STRICT AVOIDANCE OF SEXUAL INTERCOURSE AFTER THE DEATH OF HER HUSBAND UNTIL SHE HAS BOILED WATER FOR A MAN, WHICH IS THE RITUAL ACT SYMBOLIZING REMARRIAGE. SHE BOILS WATER AND PREPARES A SOUP OF BLACK FISH (CHENFILEBENI) AND THE NEW HUSBAND, EVEN IF A SMALL BOY, EATS THE SOUP AND BATHES IN THE WATER AND THEY ARE CONSIDERED MARRIED. IF THE WOMAN HAS SEX WITH A MAN BEFORE THIS ACT HE WILL AUTOMATICALLY DIE AND SHE WILL OBTAIN THE EVIL EYE; I. E., ANY SICK PERSON THAT SHE WOULD LOOK UPON FROM THAT TIME FORTH WOULD DIE. AN INFORMANT FROM THE VILLAGE OF LAMBUSI TOLD ME THAT THERE THEY MARRY THE WOMAN TO THE POST OR PROP (DOLLO)

WHICH HOLDS UP THE ROOF OF THE HOUSE. THIS IS DONE IF SHE IS A TROUBLESOME WIFE AND NO ONE WANTS HER, THEREBY FREEING HER TO LEAVE THE LINEAGE.

TABLE 13. RELATIVE AGE OF INHERITING HUSBAND TO INHERITED WIFE

	AGE OF HUSBAND RELATIVE TO WIFE				
	N/A	OLDER	YOUNGER	SMALL BOY	TOTAL
N	31	74	40	13	158
%	19.6	46.8	25.3	8.3	100

NOTES

1. The author carried out ten months fieldwork in northern Ghana in 1971-72 while a research student at the University of Cambridge. He wishes to acknowledge the financial support of the British Universities Student Travel Association, the Ling Roth Fund and the Anthony Wilkin Fund, Faculty of Archaeology-Anthropology, University of Cambridge; and the Smuts Memorial Fund, University of Cambridge. I also wish to thank my supervisor, Professor Meyer Fortes and also Professor Jack Goody and Dr. Ester Goody for their encouragement and support. For other publications on the Sisala see: Grindal 1972a, 1972b and Mendonsa In Press.

2. The verb "to love," (a chong) is used in many contexts. A man says, Mi Chong Ne (I love you) to a girl friend, mother, wife, daughter or even another man.

3. To marry a wife (a jaa); to marry off a daughter to another man (a buge).

4. The man had brought four previous similar installments.

5. The term hajarikiaa literally translates as, "woman-marriage-things," but the term progeny-price reflects an etic understanding that the Sisala exchange the final cow for rights in genetricem, viz., rights to legitimate offspring (cf. Radcliffe-Brown 1950).

6. At the time of fieldwork, 1 pesewa = 0.8 cents. There are 100 pesewas to one cedi.

7. Radcliffe-Brown (1950:49) says that such instances of pretended hostility "are ritual or symbolic expression of the recognition that marriage entails the breaking of the solidarity that unties a woman to the family in which she has been born and grown up." At such ceremonial times, clan solidarity is given symbolic recognition.

8. Medicine shrines thought to have magical efficacy.

9. Exactly when these rights pass to the lineage of the husband is a moot question. Marriage is a process which rearranges existing patterns of the social structure. As a process marriage does not present a single event which makes the process final, but the payment of the haalakia appears to be when the rights initially pass to the husband's lineage although this process is not completed until the final purung payment of the progeny-price (hajarikiaa).

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BEYOND THE TOTAL INSTITUTION:

AN ETHNOGRAPHIC REPORT[1,2]

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IN CONTRAST TO THE CONSIDERABLE DATA WE POSSESS ON THE INMATES OF MENTAL HOSPITALS, "NURSING" HOMES, SHIPS, PRISONS AND OTHER FORMS OF WHAT GOFFMAN CALLS "TOTAL INSTITUTIONS," WE KNOW VERY LITTLE ABOUT THE LIVES OF INDIVIDUALS RELEASED FROM THESE ESTABLISHMENTS. WHILE ACCOUNTS OF LIFE ON THE WARD AND IN THE CELL BLOCK PROVIDE US WITH SOME INDICATION OF MAN'S FATE IN THESE SETTINGS AND SUGGEST THAT DISCHARGED INMATES MAY BE INFLUENCED BY INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCES, ONLY A FEW DESCRIPTIONS OF INSTITUTIONALLY AFFECTED BEHAVIOR CAN BE FOUND IN THE POORLY DOCUMENTED LITERATURE ON THE EX-INMATE. FOR THE MOST PART, THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN STUDYING RELEASED INMATES OUTSIDE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXTS ACCOUNT FOR THE WEAKNESSSES IN OUR DATA ON THEIR LIVES. AND THOUGH THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION OF THE SHIP'S EX-INMATES IS BASED ON ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA COLLECTED IN A SITUATION LACKING MANY OF THESE PROBLEMS, IT MAY BE WORTHWHILE FOR OUR PURPOSES TO EXAMINE SOME OF THESE RESEARCH DIFFICULTIES.

ONE PROBLEM INVOLVED IN LEARNING ABOUT DISCHARGED INMATES IS THE SHEER AMOUNT OF DETECTIVE WORK USUALLY REQUIRED TO TRACE THEIR WHEREABOUTS. SINCE INDIVIDUALS LEAVING TOTAL INSTITUTIONS SELDOM FAIL TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THEIR INCREASED SPATIAL MOBILITY, SUBSEQUENT ATTEMPTS TO FIND THEM OFTEN DEVOUR TIME AND FUNDS AT GARGANTUAN RATES. IN ADDITION, THERE ARE ALWAYS SOME RELEASED INMATES WHO RESIST ALL RESEARCH EFFORTS AND REFUSE TO BE FOUND. CONSEQUENTLY, INVESTIGATORS OF POST-INSTITUTIONAL

LIFE OFTEN DEAL WITH BIASED SAMPLES COMPOSED OF THE MOST EASILY TRACED EX-INMATES. A RECENT ILLUSTRATION OF THIS PROBLEM IS PROVIDED BY THE ANTHROPOLOGIST WHO DISCOVERED THAT NEARLY FIFTY PERCENT OF THE DISCHARGED INMATES HE SOUGHT HAD MOVED BEYOND THE FIFTY-MILE LIMIT OF HIS SEARCH AREA.[3]

WHILE FINDING THE RELEASED INMATE SOLVES ONE PRACTICAL PROBLEM, IT OFTEN INTRODUCES ANOTHER SET OF METHODOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES FOR THE INVESTIGATOR. BECAUSE THE EX-INMATE, UNLIKE THE INSTITUTIONALIZED INMATE, IS RARELY FOUND IN SETTINGS WHERE HIS BEHAVIOR CAN BE EASILY OBSERVED AND RECORDED, ATTEMPTS TO LEARN ABOUT HIS LIFE USUALLY INVOLVE THE EXTENSIVE USE OF INTERVIEW SCHEDULES AND QUESTIONNAIRES. ALTHOUGH MANY INVESTIGATORS WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY PREFER TO UTILIZE OBSERVATIONAL TECHNIQUES TO STUDY INDIVIDUALS DISCHARGED FROM INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENTS, THEY FREQUENTLY HAVE NO CHOICE IN THE MATTER AND MUST RELY ON VERBAL ACCOUNTS OF POST-INSTITUTIONAL BEHAVIOR. OF COURSE, THE RESULTS FROM SUCH STUDIES ARE SUBJECT TO THE CRITICISMS APPROPRIATE TO RESEARCH BASED ON DATA GATHERED IN THE CONFINES OF THE INTERVIEW AND QUESTIONNAIRE SITUATION.

THE RECENT DEVELOPMENT OF "HALFWAY HOUSE" PROGRAMS FOR SOME RELEASED PRISONERS AND MENTAL PATIENTS MAY REPRESENT PARTIAL SOLUTIONS TO SOME OF THESE RESEARCH PROBLEMS. THESE PROGRAMS, WHICH OFTEN HOUSE GROUPS OF DISCHARGED INMATES IN COMMUNITY-LIKE SETTINGS, PROVIDE INVESTIGATORS WITH SITUATIONS LACKING SEVERAL OF THE METHODOLOGICAL DIFFICULTIES ENCOUNTERED IN THE STUDY OF OTHER EX-INMATES. BUT THERE IS ONE MAJOR DISADVANTAGE INVOLVED IN RESEARCH ON THESE PROGRAMS. IT IS REPRESENTED BY THE INSTITUTIONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE HALFWAY HOUSE. THUS THE FINDINGS FROM STUDIES OF THESE ESTABLISHMENTS, THOUGH

ADDING TO THE LITERATURE ON THE EX-INMATE, WOULD BE OF DOUBTFUL VALUE IN LOCATING THE SOURCES OF INSTITUTIONALLY AFFECTED BEHAVIOR. IN OTHER WORDS, AN ACTION BY THE HALFWAY HOUSE RESIDENT COULD BE VALIDLY INTERPRETED AS A REACTION TO THE INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE PRISON, OF THE MENTAL HOSPITAL OR OF THE HALFWAY HOUSE ITSELF.

NEVERTHELESS, STUDIES OF THESE ESTABLISHMENTS COULD TELL US SOMETHING ABOUT THE LIFE OF THE EX-INMATE AND IN VIEW OF OUR LIMITED KNOWLEDGE OF HIS WORLD, IT IS INDEED DISAPPOINTING THAT SO FEW OF THESE PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN EXPLORED. BUT THE NEGLECTED HALFWAY HOUSE IS BY NO MEANS AN ISOLATED PHENOMENON: IT IS MIRRORED IN OTHER INSTANCES WHERE RESEARCHERS APPARENTLY OVERLOOKED OR IGNORED OPPORTUNITIES FOR STUDYING RELEASED INMATES. THESE CASES SUGGEST THAT OUR LIMITED UNDERSTANDING OF THE LIVES OF PERSONS DISCHARGED FROM TOTAL INSTITUTIONS MAY HAVE SOMETHING TO DO WITH A RELUCTANCE IN SOME QUARTERS TO EXTEND RESEARCH EFFORTS BEYOND THE BOUNDARIES OF THESE ESTABLISHMENTS.

IN ONE WAY, THE NEGLECTED EX-INMATE MAY BE ONE CONSEQUENCE OF OUR PREOCCUPATION WITH THE LESS DYNAMIC IMPLICATIONS OF THE TOTAL INSTITUTION CONCEPT. BY FOCUSING OUR ATTENTION ON THE STRUCTURAL FEATURES SUSPECTED OF STABILIZING THE INSTITUTION AND ISOLATING IT FROM SOCIETY-AT-LARGE, WE MAY HAVE IGNORED SOME OF THE PROCESSES WHICH ACT TO CHANGE TOTAL INSTITUTIONS AND TO LINK THEM WITH THE WORLD OUTSIDE THEIR BOUNDS. IN ADDITION, PERCEIVING THE INSTITUTION AS A CLOSED, ISOLATED AND UNCHANGING UNIT IS ESSENTIAL TO THE INVESTIGATOR WHO WISHES TO MAINTAIN THE ILLUSION THAT HE IS DEALING WITH A HUMAN GROUP IN A SITUATION WHERE MANY NON-CONTROLLED VARIABLES ARE ABSENT. THIS RESEARCHER HAS A VESTED INTEREST IN PRESENTING HIS AUDIENCE WITH A PARTICULAR PICTURE OF INSTITUTIONALIZED MAN. THUS

IT IS NO ACCIDENT THAT THE FEATURES FOR HIS MODEL OF INMATE LIFE ARE DRAWN FROM THE MOST LIFELESS AREAS OF OLD FOLKS' HOMES AND THE MOST STAGNANT BACK WARDS OF MENTAL HOSPITALS. ADMITTEDLY, THE LIVES OF THESE PEOPLE ARE SELDOM EXPOSED TO PROCESSES OF CHANGE OR THE WORLD BEYOND THEIR BEDSIDES, BUT THEY REPRESENT ONLY ONE CATEGORY OF INMATE: THOSE WHO GROW OLD AND DIE IN INSTITUTIONAL SETTINGS.

ONE OF THE MORE DYNAMIC CONTRASTS TO THIS INMATE CATEGORY IS PROVIDED BY THOSE INDIVIDUALS WHOSE CAREERS ARE MARKED BY SEQUENCES OF INSTITUTIONAL ENTRANCES AND EXITS. INCLUDED IN THIS GROUP ARE PROFESSIONAL SEAMEN, RECIDIVISTIC CONVICTS, READMITTED PATIENTS AND OTHER PERSONS WHO REPEATEDLY SHUTTLE BETWEEN INSTITUTIONAL AND NON-INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENTS. THE COMINGS AND GOINGS OF THESE INDIVIDUALS REPRESENT PROCESSES WHICH APPEAR TO HAVE LITTLE IN COMMON WITH THE STATIC AND ISOLATED PHENOMENA OFTEN ASSOCIATED WITH LIFE IN TOTAL INSTITUTIONS. WHILE GOFFMAN'S CLASSIC WORK ON THE CAREER PROCESSES TRANSCENDING THE BOUNDARIES OF THE MENTAL HOSPITAL DEVOTED SOME ATTENTION TO THESE RECIDIVISTIC EX-INMATES, RELATIVELY LITTLE HAS BEEN PUBLISHED ABOUT THIS GROUP SINCE THAT TIME[4]. IN SOME WAY, IT CAN BE SUSPECTED THAT THE LIVES OF THESE PERSONS MAY REPRESENT ONE OF THE CLEAREST ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE INSTITUTION'S INFLUENCE ON HUMAN BEHAVIOR.

THE FOLLOWING DESCRIPTION OF RECIDIVISTIC EX-INMATES IS DRAWN FROM AN ONGOING PARTICIPANT OBSERVATIONAL STUDY OF UNEMPLOYED SEAMEN LIVING IN SEVERAL SAILORS' TAVERNS ON THE WATERFRONT OF A EUROPEAN PORT. IT IS BASED ON DATA COLLECTED DURING SEVEN MONTHS OF RESEARCH IN THIS AREA AND FIVE MONTHS OF RESEARCH ABOARD A CARGO VESSEL IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC. THIS ACCOUNT OF THE LIFEWAYS OF THESE MEN, WHO HAVE LEFT THE TOTAL INSTITUTION OF THE SHIP AND CHOSEN TO LIVE IN

THESE BOARDINGHOUSE-TAVERNS, IS INCOMPLETE AT THIS TIME. HOWEVER, IT DOES SUGGEST SOME OF THE WAYS THESE SEAMEN MAY HAVE BEEN AFFECTED BY THEIR INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCES. BECAUSE THE INTERRELATION OF THE SHIP TO THE LIVES OF THESE EX-INMATES IS ONLY PARTIALLY UNDERSTOOD AT THIS POINT, THE FOLLOWING IS INTENDED AS A PRELIMINARY STATEMENT OF A FEW FINDINGS FROM THIS STUDY.

SEAMEN PAYING OFF MERCHANT VESSELS, LIKE OTHER INMATES LEAVING TOTAL INSTITUTIONS, USUALLY RETURN HOME. HOWEVER, THERE ARE SOME DISCHARGED SEAMEN WHO NEVER GO HOME AND FROM THIS GROUP ARE DRAWN THE LODGERS OF THE SAILORS' TAVERNS FOUND IN MANY OF WORLD'S SEAPORTS. WHILE MANY OF THESE MEN DO NOT EXPLAIN WHY THEY STAY AWAY FROM THEIR HOME SOCIETIES, THOSE WHO DO GIVE REASONS FOR NOT GOING HOME CAN BE SORTED INTO THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES.

ONE GROUP, A TRADITIONAL SOURCE OF RECRUITS FOR THE SHIPPING INDUSTRY, IS COMPOSED OF THOSE PERSONS WHO FACE IMPRISONMENT AND OTHER PENALTIES FOR POLITICAL CRIMES IN THEIR HOME SOCIETIES. ANOTHER CATEGORY IS REPRESENTED BY THE SEAMEN WHO WISH TO AVOID MILITARY SERVICE OR PENALTIES FOR PETTY OFFENCES COMMITTED IN HIS HOME SOCIETY. ANOTHER GROUP, WITH SOME ROOTS IN THE THIRD WORLD, IS COMPOSED OF THOSE SAILORS WHO CAN NOT OR WILL NOT PAY THE FUNDS NECESSARY FOR TRAVELLING HOME. A FINAL CATEGORY IS REPRESENTED BY THE SEAMEN WHO HAVE SOME SORT OF PERSONAL REASON FOR NOT RETURNING HOME.

IN MANY PORTS, SOME OF THESE DISCHARGED SEAMEN RESIDE AS PAYING OR NON-PAYING BOARDERS IN PRIVATE HOMES. FREQUENTLY, MANY OF THESE MEN LIVE IN MARITAL OR CONSENSUAL UNIONS WITH LOCAL FEMALES. IN A FEW PORTS, SOME OF THESE SEAMEN MOVE INTO THE CLUBS AND HOTELS WHICH ARE OPERATED BY RELIGIOUS AND NON-SECULAR AGENCIES FOR SEAMEN. AND IN SEVERAL OF THE WORLD'S PORTS, SOME OF THESE MEN LODGE IN SAILORS'

TAVERNS.

THE BOARDINGHOUSE-TAVERN WITH ITS SEAFARING LODGERS HAS AN INTERESTING HISTORY. SAILORS' TAVERNS AND BARS HAVE BEEN PART OF THE UNEMPLOYED SEAMAN'S LIFE IN EUROPEAN PORTS FOR THE PAST TWO CENTURIES, AND THERE IS SOME REASON TO BELIEVE THAT DRINKING ESTABLISHMENTS HAVE BEEN PROVIDING SEAFARERS WITH LIVING ACCOMMODATIONS FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS. FICTIONAL DESCRIPTIONS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY VERSIONS OF THESE ESTABLISHMENTS ARE FOUND IN THE WORKS OF HERMAN MELVILLE, WHILE MORE CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNTS OF SAILORS' TAVERNS MAY BE PIECED TOGETHER FROM THE WRITINGS OF EUGENE O'NEILL.

IN A RECENTLY PUBLISHED HISTORY OF SEAMEN AND SAILING SHIPS, THE SAILORS' TAVERNS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY EUROPE WERE DESCRIBED AS:

> . . . . RATHER SIMPLE BOARDINGHOUSES FOR SEAMEN. THE CHIEF, THE BOARDINGMASTER, PROVIDED THE SEAMEN LIVING IN HIS ESTABLISHMENT WITH FOOD, LODGING AND A CONSIDERABLE AMOUNT OF DRINK. HE ALSO TOOK IT UPON HIMSELF TO MAKE SURE THAT HIS GUESTS OBTAINED BERTHS ON OTHER SHIPS AND RETURNED TO THE SEA ONCE AGAIN....IN MANY INSTANCES, THE BOARDINGHOUSE WAS RUN PURELY TO CHEAT THE SEAMEN. KEEPING ACCOUNTS OF THE SEAMEN'S DEBTS TO THE BOARDINGMASTER WAS A SWINDLE AND THE SEAMAN WOULD OFTEN HAVE TO PAY FOR THINGS HE HAD RECEIVED AS WELL AS FOR THINGS HE HAD NOT RECEIVED. IN THE END, HE WAS SENT TO SEA ONCE MORE AND THE BOARDINGMASTER COULD PUT MOST OF THE WAGES ADVANCED TO THE SEAMAN IN HIS OWN POCKET.[5]

ANOTHER ACCOUNT OF THIS PERIOD CONTAINS A DRAWING OF THE INTERIOR OF A SAILORS' TAVERN FOUND IN A EUROPEAN PORT. THIS PICTURE SHOWS A GROUP OF THE TAVERN'S LODGERS, SEATED AROUND A TABLE, TALKING AND DRINKING. SOME OF THESE SEAMEN ARE DRESSED IN WORK CLOTHES, WHILE OTHERS ARE CLAD IN SUITS AND VESTS. BEHIND THEM, ON THE TAVERN WALL HANG PICTURES OF SAILING SHIPS.[6]

ACCOUNTS OF TWENTIETH CENTURY SAILORS' TAVERNS MAY BE FOUND IN SOME GUIDEBOOKS FOR TOURISTS AS WELL AS IN A FEW WORKS BY WRITERS

CLAIMING INTEREST IN THE MENTAL, PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL WELL-BEING OF THE SEAMAN. FREQUENTLY, THESE DESCRIPTIONS ARE DEVOTED TO THE EVIL AND THE EXCITEMENT SUPPOSEDLY FOUND IN TAVERNS AND THOUGH THEY SAY SOMETHING ABOUT THE VALUES OF THEIR AUTHORS, THEY ARE OF LITTLE HELP IN LEARNING ABOUT THE LIVES OF THE SEAMEN LODGING IN THESE ESTABLISHMENTS.[7]

SEVERAL FINDINGS FROM THE STUDY OF SAILOR LIFE REPORTED IN THIS PAPER SUGGEST THAT MANY FEATURES OF TAVERN LIFE HAVE NOT CHANGED SINCE THE 1800'S. FOR EXAMPLE, ONLY A FEW ALTERATIONS ARE NEEDED TO BRING THE PICTURE OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY SAILORS' TAVERN UP TO DATE. WHILE THE STYLES OF THE SUITS AND WORK CLOTHES WORN BY TODAY'S LODGERS HAVE CHANGED AND THOUGH AERIAL PHOTOS OF TANKERS AND BULK CARRIERS HAVE REPLACED THE WOODCUTS OF SAILING SHIPS ON THE TAVERN WALLS, LITTLE ELSE HAS CHANGED IN THE TAVERN'S OUTWARD APPEARANCE.

LIVING ARRANGEMENTS FOR LODGERS HAVE BEEN SLIGHTLY MODIFIED SINCE THE 1800'S. BOARDINGMASTERS HAVE BEEN REPLACED BY THE MEN AND WOMEN OPERATING TODAY'S TAVERN, BUT THE DEBTOR-CREDITOR RELATIONSHIP OF THE LODGER TO THE PROPRIETOR REMAINS UNCHANGED. IT IS STILL UNDERSTOOD THAT THE EARNINGS FROM THE SEAMAN'S NEXT SHIP WILL BE USED TO PAY BACK MOST, IF NOT ALL, OF HIS LODGING AND DRINKING DEBTS TO THE PROPRIETOR. RECENTLY DEVELOPED PROGRAMS OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION FOR SOME SEAMEN HAVE MODIFIED THIS REPAYMENT PATTERN IN SOME WAYS. THUS A LODGER RECEIVING FINANCIAL BENEFITS FROM THESE PROGRAMS CAN THEORETICALLY REDUCE HIS INDEBTEDNESS TO THE TAVERN PROPRIETOR DURING THE PERIOD THESE DEBTS ARE INCURRED. BUT MANY OF THE SEAMEN WHO COULD PAY BACK THEIR TAVERN DEBTS IN THIS MANNER DO NOT USE THEIR UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS FOR THIS PURPOSE. INSTEAD, THEY,

LIKE THEIR NINETEENTH CENTURY COUNTERPARTS, REPAY TAVERN DEBTS FROM THE EARNINGS OF THEIR NEXT SHIP.

THE WOMEN FOUND IN MANY OF TODAY'S SAILORS' TAVERNS REPRESENT A FEATURE OF THE LODGER'S LIFE SOMETIMES MENTIONED, BUT SELDOM DESCRIBED, IN EARLIER ACCOUNTS OF THESE ESTABLISHMENTS. ALTHOUGH THERE IS SOME OVERLAP, THESE WOMEN ARE EITHER THE OPERATORS OR BARMAIDS OF THE TAVERN. TYPICALLY, THESE ROLES ARE OFTEN CLOSELY RELATED AND THUS IT IS UNUSUAL TO ENCOUNTER A TAVERN'S PROPRIETRESS WHO HAS NOT BEEN A BARMAID DURING SOME PERIOD OF HER LIFE. USUALLY, THOUGH NOT ALWAYS, THE OLDER WOMEN OPERATE TAVERNS WHILE YOUNGER WOMEN WORK AS BARMAIDS. OFTEN, SOME FEMALE TAVERN OPERATORS ARE ASSISTED BY THE INACTIVE SEAMEN WHO ARE THEIR MARITAL OR CONSENSUAL MATES. CONSEQUENTLY, IT IS NOT AT ALL UNCOMMON TO FIND TAVERN POPULATIONS COMPOSED OF MALE LODGERS, MALE AND FEMALE PROPRIETORS, AND FEMALE SERVANTS.

IT IS DOUBTFUL WHETHER "SERVING GIRL" IS A TERM ACCURATELY CHARACTERIZING THE BARMAIDS ENCOUNTERED IN SAILORS' TAVERNS. ALTHOUGH THESE WOMEN OFTEN TEND BAR, WAIT ON TABLES, AND CLEAN THE TAVERN'S DRINKING AREAS, THEY SELDOM RECEIVE WAGES FOR PERFORMING THESE SERVICES. INSTEAD, MOST OF THEIR EARNINGS COME FROM A FIXED PERCENTAGE OF THE DRINKS WHICH ARE PURCHASED FOR THEM BY VISITING CUSTOMERS AS WELL AS BY THE TAVERN'S LODGERS. AS A RESULT OF THIS ARRANGEMENT, MUCH OF THE BARMAID'S WORKING TIME IS SPENT IN THE COMPANY OF HER DRINKING PARTNERS.

SINCE DRINKING WITH MEN PROVIDES THE BARMAID WITH THE PRIMARY SOURCE OF HER INCOME, IT COULD BE EXPECTED THAT SOME TAVERN SERVICES, SUCH AS BARTENDING, WOULD SUFFER. BUT THIS RARELY OCCURS BECAUSE THE TAVERN'S LODGERS OFTEN TAKE THE BARMAID'S PLACE AND ACT AS

BARTENDERS, WAITERS, AND PORTERS. IN THOSE TAVERNS WHERE BARMAIDS ARE NOT FOUND, THIS FEATURE OF TAVERN LIFE IS MOST OBVIOUS. HERE THE SEAMEN LODGING IN THESE ESTABLISHMENTS ARE THE ONLY PERSONS WHO WAIT ON TABLES, SERVE DRINKS, AND RECEIVE PAYMENT FOR THESE DRINKS FROM CUSTOMERS.

IN ADDITION TO HANDLING CASH, THE SEAMEN ACTING IN THESE ROLES ALSO KEEP WRITTEN RECORDS OF THEIR DRINKING DEBTS AS WELL AS THOSE OF THEIR FELLOW LODGERS IN THE TAVERN'S LEDGER. EVEN THOUGH THE SEAMEN PROVIDING THESE SERVICES TO THE TAVERN'S CUSTOMERS ARE UNPAID, THERE IS OFTEN CONSIDERABLE COMPETITION AMONG LODGERS FOR THESE JOBS AND THEIR ACCOMPANYING RESPONSIBILITIES.

WHILE IT MAY BE ACCURATE IN A VERY CRUDE SENSE TO DESCRIBE LODGERS IN THESE TAVERNS AS VACATIONING SEAMEN, OUR DATA INDICATE THAT IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO DISMISS THESE ESTABLISHMENTS SIMPLY AS HOTELS OR BOARDINGHOUSES FOR SAILORS BETWEEN SHIPS. FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS, SEAMEN COMING ON LAND HAVE BEEN LIVING IN PLACES LIKE THESE AND THERE IS SOME EVIDENCE TO SUGGEST THAT A SAILORS' TAVERN PROVIDES ITS LODGER WITH A GREAT DEAL MORE THAN FOOD, DRINK, AND A PLACE TO SLEEP. AT THIS POINT IN THE RESEARCH, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT SOME ASPECTS OF THE TAVERN'S RELATIONSHIP TO ITS EX-INMATE LODGERS CAN BE UNDERSTOOD IN TERMS OF SOLUTIONS AND OPPORTUNITIES. IN OTHER WORDS, THE TAVERN PROVIDES ITS LODGERS WITH SOLUTIONS TO SOME OF THEIR POST-RELEASE PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR DEALING WITH SOME OF THE INSTITUTION'S EFFECTS ON THEIR BEHAVIOR. WHILE ONLY A FEW OF THESE RELATIONSHIPS CAN BE OUTLINED HERE, MORE DETAILED DESCRIPTIONS OF THE TAVERN'S LINKS TO THE TOTAL INSTITUTION OF THE SHIP AWAIT PRESENTATION IN OTHER PAPERS.

Like other individuals who are or expect to be discharged from institutional environments, seamen paying off ships face two sorts of problems: the material and the psychological. Immediate material problems for most released inmates often involve finding places to live and work. Their psychological problems, on the other hand, are not as easy to identify or to solve. "Release anxiety" is the rubric sometimes employed to describe these difficulties, but this label may have too many associations with institutional contexts to be useful for understanding post-release problems. From one viewpoint, these psychological difficulties might be understood as the grand total of fears and anxieties felt by the inmate and ex-inmate about their "lack of fit" with the patterns of the outside world. The discharged seamen, in contrast to other released inmates who lack access to similar establishments, can often find solutions or partial solutions to some of these psychological and material problems in the sailors' tavern.

For example, the boarding function of the tavern obviously satisfies the immediate housing needs of paid-off sailors. For its firt-time lodger, the tavern may be just a place to live. But for the seaman returning to a particular tavern for the fifth or tenth time, it is more than a boardinghouse. It has become his home between ships. Often, these seamen will travel great distances from pay-off ports so that they may enjoy "homecomings" at these taverns and it is not uncommon for them to refer to these establishments as "homes" without the slightest traces of self-consciousness.

In addition, the tavern often furnishes its lodger with a place to work. Frequently, a seaman entering the tavern leaves a ship where he may have worked for hundreds of days without respite. Thus

THE MINOR UNPAID JOBS HE PERFORMS AROUND THE TAVERN, THOUGH SELDOM EXPRESSED AS SUCH, MAY PROVIDE HIM WITH A RELEASE FOR SOME OF THE UNEASINESS WHICH OFTEN ACCOMPANIES HIS SUDDEN AND UNACCUSTOMED INACTIVITY. ALSO, PLAYING THE ROLES OF BARTENDERS AND WAITERS IN THE TAVERN MAY HAVE SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL BENEFITS FOR MEN WHOSE PREVIOUS IDENTITIES HAVE BEEN SO TIGHTLY LINKED TO SHIPBOARD ROLES.

ANOTHER PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT OF THE TAVERN'S WORKINGS APPEARS TO INVOLVE THE ROLES PLAYED BY THE WOMEN FOUND IN THESE ESTABLISHMENTS. GENERALLY, A LODGER COMES TO THE TAVERN AFTER LIVING FOR SOME TIME IN AN INSTITUTION WITH AN EXCLUSIVELY MALE INMATE POPULATION. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AFTERMATH OF THIS PARTICULAR INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCE IS FREQUENTLY REPRESENTED BY THE SEAMAN'S ANXIOUS AND HOSTILE FEARS ABOUT WOMEN. IN THE SAILORS' TAVERN, LODGERS WITH PROBLEMS OF THIS SORT ARE OFTEN ABLE TO ACT OUT SOME OF THEIR FEELINGS WITH THE FEMALES WHO WORK IN OR OPERATE THESE PLACES. EVEN THOUGH PARTICIPATION IN THESE PERFORMANCES CAN BE MENTALLY AND PHYSICALLY PAINFUL FOR THE BARMAID AND THE PROPRIETRESS, THEY SELDOM REFUSE TO TAKE PART IN THESE TAVERN "PSYCHODRAMAS." ONE FACTOR WHICH MIGHT ACCOUNT FOR THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE WOMEN IN THESE SITUATIONS MAY BE THEIR FINANCIAL RELATIONSHIPS TO THE LODGERS. WHILE THE BARMAID IS ONLY PARTIALLY DEPENDENT ON THE LODGERS FOR HER LIVELIHOOD, MOST OF THE EARNINGS OF THE FEMALE TAVERN OPERATOR COME FROM HER LODGERS. ANOTHER POSSIBLE REASON FOR THE PARTICIPATION BY SOME OF THE TAVERN'S WOMEN IN THESE PERFORMANCES MAY HAVE SOMETHING TO DO WITH THEIR OWN PSYCHLOGICAL PROBLEMS. FOR INSTANCE, SOME OF THE TAVERN FEMALES WHO SPECIALIZE IN PLAYING "MOTHER" ROLES ARE WOMEN WHO HAVE LOST OR ABANDONED THEIR OWN CHILDREN. THUS THE BACKGROUNDS OF ITS MEN AND WOMEN SUGGEST THAT SOME OF THE TAVERN'S PSYCHOLOGICAL FUNCTIONS INVOLVE TWO SETS OF COMPLEMENTARY NEEDS: THOSE

OF ITS LODGERS AND THOSE OF ITS STAFF.

THIS LODGER-STAFF DICHOTOMY IS ONE OF THE MANY RETENTIONS OF INSTITUTIONAL LIFE FOUND IN THE SAILORS' TAVERN. SO FAR, ANALYSIS OF THE INSTITUTIONAL FACETS OF TAVERN LIFE SUGGESTS THAT SEVERAL OF THESE FEATURES MAY BE RELATED TO WHAT SOME STUDENTS OF THE TOTAL INSTITUTION HAVE DESCRIBED AS "DISCULTURATION."[8] FOLLOWING GOFFMAN'S DEFINITION OF THESE PHENOMENA, THE DISCULTURATED PERSON IS THAT DISCHARGED INMATE WHOSE INSTITUTIONAL EXPERIENCES HAVE RENDERED HIM INCAPABLE OF MANAGING CERTAIN FEATURES OF LIFE IN THE OUTSIDE SOCIETY.[9] FOR MANY EX-INMATES, THESE INABILITIES TO PERFORM SOCIALLY REQUIRED BEHAVIORS MAY BE TEMPORARY CONDITIONS. BUT FOR OTHERS, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THESE INCAPACITIES MAY CONSTITUTE MORE PERMANENT PROBLEMS.

FROM ONE PERSPECTIVE, THE DISCULTURATED INDIVIDUAL MAY BE VIEWED AS THAT EX-INMATE WHO HAS LEARNED TO PLAY HIS INSTITUTIONAL ROLE TOO WELL. THUS THE WIFE OF THE DISCHARGED MENTAL PATIENT COMPLAINING ABOUT HER HUSBAND'S LIVING ROOM BEHAVIOR MAY NOT REALIZE THAT HIS MUTED, SMILING PASSIVITY SERVED AS HIS PASSPORT FOR RELEASE FROM A CLEAN, TIGHTLY SCHEDULED WARD WHERE SILENCE REIGNED SUPREME.[10] THESE COMPLAINTS ABOUT INAPPROPRIATE BEHAVIOR, INMATE WORRIES ABOUT RELEASE, AND "DISCULTURATION" MAY REPRESENT DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF A SINGLE PROBLEM: THAT IS, THE REAL OR IMAGINARY DISHARMONY BETWEEN A PERSON'S INSTITUTIONALLY LEARNED BEHAVIORS AND THE LIFEWAYS OF SOCIETY-AT-LARGE. ALL DISCHARGED INMATES MUST DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, BUT TAVERN LODGERS MAY BE ONE OF THE FEW GROUPS OF EX-INMATES WHO POSSESS TRADITIONAL MEANS FOR HANDLING SOME OF ITS EFFECTS.

PRIMARILY, THE TAVERN HELPS ITS LODGERS TO MEET THESE DIFFICULTIES

BY PROVIDING THEM WITH A MIDDLE GROUND BETWEEN TWO WORLDS WHERE MANY OF THEIR INSTITUTIONAL HABITS CAN BE SHELTERED FROM OUTSIDE SOCIETY AND ITS CRITICS. IN OTHER WORDS, THE NEWLY DISCHARGED SEAMAN WHO FEARS THAT CERTAIN OF HIS INSTITUTIONALLY APPROPRIATE BEHAVIORS MIGHT AROUSE SOCIETY'S DISAPPROVAL CAN SAFELY RETAIN THESE HABITS IN THE SAILORS' TAVERN. THERE, IN THE COMPANY OF OTHER SEAMEN AND A TOLERANT STAFF, HE CAN FREELY ACT AS AN INMATE IN A SETTING WHERE HE CAN ALSO FEEL THAT HE IS PART OF SOCIETY AT LARGE. IN THIS AREA, THE TAVERN MAY PLAY ITS MOST IMPORTANT PSYCHOLOGICAL ROLE FOR THE SEAMAN. BY PROVIDING HIM WITH A NEUTRAL ZONE BETWEEN INSTITUTIONAL AND NON-INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENTS, THE TAVERN ALLOWS ITS LODGER TO MAINTAIN THE DISTANCE NECESSARY FOR DEVELOPING A SENSE OF SELF THAT NEITHER THE SHIP NOR SOCIETY ALONE COULD GIVE HIM. IN CONTRAST TO THE SHIP WHICH CAN DEMAND TOO MUCH OF THE SEAMAN'S IDENTITY AND THE LAND WHICH CAN REJECT THE SEAMAN BECAUSE OF THIS IDENTITY, THE TAVERN FURNISHES ITS LODGER WITH A RETREAT BETWEEN BOTH WORLDS WHERE SOME SENSE OF SELFHOOD CAN EMERGE."

IN ADDITION, THERE ARE OTHER FEATURES OF TAVERN LIFE WHICH APPEAR TO ASSIST THE LODGER IN DEALING WITH HIS POST-INSTITUTIONAL PROBLEMS. ONE OF THESE MAY BE THE FAMILY-LIKE ARRANGEMENTS OF YOUNGER LODGERS AND OLDER MALE AND FEMALE PROPRIETORS FOUND IN SOME SAILORS' TAVERNS. ANOTHER MAY BE REPRESENTED BY THOSE ASPECTS OF TAVERN LIFE WHICH RESEMBLE FEATURES OF HALFWAY HOUSE PROGRAMS. A THIRD FEATURE MAY INVOLVE THE PSYCHOLOGICAL CONSEQUENCES OF CERTAIN TAVERN RITUALS. HOWEVER, THESE FEATURES AND THE ROLES THEY MAY PLAY FOR TAVERN LODGERS ARE NOT FULLY UNDERSTOOD AT THIS POINT OF THE RESEARCH.

So far, it is apparent that the lives of these lodgers can not be understood in relation to the tavern alone. Because of its medial position between the ship and the outside society, the tavern possesses many characteristics which assume meaning only when they are viewed from a research perspective embracing both of these social worlds. In this respect, ethnography's requirement that a researcher share the existence of the people he studies has had an obvious significance. For example, it is doubtful whether the public aspects of tavern eating, sleeping, working and playing could be fully appreciated by an investigator who has never participated in the shipboard versions of these activities. Similarly, the tavern's lack of scheduled activities for its lodgers might seem insignificant to the researcher whose own life has never been ruled by the dictates of the ship's watch system for months on end. Although a non-ethnographic approach to the sailors' tavern would be of some value, it is doubtful whether the findings from this sort of research could substitute for the insights gained through ethnographic exposure to both the land and the sea conditions of the lodger's life. The value of this sort of approach has long been appreciated by students of inmate life.[12] In his preface to Asylums, Goffman advises:

> It . . . is my belief that any group of persons-prisoners, primitives, pilots, or patients-develop a life of their own that becomes meaningful, reasonable, and normal once you get close to it, and that a good way to learn about any of these worlds is to submit oneself in the company of the members to the daily round of petty contingencies to which they are subject.

Finally, the ethnographic study of some of these tavern lodgers ashore and at sea has indicated that their lifeways bear little resemblance to the frozen models of inmate life sometimes found in

THE LITERATURE. INSTEAD, THE FINDINGS OF THIS RESEARCH HAVE SUGGESTED THAT A PROCESSUAL MODEL OF INSTITUTIONAL AND NON-INSTITUTIONAL LIFE MAY BE NECESSARY TO UNDERSTAND THE CAREERS OF RECIDIVISTIC INMATES. HOPEFULLY, THE DEVELOPMENT OF THIS MODEL WILL THEN ADD TO OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE WAYS IN WHICH MAN IS MOLDED AND MARKED BY THE TOTAL INSTITUTION.

NOTES

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3. Robert B. Edgerton, The Cloak of Competence: Stigma in the Lives of the Mentally Retarded, Berkeley: 1967.

4. Erving Goffman, "The Moral Career of the Mental Patient," Psychiatry, 22: 1959.

5. Erling Eriksen, Vår gamle sjøfartskultur, Oslo: 1968.

6. Diderik H. Brochmann, Opsang fra seilskibstiden, Kristiania: 1916.

7. For a description of the wicked sailors' tavern, see Leo Hersson, Sjømann hvorhen?, Oslo: 1966, especially pp. 104-06. For a description of the exciting sailors' tavern, see Arthur Frommer, Europe on Five Dollars A Day, New York: 1969, especially pp. 76-77.

8. For details on this phenomenon, see Robert Sommer, "Patients who grow old in a mental hospital." Geriatrics, 14: 1959. A related phenomenon, "de-socialisation," is discussed in a study of ex-prisoners of war. See Adam Curle, "Transitional communities and social re-connection: Part I." Human Relations, 1: 1947.

9. Erving Goffman, Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates, Garden City: 1961.

10. Michael Seltzer, "Status Transition Ceremonies in the Mental Hospital," Mimeographed, 1967.

11. From one viewpoint, this facet of tavern life may represent a "tertiary adjustment" to institutional functioning. For a discussion of primary and secondary adjustments, see Goffman's "The Underlife of a Public Institution: A Study of Ways of Making Out in a Mental Hospital," in Asylums.

12. Ethnographic approaches to total institutions can be found in some of the writings of Jules Henry, Richard Caudill, Richard Salisbury, Oddvar Arner, Stephen Richardson and Robert Edgerton. For other approaches to the institutional character of the ship, see Vilhelm Aubert, The Hidden Society, Totowa: 1966, and Frederick Barth, Models of Social Organization, London: 1966.