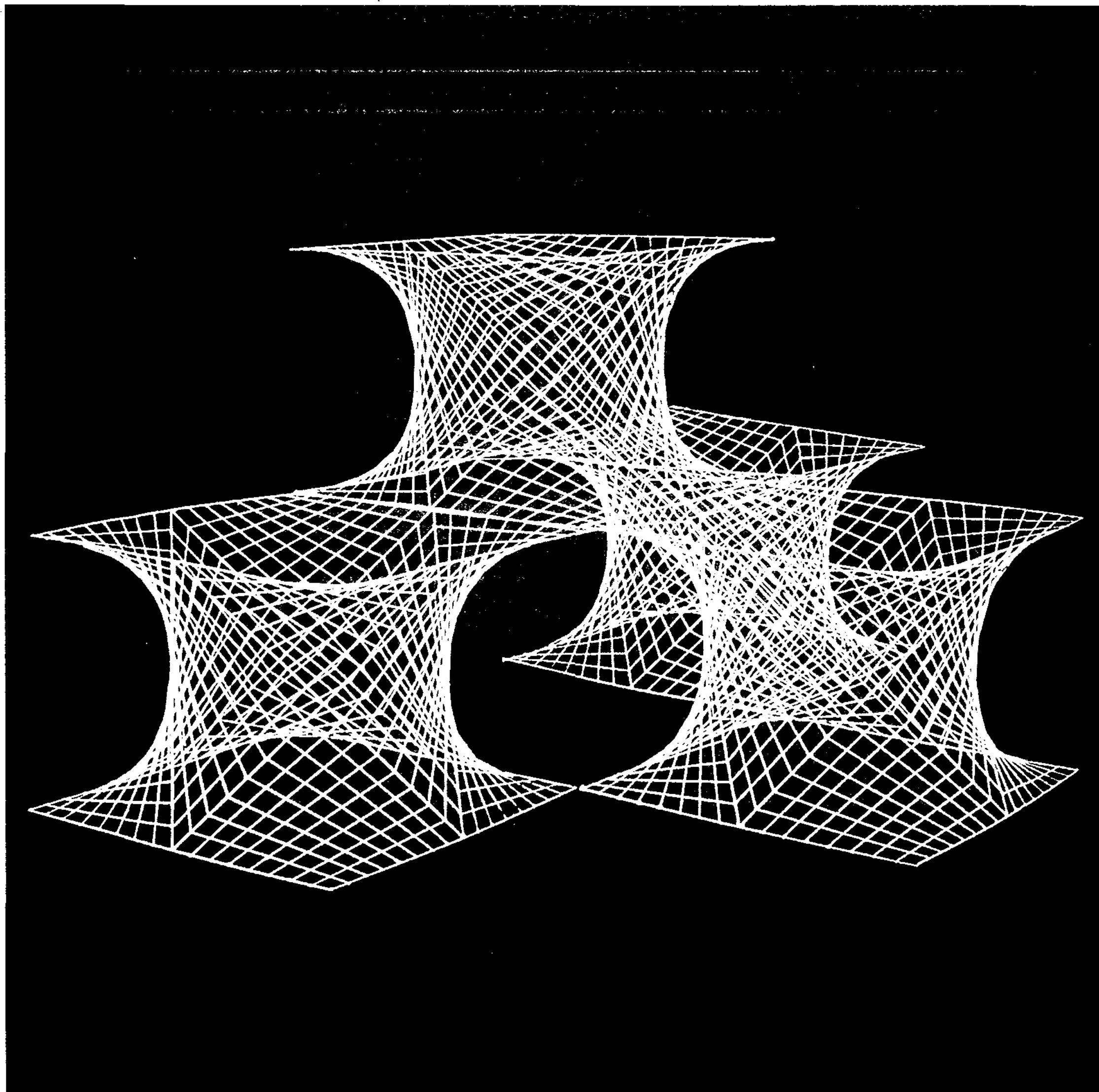
Symmetry: Culture and Science

ORDER / DISORDER
Proceedings, 4th Congress

The Quarterly of the
International Society for the
Interdisciplinary Study of Symmetry
(ISIS-Symmetry)

Volume 9, Numbers 2 - 4, 1998



Symmetry: Culture and Science
Vol. 9, Nos. 2-4, 269-282, 1998

SYMMETRY AND SOCIAL ORDER: THE TLINGIT INDIANS OF SOUTHERN ALASKA

Margaret Holmes Williamson

Address: Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Mary Washington College, Fredericksburg, Virginia 22401 USA. E-mail. mhuber@mwc.edu

Abstract: *Symmetry is most commonly thought of in material or physical terms. A symmetrical arrangement is immediately apparent to the senses, most especially the sense of sight. Social symmetry also exists, but it is harder to discern because its pattern is usually manifest over time rather than instantaneously. Nevertheless the people constrained by such a system regard it as an atemporal structure, and discuss its temporal expression in such terms. A prime example of a socially symmetrical structure is the moiety system of the Tlingit Indians of Alaska, which affects society at all levels of inclusiveness from the tribe to the household. Tlingit geography, cosmography, and art express symmetry as well: material equivalents of the non-material social organisation. These seemingly disparate symmetries all reiterate the fundamental Tlingit notion that a functioning whole consists of mutually dependent halves.*

If we take a rectangle and bisect it we have an elementary symmetrical form, an automorphism (Figure 1). Elaboration such that any change on one side is carried out on the other reiterates the original balance: one side repeats or mirrors the other, and the two become interchangeable.

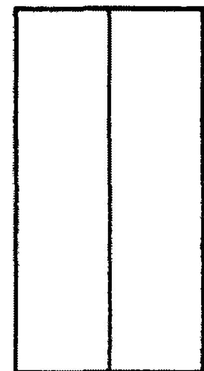


Figure 1: Bisected rectangle, a simplified model of Tlingit social organisation.

Such a figure is commonly used in anthropology to represent the social organisation of the Tlingit Indians of Alaska and British Columbia. This usage does reflect the Tlingit view of the world—for one thing, the great majority of their cultural elaborations reiterate an elementary dualism. But it also obscures what is most interesting about social symmetry, namely, that unlike physical examples of symmetry, which are apprehended immediately by the senses, it achieves itself over time and thus relies on memory for its recognition. Social symmetry, in other words, exists first as an idea in terms of which discrete social activities are interpreted; it is not the result of inductive reasoning. In this paper I discuss the social groups of the Tlingit, the most inclusive of which they viewed as conceptually equal to each other and mutually defining (i.e., in a symmetrical relationship), and then the means by which they recognised and maintained that symmetrical relationship.

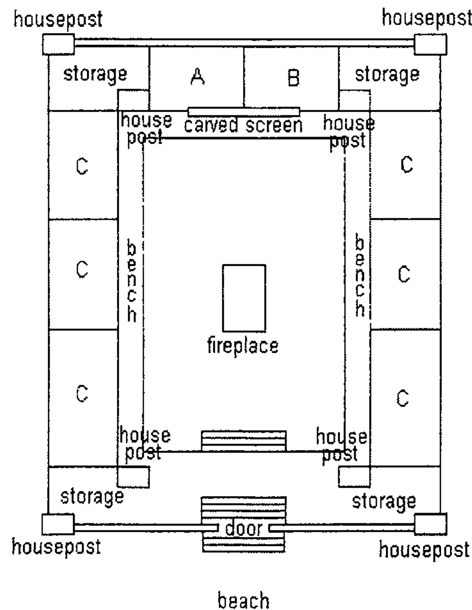
For an idea to have currency it must have a collectively recognisable expression. The Tlingit expressed the idea of duality not only in social activities but also in physical forms. Their art, for example, most commonly takes the form of a bilateral symmetry, the left half mirroring the right (see Figure 2).

Figure 2: Thunderbird Screen from Thunderbird House, Yakutat. From de Laguna 1972: Plate 91. Photo reproduced by permission of Smithsonian Institution Press.

The plan of the Tlingit house displays a similar structure (see Figure 3). The back of the house was more honorable than the front, and the carved screen that separated the living spaces for the highest-ranking persons from the common area in the middle of the house was not duplicated at the front. Slaves slept on the floor at the very front of the house, the place of lowest honor. As Lewis Henry Morgan observed over a century ago, the architecture of American Indians reflects very exactly their social organisation (Morgan 1965). The Tlingit winter house is no exception to this astute observation. De Laguna says,

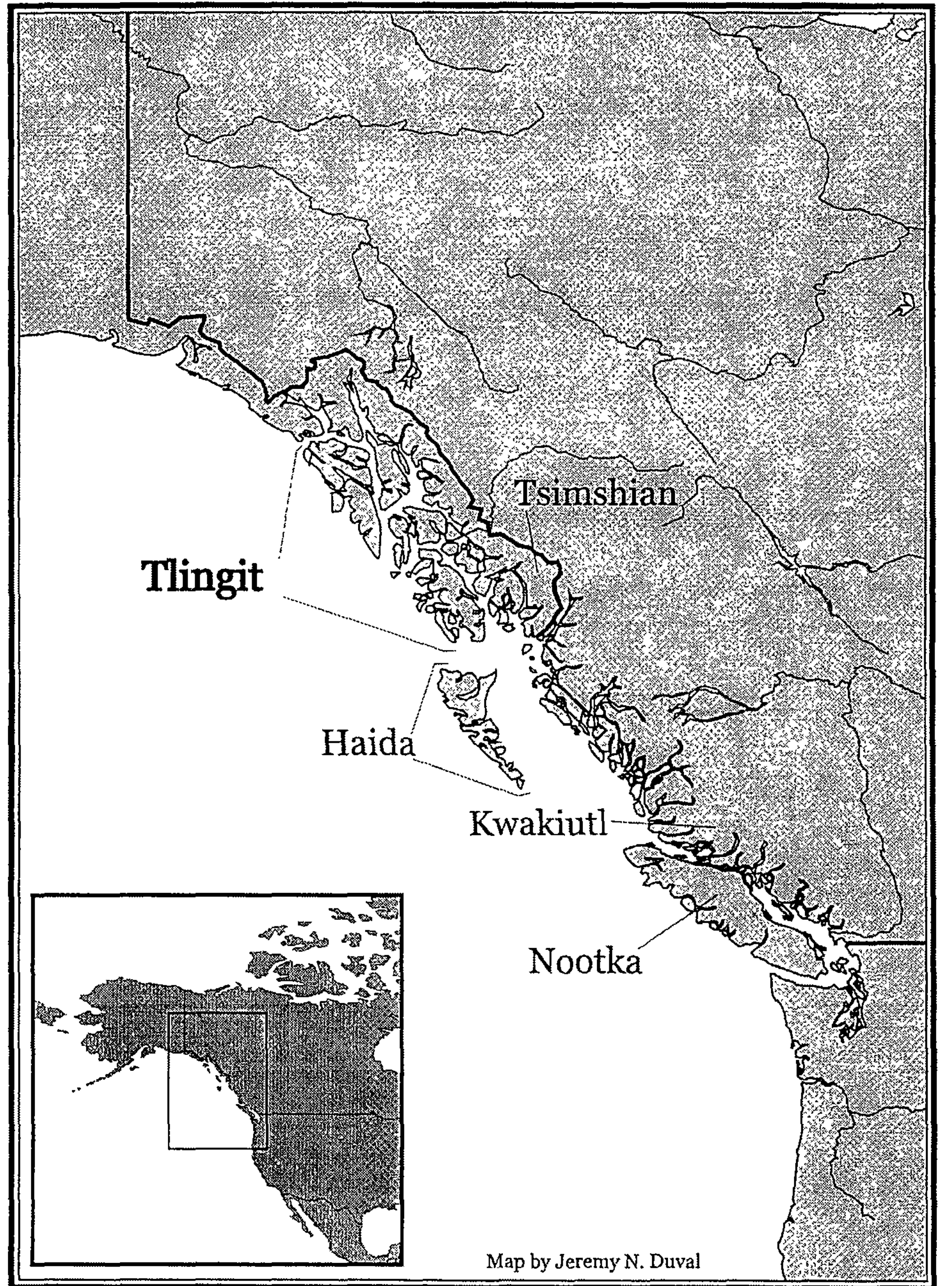
> The house of the Tlingit, that is, the real house usually occupied only during the late fall and winter, was more than a solidly built shelter against the cold. It symbolized for the inhabitant the whole social order, his place in lineage and sib, and his family ties with those of the opposite moiety (de Laguna 1972:294).

It thus provides us with a good introduction to Tlingit social organisation, the topic of this paper. Like their houses and their art, the society itself was a symmetrical structure whose component halves, in their various activities, endlessly represented their mutual relationship.



A, chief's quarters, B, chief's brother's quarters;
C, C, lower-ranked families' quarters

Figure 3: Plan of a Tlingit Winter House (after de Laguna 1972.Fig. 9)



Map: Northwest Coast of North America. Prepared by Jeremy N. Duval, Mary Washington College

The Tlingit are an Athapaskan-speaking group, numbering just under 7,000 in 1880 (Krause 1956:63), who have for several centuries inhabited what we call the Panhandle of Alaska and the very northernmost part of the coast of British Columbia. As the term "Northwest Coast" suggests, they lived between the western mountain ranges and the sea, a remarkably involuted coast characterised by fjords, rocky islands, and strong tides. The land, though unsuited to agriculture, nevertheless offered an enormous amount in the way of resources: a variety of game animals, equally varied berry bushes, giant cedars for construction, and copper. The Indians here became expert fishers, hunters, and gatherers, relying little if at all on domesticated foods for subsistence.

The winter house represented in the diagram was a communal house, several closely-related families living together under one roof Tlingit kinship was based on matrilineal descent, that is, reckoned through women rather than through men or through both sexes equally. The resident owners of the house were most usually a group of men descended from the same mother or mother's mother. Their sisters, resident elsewhere, were also considered owners of the house although they rarely lived there. Besides these matrilineally-related brothers (and it must be remembered that to the Tlingit the child of one's mother's daughter, what we would call a first cousin, was equally a "brother" or a "sister"), resident owners could include the sons of their sisters, who were the heirs and successors to the older generation. (In matrilineal descent property and status as well as kin designations descend through the female line; thus a man' s heir is his sister' s son and never his own.) In addition, the owners ' wives and children, including unmarried daughters, lived in the house; and one or more of their widowed mothers might live there too. A household of wealth and status had one or more slaves as well, acquired in the course of warfare (de Laguna 1972, 294).

Figure 3 identifies, at the back of the winter house, a "chiefs apartment" or room; as I mentioned above, the back of the house was the place of highest honor, the door the place of no honor at all. The spatial ranking reflects not just the social ranking of Tlingit individuals, but a pervasive idea that similar things must be ranked against each other. Thus not only were men ranked against other men, and women against women, but also house against house, lineage against lineage, clan against clan, village against village, and tribe against tribe. Only the two halves of the society, the moieties, were regarded as equal. What rank might mean in any circumstance, and how it was determined for any individual or group, are fascinating questions which are, however, pretty much beyond the scope of this paper. The important point for us here is that each house had a head, the highest-ranking man in the household. His duties included managing the economic resources of the group and maintaining its equally important ritual *paraphernalia*: the masks, rattles, dishes, costumes, and so on that represented the group's crest.

The term crest, or crest object, is the term de Laguna (1972, p. 451) applies to these representations in preference to the more widely-known "totem." Tlingit histories are almost entirely accounts of how they came to acquire these crests in the remote past, and thus why they are entitled to display them today. The Tlingit regarded such rights as exclusive to a particular kin-group, a fact which is significant here because rivalry between clans claiming the same crest or crests was an important aspect of the mutual relationship between the two halves of the society.

According to de Laguna, the crests "are, from the native point of view, the most important feature of the matrilineal [clan] or lineage " (1972, p. 451). The clans were the most significant social groups among the Tlingit, owning not only their specific crest objects but also tracts of land and seacoast, to which they had exclusive rights of fishing, hunting, gathering, and so on (Kan 1989, p. 23). In addition each clan had a single and common name by which its members identified themselves to each other and to others. Clan affiliation was important both economically and spiritually as well as socially.

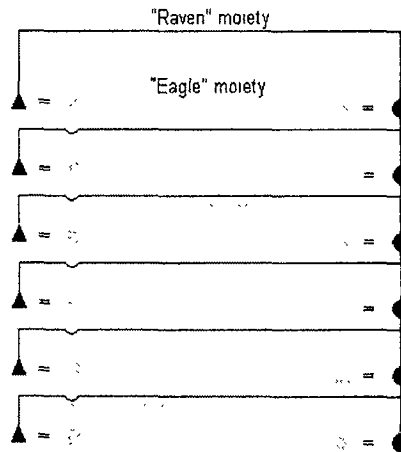
Politically, though, it was much less important than the lineages that made it up. These acted together consistently in opposition to other, similar groups, and acknowledged the authority of a single man. The lineage was "like a [clan] in miniature" (de Laguna 1972, p.451, also 212; Krause 1956, p.77; Kan 1989, p.23). It usually acted independently in matters of marriage, display of ceremonial privileges, and economy at the same time as it claimed clan crests in common and recognised obligations of hospitality or help when called upon (de Laguna 1972, p.295; Kan 1989, p.23). A lineage was a co-residential group associated with a specific named house, although usually it occupied several adjacent houses in a village which was home to a lineage of at least one other clan as well (de Laguna 1972, pp.212, 292).

Several such villages made up a tribe, a very loose political group in which the possibility of social solidarity was considerably diminished by the overriding claims of matrilineal loyalty (de Laguna 1972, p.212; Kan 1989, p.3). Even so, persons in one' s own village or the other villages of the locale assisted in such activities as putting on the important potlatch ritual signifying the end of mourning (de Laguna 1972, p.606).

The most inclusive social grouping among the Tlingit was the moiety. As the term suggests, there were necessarily two, one called the Ravens and the other variously the Wolves or the Eagles (de Laguna 1972, p.450; Kan 1989, p.24). Each Tlingit clan belonged to one of these but never both, and some of its crests reflected its moiety

association. The moiety was not in any sense a unified group, much less a political body. Its major function was to regulate marriage and the mutual ceremonial services that were the consequence of the marital alliance. Marriage within the moiety was prohibited (de Laguna 1972, p.490; Kan 1989, p.24). Thus every person's spouse came not only from a different clan but also from the opposite moiety.

The result was a system of marriage known in anthropology as bilateral cross-cousin marriage, or sister-exchange. (Cross cousins are the children of siblings of opposite sex. In a system such as the Tlingit, where kinship is reckoned through only one sex, such cousins necessarily belong to a clan other than one's own—in this case, to the opposite moiety—and are very commonly favored as spouses.) As Figure 4 shows, in every generation each descent group both loses a woman to the other group and receives one of *their* women in return: the sisters of each line become the wives of the opposite line. One consequence of this pattern is that every person marries someone who stands in the relation of both mother's brother's child and father's sister's child to him- or herself, since, in the previous generation, the mother's brother has married the father's sister (see Kan 1989, p.24). In doing so the spouses of any generation replicate the relationship established in the previous generation; their children, in turn, replicate it again, and so on.



A "Raven" must always marry an "Eagle," and vice-versa.
Systematically, in each generation a man's wife is also his sister's husband's sister; a woman's husband is also her brother's wife's brother.
Each side loses a woman (sister) and gains a woman (wife) in return, the exchange is equal and so are the sides

Figure 4: Tlingit moiety system, demonstrating marriage (idealised).
Circles = women; triangles = men; equal sign = marriage; vertical line = descent; horizontal line = siblingship.

The perpetual renewal of these relationships is usually a stated aim of marriage systems such as this, and the Tlingit were no exception (de Laguna 1972, p.590). The preferred spouse for either a boy or a girl was someone from the father' s own clan, specifically the daughter or son, as the case might be, of the father' s own sister—what we would call a first cousin (Kan 1989, p.24). In fact families of high rank tried to increase their influence by marrying into a number of other houses (Kan 1989, p.24), but with the idea that a satisfactory relationship would be perpetuated in succeeding generations as well. Figure 5 shows in very simple fashion the outcome of such a scheme of marriages.

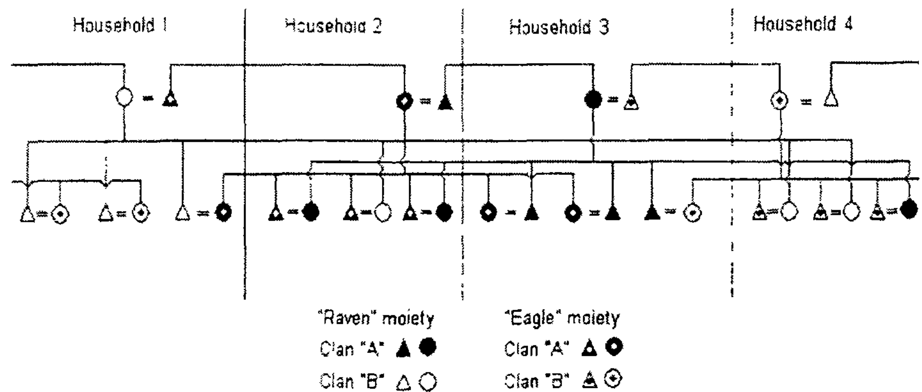


Figure 5: Marriages among four Tlingit households (ideal)

The Tlingit system is an example of a dual organisation, a form of social organisation of which Lévi-Strauss has written,

> This term defines a system in which the members of the community, whether it be a tribe or a village, are divided into two parts which maintain complex relationship varying from open hostility to very close intimacy, and with which various forms of rivalry and co-operation are usually associated (1969, p. 69).

More particularly, it is what he elsewhere (1968, p.139) calls a "diametric" duality, "the result of a balanced and symmetrical dichotomy between social groups, between aspects of the physical world, or between moral or metaphysical attributes." Typically the dual social organisation does indeed reflect a cosmic dual division as well. That is, the collective perception of the world is that it is a whole composed of two parts that are equal in value, if not in size; nothing in the world, therefore, can belong to one or the other of these parts. As this is true of natural phenomena it must also be true of social,

or cultural, phenomena, since society is part of this cosmic whole and must therefore be in harmony with what are perceived to be the laws of that whole. The Tlingit associated the Raven moiety with the sea, and the Wolf or Eagle moiety with the land. They regarded both the sea and the inland forest warily, as dangerous places at the periphery of the social world whose core was the village; but they considered the land more comprehensible, and therefore safer, than the sea (Kan 1989, p.118). To this extent only did they impose any sort of rank on these opposed aspects of their physical world; and none at all on the moieties associated with them.

The universal means by which people express equality is exchange. Giving and receiving are integral to all societies, which is to say that in a very real sense society could not exist without exchange (Mauss 1990). In order to understand the thoroughgoing symmetry of Tlingit moieties a review of Mauss's argument is in order. It will be seen, in particular, that just as the symmetry of the bisected rectangle with which I opened this discussion depends on the mutual relationship of the parts in the whole, so also did Tlingit moieties depend for their definition—indeed, their very existence socially and physically—on each other.

Mauss's most significant observation about gifts is that they are not merely economic. That is, exchanges between peoples are not to be understood only in utilitarian terms, as the means to the satisfaction of people' s material needs or wants, or to the enrichment of one's self, or to the better distribution of unevenly distributed resources. No one can deny that gifts may and do have these consequences; what we cannot then argue is that the consequences are causes for either the institution of these customs nor their continuation. In particular it is often the case that the completion of a cycle of exchanges leaves the parties materially no better off than they were before.

Socially, however, it may be otherwise. "To give is to show one's superiority, to be more, to be higher in rank, "*magister*" (Mauss 1990, p.74). By the same token, the recipient is placed, or places himself, in a subordinate position; he becomes *minister* to the other. He can rescue himself from his inferior status only by making an at least equivalent return gift. By this means is equality established and, over the long term, maintained despite temporary imbalances of gift-giving, during which one party is in debt (and therefore subordinate) to the other.

To anticipate the more detailed discussion below, Tlingit moieties were in a relationship of balanced reciprocity such that each moiety gave to the other exactly what it got back. This summary remains valid even though the moieties were not corporate groups acting

in concert. At any particular location in Tlingit territory the lineages of each moiety exchanged things equally with each other, so that neither ever established superiority over the other. The total effect of all these individual, local exchanges was, similarly, the equality of the moieties. The balance in their exchanges both recognised that this was so, and ensured that it was.

We have seen how this worked with marriage: since one's spouse must come from the opposite moiety and never from one's own, each moiety ceded and gained an equal number of people. But one of Mauss's most important insights regarding the gift is that it constitutes what he calls a "total social phenomenon." This has two meanings. A gift is total in that it is simultaneously juridical, religious, aesthetic, political, and structural as well as economic (Mauss 1990, pp. 3, 38, 78-9). It is juridical, in that it arises from and imposes obligations on the parties to the exchange; religious, even if not offered to spirits, in that its transfer has an effect on and in the spirit world; aesthetic, in that both the gift and the circumstances of its bestowal should make an appropriate impression on the senses; political, in affecting relations of status and between groups; structural, in expressing and symbolising the connections among significant social groups; economic, in being produced and put to use. But a gift may be "total" in another sense as well, part of what Mauss calls a "*system of total services*". Such a system includes not just material items and conventional services (e.g., helping someone roof a house), but "banquets, rituals, military services, women, children, dances, festivals, and fairs" (1990, pp.5-6; emphasis original)

Such totality—in both senses—characterised the gifts given between moieties among the Tlingit. The pre-eminent example of this is the mortuary ritual (see Kan 1989, pp.8-9), a highly complex ceremonial lasting several years and involving great numbers of people from both moieties as well as considerable effort in preparation. Despite its complexity, the basic notion is quite clear: the lineages of each moiety exchange mortuary services and mortuary potlatches with the net effect of maintaining their equal status with regard to each other.

Unfortunately the limitations of space mean that only the most summary account of the mortuary customs may be presented here. [Those interested in reading fuller accounts of these rituals are directed to Emmons 1991, Kan 1989, Krause 1956, and de Laguna 1972.] What is important to the present discussion is that the deceased's father's and wife's relatives were crucial to the completion of the mortuary observances because they, and not the deceased's own matrilineal relatives, accomplished the practical business of the funeral, which had as once consequence the survival and eventual

reincarnation of one of the deceased person's souls. They washed, painted, and clothed the body immediately following the death, and they assisted the mourners to assume their proper appearance too; they cooked the food on which they and the mourners lived during this time; they offered comfort to the bereaved; they built the pyre on which the body was cremated and kept it going long enough to accomplish its purpose; they rescued and wrapped the bones and ashes and placed them in the grave house, which they either built or refurbished for the occasion. If the deceased were a particularly important chief, his successor would erect as his memorial an entire new house decorated with clan and lineage crest carvings. This, too, would be built not by the people who would live in it but by their opposites.

The dependence of one moiety on the other as displayed in mortuary observances was not, however, unique to the funeral; it was evident at all life-crises among the Tlingit. A baby was delivered by women of the woman's husband's or father's clan (which might be the same, of course) rather than by the mother's own sisters or mother; and the father performed the birth ritual (Kan 1989, p. 107). The same relationship is apparent at the very important ritual that marked a girl's first menstruation. She was shut away in a small room at the back of the house for a period of time varying from four days to four or eight months or even two years, during which ordeal she was in the care of her father's sister .At the end of the seclusion the girl was provided with completely new clothing and ornaments, and she was tattooed and pierced for the labret (a plug, ranging in size from a collar stud to a bread-and-butter plate, inserted in the lower lip; only Tlingit women wore these)—all by members of her father's clan (de Laguna 1972, pp.518-522). This was, ideally, the same group from whom her husband came (de Laguna 1972, pp.524-525).

In short, no Tlingit, man or woman, could be a complete social person without the active participation of his or her opposites: those related through the father or the spouse. First we must realise that "person" is to be distinguished from "individual." The European concept of the *individual,* a being both biologically and morally independent of others except insofar as he or she wishes to be associated with them, is almost never to be found in non-western cultures. Instead we find the idea of the *person,* a physical and moral being made by, and making, the others in his or her society.

Tlingit saw human beings as made up of a number of spirits and of skin, flesh, and bones, of which they reckoned the eight long bones to be the most important (Kan 1989, pp.49-50). These components did not by themselves constitute a "person" in the Tlingit view. For that one needed a social identity, which one acquired (in part) from the

matrilineal ancestors of one's clan. The material aspect of this social identity was the crest objects the clan owned and had the right to display; the non-material aspect included stories, songs, dances, names and titles. These formed a coherent system such that inheritance of an ancestral name gave one the right to tell certain stories and sing certain songs about the ancestor, perform the dances related to these, and wear the crest objects that transformed one from an ordinary Tlingit into the ancestral power itself.

Tlingit held that most of what made up a person came from the mother's side of the family, but they also attributed certain aspects to the father's side, and in fact "fatherless children were seen as incomplete persons" (Kan 1989, p.68). The father's relatives were necessary to the production of social persons in that they carried out the rituals that established one's status as a baby and child of one's parents, as an adult woman, as a married person, and finally as someone deceased. Following Hertz (1960) and van Gennep (1960), we recognise that statuses such as these do not follow automatically from biological events or changes. Just as the appearance of menstrual blood did not in itself establish the girl as a woman among the Tlingit, so also the cessation of breath alone did not establish the sick man as deceased. The Tlingit looked to their opposites to perform the rituals necessary to make the social person, and for each such service a potlatch was due.

The potlatch that repaid the opposites for carrying out the rituals of death was the most important of these. At the potlatch the hosts, who were the matriline of the deceased led by his heir, presented their clan history and identity to an audience made up of local clans of the opposite moiety and at least one clan coming from some distance away. In this endeavor they were assisted by local clans of their own moiety. (Referring to Fig. 5, Household 1 might offer a potlatch to Household 2, to the sister of which one them is married; they would ask Household 3 for support because those men belong to another clan in their own moiety, and invite Household 4—to the sisters of which two of them are married—as the "out-of-town guests.") The symmetry of the moieties is clear here, but we see also that it is a fractal in that each moiety represented was itself divided into two: the primary clan, and the subsidiary clan or clans which were at least potentially opposed in that two clans from the same moiety could, and often did, dispute the ownership of crest objects. That the local clans were willing to support the hosts was a political gesture of solidarity, just as the willingness of the heir's kin to support him as their leader was a political statement that they recognised his right to that status.

For any Tlingit, the opposites performed the rituals and made the crest objects that established him or her as a social person; and in return the opposites received food,

gifts, and entertainment at a potlatch. But at a mortuary potlatch, anyway, there was more going on than payment for services rendered. This was a ranked society, and so everyone claimed a certain precedence over others. But claiming by itself does not give high status; it has to be accorded as well. The conditional nature of a person's rank was most obviously the case when the head of a house or a lineage died. At the potlatch for his predecessor the heir invited his opposites to confirm his claim that he was, indeed, the new head of the lineage or of the house. That they would construct that house for him as well as the mortuary paraphernalia and indeed much if not all his ritual accouterments, testified to their agreement that his claim was just. They confirmed this at the potlatch by addressing him, for the first time, with his new names and titles, which he had inherited from the deceased whom they were honoring with the ritual.

With the conclusion of the potlatch the clans from either moiety felt that the unequal relationship between them, the result of the mortuary services being so far unreciprocated, was no longer in effect; they were once again each other' s equals (Kan 1989, pp. 191-197). This fact by itself might seem to confirm my initial assertion that the moieties were equals, equivalent to the two halves of a bisected rectangle. But in fact I have presented here only one-half of the relationship: one moiety performing a funeral, the other paying them for it. True, this did restore equality between them; but since the initial gift—the mortuary services—and the repayment—the potlatch—were not at all the same kind of thing, theoretically a hierarchy might still have persisted. That it did not was due, of course, to the obligation of each moiety to perform such services for the other, and to accept the gifts of a potlatch in return. In fact we have here a four-fold structure: Eagles bury Ravens, and Ravens potlatch Eagles; Ravens bury Eagles, and Eagles potlatch Ravens. It was this structure, much more than the potlatch-for-services exchange, that reflected and maintained the equality of the moieties.

Symmetry may consist in this sort of equality, or equilibrium; but, as I suggested at the beginning of this paper, it requires also a relation of mutual definition. Each half is a half because the other half exists. And we see that that relationship, too, existed between Tlingit moieties. Categorically it operated in a negative way, in that anyone must belong to one moiety and never to both; therefore anyone who was not one of Us must be one of the Others. There were no other possibilities. In practice the principle operated positively in that the social persons (and to a somewhat lesser extent the clans) of a moiety were made by their opposites in the other moiety. Thus the moieties depended on each other for their continued existence.

That said, there remain some unresolved points. Perhaps the most interesting is that unlike their art, indeed unlike most examples of what we classify as symmetries, Tlingit social symmetry had to be apprehended over time—sometimes a very long time. The situation, which is hardly unique to the Tlingit, nevertheless presents an important variation in symmetrical forms, in that the symmetry must be deduced by the action of collective memory rather than perceived immediately by an individual's senses. This is all the more striking in that at any given time every lineage was in debt to its opposites—owing them a funeral owing them a potlatch a girl's initiation, a carving. By the action of memory, local temporary imbalances are overridden by wider-ranging long-term balances; the equality of the moieties both governs and results from this action. The pervasive artistic and architectural representations of bilateral symmetry in Tlingit life presented the model of symmetry to which the contingencies of social life were seen to conform. In the process of establishing that conformation Tlingit in effect suppressed the temporal aspect of life, making the sequential nature of exchanges appear to be simultaneous and, thus, as obviously symmetrical as the paintings on their housefronts.

REFERENCES

Emmons, G. T. (1991) *The Tlingit Indians,* edited with additions by Frederica de Laguna and a biography by Jean Low, University of Washington Press.

Gregory, C. A. (1982) *Gifts and Commodities,* Academic Press, xiv + 242 pp.

Hertz, R. (1960) *Death and The Right Hand,* translated from the French by Rodney and Claudia Needham, with an Introduction by E. E. Evans-Pritchard, Cohen and West, 174 pp.

Kan, S (1989) *Symbolic Immortality· The Tlingit Potlatch of the Nineteenth Century,* Smithsonian Institution Press.

Krause, A. (1956) *The Tlingit Indians: Results of a Trip to the Northwest Coast of American and the Bering Straits,* translated from the German by Erna Gunther, University of Washington Press.

Laguna, F. de (1972) Under Mount Saint Elias: The history and culture of the Yakutat Tlingit, *Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology,* 7 (3 parts), Smithsonian Institution Press.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1969) *The Elementary Structure of Kinship,* translated from French by James Harle Bell and John Richard von Strumer and Rodney Needham, editor, Beacon Press.

Lévi-Strauss, C. (1968) *Structural Anthropology,* translated from French by Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf, *Allen Lane the Penguin Press,* xxii + 410 pp

Mauss, M. (1990) *The Gift: The form and reason for exchange in archaic societies.* Translated by w .D. Halls with a Foreword by Mary Douglas, W W. Norton, Inc

Morgan, L. H (1881/1965) *Houses and House-Life of the American Aborigines.* Introduction by Paul Bohannan, University of Chicago Press.

Spencer, R. F , Jennings, J. D. et al (1977) *The Native Americans,* 2nd ed., Harper and Row.

Van Baal, J. (1975) *Reciprocity and the Position of W omen,* Van Gorcum: Assen.

Van Gennep, A (1960) *The Rites of Passage,* translated from French by M. Vizedom and G. Caffee, University of Chicago Press

Weiner, A. (1992) *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving,* University of California Press.