

A CROSS-CULTURAL STUDY OF REINCARNATION IDEOLOGIES  
AND THEIR SOCIAL CORRELATES

by

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CHAPTER I  
ANTHROPOLOGY AND RELIGION  
A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In all discussions concerning primitive religion it is always best to begin the inquiry with the actual statements of natives and not with the generalizations and syntheses of European observers no matter how correct they may seem. (Radin 1937:13)

Introduction

Durkheim's (1965 [1915]) theory that a society's religious beliefs were modelled on its social organization has been the starting point for much modern work in the anthropology of religion. If beliefs are not taken to mirror structure in a strict sense (as for Magnarella 1973), at least they are understood to have been shaped by society in some fundamental way (Banton 1966; Helm 1964; Lessa and Vogt 1979). Durkheim's view no doubt still prevails among the majority of anthropologists. However, agreement has never been unanimous (e.g. see Turner 1966), and in the last decade some strong challenges to the received opinion have emerged.

Geertz (1980) argues for a strict separation of the symbolic and the sociopolitical realms of culture, pointing out that they may vary independently of each other. Symbolic systems may stay relatively stable in the face of

dramatic social change, which would imply that any sort of causal link between them is misleading at best. Bloch (1986) comes to a similar conclusion about the relative independence of the symbolic and the sociopolitical (or in his case the socioeconomic) but he rejects Geertz' separatist position as unrealistic and opts for a degree of interaction. Barth (1987), going deeper into the problem, explores the relationship between personal experience, the formation of belief, and the relation of belief to social practice and culture change.

All three authors want to make general theoretical statements about the relation of the symbolic to the social. Bloch and Geertz, however, may be overreacting to Durkheim in stressing the independence of the two spheres. Both deal with ritual (theatrical performance in Geertz's case, circumcision in Bloch's) in the contact era, and there is every reason to think that before contact, the symbolic and the social were merged to a considerable extent in tribal societies. Barth, in writing about a less acculturated community (the Mountain Ok of inner New Guinea), shows how very closely associated they may be.

To argue for a close association between the symbolic and the social does not necessarily mean that Durkheim was right after all. Those of us living in the modern Western world have become so accustomed to the separation of church and state that it has become difficult for us to grasp a

situation in which the moral and political orders are merged. We are so accustomed to thinking with Durkheim that religious beliefs reflect social organization that it may never have occurred to us to wonder whether the causal arrow might run the other way around in the societies we study.

But this possibility is implied in the very different explanation of the origin of religious beliefs proposed by Tylor (1920 [1871]) in the latter part of the nineteenth century. For Tylor, beliefs concerning souls and spirits were derived from the observation and experience of sleep, dreaming, and what today we would call altered states of consciousness, such as trance. If beliefs in and about souls and spirits in tribal societies are grounded in empirical and experiential events, then it could be these beliefs which are primary, the social organization which is secondary. This is one of the points Barth makes (1987:Chap. 8), and he was anticipated in rather different way by Fustel de Coulanges (1956).

That the belief in reincarnation served to motivate the development of social practices in tribal societies may seem unlikely. Yet reincarnation, involved as it is in questions of conception and filiation, is a central problem in descent and kinship theory (Fortes 1959, 1969; Leach 1961, 1967; Scheffler 1973, 1978; Schneider 1967, 1984), and thus presumably has major implications for the organization of tribal societies. In fact, I will argue that

reincarnation--the spiritual continuity of identity across generations<sup>1</sup>--is of decisive importance in understanding all aspects of societies at this level.

Hocart wrote that earlier authors had not "given enough attention to the religious character of the kinship customs; yet I believe religion is nine-tenths of them, and the key to all these systems will be found in re-incarnation" (1923:13). Similarly, Seligman, in introducing her commentary on Ambrym, regretted that "the religious aspect of descent, the influence of the spirit world and reincarnation, as well as totemism, on social organization," was beyond her scope, although it was "clear that sociological understanding is retarded for want of better correlation of spiritual beliefs with law and custom" (1927:349).

Previously Seligman (1924) had described how reincarnation becomes involved in marriages of grandparents and grandchildren, sometimes in the context of the levirate, in Africa. Rattray and Buxton (1925) linked reincarnation, dual social organization, double (bilineal) descent, and cross-cousin marriage. Several writers have suggested an association between reincarnation and unilineal descent (e.g. Karsten 1964; Mauss 1979; cf. Matlock 1990a), and Parkin (1988) has pointed out the presence of reincarnation beliefs in societies with alternate-generation equations in their kinship terminologies. Reincarnation has also been

related to burial (King 1903; Rose 1922) and naming (Frazer 1911; Tylor 1920) practices. Levy-Bruhl (1928) and Karsten (1964) implicated reincarnation in the *couvade*.

This chapter addresses some of the more significant issues in the anthropological study of religion through an examination of the arguments of Tylor and Durkheim. Out of this examination emerges a theoretical framework that furnishes the context for hypotheses concerning the relationship between reincarnation and social variables formulated in Chapter II. Cross-cultural tests of these hypotheses are presented in Chapter III. Chapter IV, the concluding chapter, returns to the central concern with the source of religious beliefs and the relation of these to social practice and social and cultural change.

The study employs a random sample of 30 preindustrial societies, and is intended as a pilot for a larger study.

#### Tylor, Animism, and the Evolution of Culture

Tylor (1920), who made the term "animism" famous, took seven lengthy chapters to describe what he meant by it.

In essence, animism is the belief in souls and spirits and their place in the natural world. Not only does the human organism have its spiritual side, so do lower animals, and so may plants, inanimate objects such as stones, and natural forces, such as wind and rain. Human spirits are

not necessarily fixed in the body during life, but may depart from it at night and during illness. After death they may undergo transformations into other forms or become associated with inanimate objects, as in fetishism. In some local cases the animistic outlook is pantheistic, that is, it includes the idea of a high god whose manifestations the spirits are, but pantheism is not in itself characteristic of animism.

Animism was not a purely theoretical construct for Tylor, but something he built up from the reports of travellers, missionaries, and amateur ethnographers.<sup>2</sup> When he described the soul (or spirit) of the "primitive" as "a thin unsubstantial human image, in its nature a sort of vapour, film, or shadow" (1920i:429), he drew support from languages in which the same word is used for "soul" or "spirit" and "ghost," "shadow," "heart," or "breath," and brought his point home by citing examples of what today would be called out-of-body and near-death experiences, apparitions, and visions, trances, and dreams in which human figures appeared.<sup>3</sup>

In addition to suggesting the concept of the "soul," Tylor believed, such experiences would have led to the belief in its survival of bodily death, "the all but necessary outcome of savage Animism" (1920ii:1). Tylor identified two major variations of the belief in survival: (1) reincarnation, or as he called it, "the transmigration

of souls," and (2) the independent existence of the personal soul after the death of the body. These beliefs were closely connected and even overlapped one another. Both were found world-wide and seemed to derive from the dimmest antiquity, going back, he suggests at one point, to the beginnings of humankind (Tylor 1920i:421).

Consistent with his explanation of the origin of the belief in the soul as grounded in observation and experience, Tylor found an empirical basis for the belief in reincarnation.

It is mostly ancestral or kindred souls that are thought to enter into children, and this kind of transmigration is from the savage point of view a highly philosophical theory, accounting as it does so well for the general resemblance between parents and children, and even for the more special phenomena of atavism. (Tylor 1920ii:3-4)

He gives examples of what he means:

In North-West America, among the Koloshes [Tlingit], the mother sees in a dream the deceased relative whose transmitted soul will give his likeness to the child; and in Vancouver's Island in 1860 a lad was much regarded by the Indians because he had a mark like the scar of a gun-shot wound on his hip, it being believed that a chief dead some four generations before, who had such a mark, had returned.... The Wanika consider that the soul of a dead ancestor animates a child, and this is why it resembles its father or mother; in Guinea a child bearing a strong resemblance, physical or mental, to a dead relative, is supposed to have inherited his soul; and the Yorubas, greeting a new-born infant with the salutation, "Thou art come!" look for signs to show what ancestral soul has returned among them. (Tylor 1920ii:4, references omitted)

Tylor's (1920) idea that the soul concept originated in the observation and experience of phenomena such as dreams, trances, visions, and apparitions, has received a mixed reception. Lowie declared that he had "never encountered any rival hypothesis that could be considered a serious competitor" (1924:108). Lang (1898), who was familiar with the work of the Society for Psychical Research (est. 1882), agreed but went further, arguing that it was the occasional veridicality of these experiences that accounted for their effect. Herbert Spencer (1876) independently arrived at ideas similar to Tylor's, although he stressed the role of dreams to the exclusion of other experiences.

Radin (1937), for his part, seemed doubtful, preferring to ascribe all ideas relating to the soul to the theorizing of the shaman or "religious formulator." And Durkheim ridiculed the notion that persons seen in dreams could have led to the idea of the soul because it would have been too easy for a native, on waking, to check with these persons and to discover "that their experiences do not coincide with his" (Durkheim 1965:73-74).

Radin (1937) treats soul beliefs as if they had developed largely through logical deduction and elaboration, and pays little attention to their possible experiential basis. His analysis may be contrasted with that of Eliade, who observed that although the "ecstatic experiences" of shamans have exercised "a powerful influence" on religious

thought, still the fundamental elements of that thought were not the creation of shamans. "All these elements are earlier than shamanism, or at least parallel to it, in the sense that they are the product of a general religious experience and not of a particular class of privileged beings, the ecstasies" (Eliade 1964:6).<sup>4</sup>

Various counters may be and have been made to Durkheim's critique. Lowie considered it "almost beneath criticism" (1924:109). Why should we expect a native to engage in such a checking process, and why should we expect all persons to recall their dreams with sufficient clarity to allow for checking anyway? Durkheim (1965:76) cites ethnographic dream accounts that suggest that the natives believe dreams to depict the soul on a nocturnal journey, but objects that these do not support Tylor's theory because other interpretations may be given to other dreams. As Lowie (1924) points out, Durkheim here inverts the problem by asking what interpretations might be made of dreams, whereas Tylor is asking how the spirit concept might have originated. Tylor finds that the idea of the soul may be traced in part to dreams, and that is sufficient; he is not obliged to enter into a discussion of what else dreams might suggest.

Durkheim (1965:77) dismisses Lang's (1898) suggestions about the veridicality of psychic experiences in a footnote, but there are many examples of natives drawing conclusions

about the soul from just such experiences. We do not need to agree with Lang (and the natives involved) about the interpretation of these events to recognize that "paranormal" interpretations of apparitions and the seeming acquisition of information about distant events while in trance would have strengthened the idea of a soul separable from the body and could well have suggested it to begin with.

Without question, Tylor (1920) recognized the importance of reincarnation in the belief system of what he called the "lower races," and he seems to have believed (correctly in my view) that for a long while there was no perceived conflict between reincarnation and the survival of the personal soul (or spirit) after death. This may strike some readers as strange. The modern tendency is to regard reincarnation and personal survival as mutually exclusive beliefs. But the animist has no difficulty with a spirit which continues to exist in the hereafter at the same time that it returns to the physical world in a new body. A postmortem division of the spirit often is involved, although this division, as Goulet (1988) has shown, need not be conceived explicitly.

In addition to its rebirth in a human child, the animistic system allows the spirit to reappear in a lower animal. Tylor believed that the ascription of souls to animals represented a generalization from the belief in a

human soul, and that the rebirth of human beings in animals likewise was a generalization. Reincarnation and transmigration are often found as alternative forms of rebirth in the same society. Indeed, according to Karsten, South American rebirth beliefs originally included incarnation in various forms, animate and inanimate, and he interprets personal names taken from nature and natural forces as descending from an age in which a human-other-human cycle (which we may call "metempsychosis") was thought to be the rule (1964:125).

On the whole, then, we may accept Tylor's account of the origin of the soul concept as sound. It seems very likely that the concept originated in the experience and observation of dreams, trances, apparitions, and so forth, events that would not have fallen exclusively in the province of the religious specialist. Moreover, Tylor was almost certainly correct that at first little distinction was made between the "spirit" and the "soul"; the abstract sense in which we speak of the latter today appears to have been a late development (see Tylor 1920i:501).

From the perspective of the present day, the most questionable aspect of Tylor's thesis is its evolutionary assumptions. Tylor was well aware of contemporary developments in geology, botony, and biology that were establishing an evolutionary sequence for the natural world and for humankind itself, and he assumed that human

civilization had passed through similar stages of development.

As Leaf (1979) has pointed out, Tylor's thought was essentially deterministic. Tylor considered freedom of will to be "incompatible with scientific argument" (1920i:3), and he discounted the possibility of original contributions to culture formation, arguing instead for the gradual development and refinement of behavior patterns established in the distant past. How he believed these behavior patterns to have originated he did not explain. The many similarities of culture in simpler societies around the world Tylor attributed "to general likeness in human nature on the one hand, and to general circumstances of life on the other" (1920i:6). Both human nature and circumstances of life were held to be correlated with "stages" of culture or "grades" of civilization, which as a consequence could be compared with little regard "for date in history or for place on the map" (1920i:6). This "comparative method" was employed, along with its theoretical rationale, not only by Tylor, but by many of his contemporaries, well into the twentieth century (Leaf 1979).

In the course of developing his thesis, Tylor introduced several analytical constructs, the most important of which was the "survival." Survivals were "processes, customs, opinions, and so forth, which have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in

which they had their original home" (1920i:16). This construct, it seems to me, is not without utility today. It is obvious that all extant societies have had histories, and it would be naive to hold that beliefs and practices in a given society necessarily have remained unchanged over time. Behaviors may well be more conservative than beliefs on some occasions (though the converse may also be true), and beliefs might change, changing with them rationales for behaviors, without directly affecting the behaviors themselves. We do not need to accept Tylor's theoretical orientation to make good use of his concept.

Some modern writers have questioned the soundness of Tylor's portrayal of animism, and its applicability to the societies they have studied. However, these criticisms have by and large been based on inconsequential quibbles, if not on apparent misreadings of Tylor. The frequent criticism of Tylor for being too "intellectual" is a red herring: Tylor did not argue that soul beliefs were the results of ratiocination pure and simple, but that they were conclusions drawn from certain observations and experiences. Although he played up the place of soul beliefs in animism, Tylor recognized that this was at the expense of religious feeling (1920ii:358), and therefore cannot be condemned (as he often is) for not having considered feeling. It is not that Tylor ignored the place of emotion in the lives of animistic peoples--it is only that he was concerned with a

different side of their religious system (Radin 1958).

It is clear that not all tribal societies have a full animistic belief system today. Nevertheless, the animistic way of thinking seems to pervade them all to some degree. Amusingly, Geertz, in the midst of developing a Durkheimian thesis, comments that he was struck by the extent to which his "more animistically inclined informants behaved like true Tyloreans" (1973:101). Other authors have argued for the utility of animism as a descriptive paradigm (Goody 1961b; Horton 1960; Radin 1958). All things considered, I find no injustice in describing what have variously been called tribal, preindustrial, primitive, etc., societies, as animistic societies, singly or collectively. In using this label, however, I mean only to describe a certain outlook on the world. I do not mean to suggest thereby anything about these societies in terms of evolutionary stages of development.

#### Durkheim and the "Collective Consciousness"

Durkheim, as we have seen, was critical of Tylor's attempt to derive the soul concept from experiences such as dreams. He wrote derisively that this was equivalent to basing religion on "hallucinatory representations" (1965:86), and an institution as socially important as religion must, he believed, be grounded in something more

substantial. His preferred alternative was that it was society itself--the "collective consciousness" of all persons--that furnished the foundation for religious belief. What he meant by this will become clearer when we understand how he construed religion and society.

For Durkheim, all religion depended upon the opposition of the sacred and the profane. The supernatural could not have provided the original inspiration for religion, because "supernatural" implied a sense of "natural," and appreciation of the latter was a relatively recent historical development; for the primitive, there was no such contrast, and thus nothing to have inspired religion. Nor might religion be defined in terms of divinities, or of spiritual beings in general, because there were religious phenomena and even religions--such as Buddhism--which made no reference to them. But all religious systems had one thing in common: They all presupposed a distinction between the sacred and the profane.

Unlike Tylor, who derived his theory from ethnographic data, and used the comparative method to develop and present it, Durkheim began by deducing religious principles on logical grounds, then turned to a single society to work out of the implications of these principles. The society he chose was the central Australian society of the Arunta, which had been described in detail by Spencer and Gillen (1899). Although Durkheim brought in comparative material

from elsewhere in Australia and from North America, especially, his emphasis was on the Arunta. He chose this society because it was one of the most primitive societies known (Durkheim 1965:115), and he studied it intensively on the assumption that his findings would be generalizable to other situations: "When a law has been proved by one well-made experiment, this proof is valid universally" (1965:462).

Among the Arunta one finds totemic clans, which must therefore be the most primitive form of social organization. Members of a clan are united not by blood, but by a common name. This name is the word for a certain species of thing--an animal, a plant, a force of nature--from which all members of the clan are thought to be descended in a direct line. The name is the totem of the clan, but a totem is more than a name, it is an emblem as well. As such it may be used to mark "liturgical instruments" such as the churinga, or bull-roarer. Association with the totem renders the marked item sacred--the totem is, in fact, "the very type of sacred thing" (Durkheim 1965:140).

But "totemism" is more than a collection of sacred things--it is a cosmological system, a system of classification. All manner of things are classified in relation to the totem, or more precisely, in relation to the clan. Now comes something very important. "These systematic classifications are the first we meet in history,

and we have just seen that they are modelled upon the social organization, or rather that they have taken the forms of society as their framework. . . . It is because men were organized that they have been able to organize things, for in classifying these latter, they limited themselves to giving them places in the groups they had formed themselves" (Durkheim 1965:169). Our systems of classification, our patterns of thought, are no more than our social organizations projected inward. "It is society which has furnished the outlines which logical thought has filled in" (1965:173).

We may ask whence the totemic idea came. Tylor and others sought to derive it from some "previous religion" (by which Durkheim evidently means animism). Tylor tried to link totemism to transmigration, the rebirth of human beings in animal form. But, Durkheim objects, this cannot be the answer, because although one finds rebirth in Australia, this is rebirth as human beings only, or reincarnation. "It is true that the first ancestors are frequently represented under the form of an animal, and this very common representation is an important fact for which we must account; but it was not the belief in metempsychosis [transmigration] which gave it birth, for this belief is unknown among Australian societies" (Durkheim 1965:197).

Rather, the basis of totemism is "an anonymous and impersonal" force, which is diffused through all sorts of

objects and creatures, and may be possessed by man himself. The totem is merely the material manifestation of this force, which Durkheim, following Codrington (1891), calls "mana." But how did the concept of mana itself come into being? It cannot have emerged "out of the sensations which the things serving as totems are able to arouse in the mind," because these things are frequently such insignificant creatures as "the lizard, the caterpillar, the rat, the ant, the frog, the turkey, the bream-fish, the plum tree, the cockatoo, etc.," which "are not of a nature to produce upon men these great and strong impressions which in a way resemble religious emotions and which impress a sacred character upon the objects they create" (1965:235).

Totems therefore are symbols. But symbols of what? From the analysis so far, Durkheim says, it is clear that the totem symbolizes two things. "In the first place it is the outward but visible symbol of the totemic principle or god. But it is also the symbol of the determined society called the clan" (Durkheim 1965:236). In other words, "The god of the clan, the totemic principle, can therefore be nothing else than the clan itself, personified and represented to the imagination under the visible form of the animal or vegetable which serves as totem" (1965:236). That is to say, "Society has all that is necessary to arouse the sensation of the divine in minds, merely by the power it has over them; for to its members it is what a god is to its

worshippers" (1965:236-237).

In thus laying out the fundamental principles of totemism, Durkheim has found no trace of spiritual beings. And because spiritual beings are not the basis of totemism, the most primitive religion, it follows that they cannot be the basis of religion in general. They must perforce be "secondary formations" from totemism (Durkheim 1965:273).

This is not to say that the concept of the soul is absent from Australia--on the contrary, it is found universally there. Among the Arunta and the tribes of central Australia, it is linked to reincarnation. Each person is the reincarnation of an ancestor in either the maternal or paternal line, the soul having been passed down from time immemorial, when it was associated with a mythic ancestor of the same species as the totem of the clan. From this we may conclude that "in a general way, the soul is nothing other than the totemic principle incarnate in each individual" (1965:282).

The notion that the soul is the totem incarnate gains strength from the frequent association of souls and animals. Not only does the soul descend from a totemic ancestor, which often is an animal, but after bodily death, in societies around the world, the soul may be reborn in an animal. Indeed, in totemism lies the probable origin of the belief in "metempsychosis" (transmigration). There follows a remarkable passage which bears quotation in full.

If the soul is an essentially human principle, what could be more curious than this marked predilection which it shows, in so large a number of societies, for the animal form? On the other hand, everything is explained if, by its very constitution, the soul is closely related to the animal, for in that case, when it returns to the animal world at the close of this life, it is only returning to its true nature. Thus the generality of the belief in metempsychosis is a new proof that the constituent elements of the idea of the soul have been taken largely from the animal kingdom, as is presupposed by the theory which we have just set forth. (Durkheim 1965:296-297)

Let us be sure that we understand what Durkheim is saying here, and how this differs from what Tylor was saying on the same subject. For Durkheim, the clan came first, and its members chose as its symbol a certain animal. This symbol, or totem, then furnished the model for the soul. An individual's soul was connected through reincarnation to the mythic ancestor, an animal whose species had dictated the nature of the totem. Although in Australia reincarnation only was found, the fact that transmigration was found elsewhere in the world was to be explained by the fact that the totem was an animal. The widespread presence of transmigration beliefs lent weight to the idea that the soul was modelled on the animal totem. By contrast, Tylor began with observations and experiences which suggested the soul and its reincarnation. Transmigration was a generalization from reincarnation, and transmigration led to the identification of a totem animal as the progenitor of a clan, resulting in what we now call totemism. Whereas

Durkheim starts with the clan, Tylor ends with it.

Durkheim's first important critic was Goldenweiser (1917), who struck at the heart of the argument by pointing out that: (a) there were societies known to anthropology which had good claim to be as primitive if not more primitive than the Australian; (b) not all of these had clans; (c) the clan organization, when it appeared, was not invariably linked to totemism; and (d) Australian totemism had peculiarities that set it off from the common type. The assumption that Arunta totemism represented the most primitive form of religion and social organization therefore was unwarranted.

Moreover, Durkheim's portrayal of "totemism" is misleading, in that totemism designates only a miscellaneous collection of beliefs and practices whose common denominator is that they relate in some way to animals. Tylor (1899) and Goldenweiser (1910) had pointed this out by the time Durkheim wrote (Lowie 1924), and it has since been demonstrated in some detail by Levi-Strauss (1963b).<sup>5</sup>

As Lowie (1924) observes, Durkheim was led astray in part by his assumption that the Arunta represented the world's most primitive society. Having privileged the Arunta, he was forced to derive all other cultural and social traits from the conditions he discovered among them. Thus, although he recognized the relationship between reincarnation and descent for the Arunta, Durkheim rejected

Tylor's idea that transmigration could have led to the development of the totemic system on the rather weak (and, as it turns out, mistaken) ground that transmigration was not found in Australia.<sup>6</sup>

As if all this were not enough, there is the further problem of Durkheim's circular reasoning regarding the origin of religion, on which Talcott Parsons (1949:207) commented some years ago. In his concluding chapter, Durkheim expressed his position as follows:

As we have progressed we have established the fact that the fundamental categories of thought, and consequently of science, are of religious origin.... Now in order that these principal aspects of the collective life may have commenced by being only varied aspects of the religious life, it is obviously necessary that the religious life be the eminent form and, as it were, the concentrated expression of the whole collective life. If religion has given birth to all that is essential in society, it is because the idea of society is the soul of religion. (Durkheim 1965:466)

Taken by itself, this passage seems clear enough: Religion gave birth to society. But much else that Durkheim has told us indicates that he believes the opposite to be true. He has devoted the bulk of his book to working out the ways in which society gives rise to religious beliefs and practices, and even says that the religious experience is a consequence of ritual action. He might have escaped his quandary by suggesting that direct experience supplied the categories which society then inscribed, had he not already blocked off this exit by asserting that the

categories were established through the projection of social structure onto the world of ideas: "It is society which has furnished the outlines which logical thought has filled in" (Durkheim 1965:173). However, not only does Durkheim not take this escape route, he never even shows that he is aware that he is in need of an escape.

Given the prejudicial nature of Durkheim's method, the demonstrable errors in his premises, the convoluted nature of much of his logic, and the underlying contradiction in his views regarding the relation of society to religion, one might have thought his book would be no more than a passing tour de force. Lowie said of it that it was "a noteworthy mental exercise and would rank as a landmark if dialectical ingenuity sufficed to achieve greatness in the empirical sciences" (1924:157). But The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life has survived after all, to attain just the status that Lowie believed it failed to merit (indeed, a few years later, in 1937, Lowie himself went some distance to modify his original harsh assessment). Practically all that has written about religion in anthropology since Durkheim has made reference to this work, and often in a complimentary way.

No doubt the largest reason for Durkheim's success was that anthropology was ready to hear what he had to say. By 1912, when the French edition of his book was first issued, the field was growing weary of the evolutionary orientation

and piecemeal approach to culture analysis typical of the comparative method. Although Durkheim too made evolutionary assumptions, and although he like his predecessors was interested in the origins of society and of religious beliefs, he took the hugely important step of examining in detail how a set of beliefs related to a single society. He argued that it was possible to explain those beliefs in terms of social variables alone, a proposition that was particularly attractive to an age that had found Freud and for whom Wundt was giving way to Watson (and whose children were to grow up with Skinner). After Durkheim, religious beliefs were no longer concepts, they were symbols, symbols with strictly social and cultural referents (Leaf 1979; T. Parsons 1949).

The impact of Durkheim's work was all the more pronounced because he was part of a school. Other products of the same school (to mention only those most relevant to the present study) include Mauss's (1979 [1938]) essay on the "category of the person" and Hertz's (1960 [1907]) study of mortuary practices. Although van Gennep was not part of this group, his analysis of "rites of passage" (1960 [1909]) belongs here as well (Leaf 1979). Swanson (1960, 1966, 1975) is Durkheim's most prominent contemporary successor in the sociology of religion. Durkheimian notions also have supplied the point of departure for theoretical developments in "symbolic anthropology," especially those of Geertz

(1973).

Durkheim's successors have picked up on one aspect of his thesis--that religious beliefs are expressive of society, while ignoring his thoughts on the other--the idea that society itself was founded on religious sentiment. The idea that the religious experience may stand outside of society, much less that it may have been prior to society and thus capable of affecting its development, is rarely considered. To my knowledge, Fustel de Coulanges (1956) is the only writer to have done so in any detail. Instead, modern anthropology has tacitly accepted what Shweder (1991) calls "Nietzschean" assumptions--the dogma that only the empirical is real, and that the experiential, being subjective and therefore objectively unverifiable, can and should be ignored. But this position overlooks that fact that the experiential realm, objectively accessible or not, has provided an important source of motivation throughout human history.

Parsons (1949) noted that Tylor's approach has the advantage of allowing us to perceive the world from the vantage of the actor. But we have come far enough (in anthropology, and in the present discussion) to realize that this is not enough. As Parsons observed, there is no turning back from Durkheim and the relation of actor to society. If we are to integrate the approaches of Tylor and Durkheim, thus moving beyond them, we can do so only by

appreciating and integrating the strengths of both.

There is a way of bringing the two conceptions together, and it only requires us to go halfway toward the reacceptance of the "old positivistic conception of the homogeneity of all human thought and its problems" (T. Parsons 1949:211) that was at the center of Tylor's thinking. This is to acknowledge the universal presence and structural similarity not only of dreams but of out-of-body experiences, trance states, apparitions, and so forth, while at the same time acknowledging that cultural factors may help to shape them and to color their content (Matlock 1989). Soul beliefs may have had their origin in experiential events, while at the same time they are influenced in their expression and development by cultural factors.<sup>7</sup>

In the present study it will be necessary to stress the universal form of such phenomena, which being independent of society are supposed to have been prior to its development, but that their content may be colored by cultural influences should not be forgotten.

#### Cross-Cultural Studies of Society and Religion

Although the number of cross-cultural studies has now grown quite large (Ember and Levinson 1991; Levinson and Malone 1980), few have been concerned with religious issues,

and none have focused on reincarnation. Three studies (Davis 1971; Somersan 1981; Swanson 1960), however, consider reincarnation in the context of soul beliefs. From the following examination it will be seen that all three test propositions that, if not always strictly Durkheimian, nonetheless depend on his idea that religious beliefs may be explained by reference to social phenomena.

The Birth of the Gods (Swanson 1960)

Durkheimian ideas had been much praised but little tested before Swanson's (1960) study. But if Swanson was the first to test Durkheim's thesis systematically, he also greatly softened it by abandoning the idea that social groups of every type had some sort of religious meaning (Davis 1971:14).

For Swanson, spirits are organized clusters of purposes, each having a personal identity and access to mana. Given that human beings experience purpose in social interaction, it follows that it is in social relations that spirits become evident. A person dies, but his social role continues to be functional, and thus he persists so long as his name is remembered by the group to which he belonged. In looking for the origin of the spirit concept, then, one must look for the persistence of social relationships across generations. Inasmuch as different groups have different purposes, each type of group will have a different type of

characteristic spirit or soul belief.

The relevant groups are what Swanson calls "sovereign groups." A group has sovereignty to the extent that it has original and independent jurisdiction over some sphere of social life. Sovereign groups may range from families to nation states, each with jurisdiction at a different level in the larger society. To the degree that a group has sovereignty, it provides the conditions under which the spirit concept may develop. A group's "constitutional structure" is analogous to the "character" of an individual and to "what men often conceptualize as personified and supernatural beings" (Swanson 1960:26-27).

Swanson proposed ways in which the structure of sovereign groups in a society related to seven types of supernatural belief--monotheism, polytheism, active ancestral spirits, reincarnation, the "immanence of the soul," witchcraft, and (supernatural) ethical sanction. Each hypothesis rests on an interpretation of the purposes spirits would have for a particular type of sovereign group. Ancestral spirits, for example, are especially active within the kinship groups of the deceased, but because children marry out of the family, it is not the family as such that provides for the continuation of purposes across generations. Rather, one may expect to find active ancestral spirits in kinship groups that are larger than nuclear families, in other words, in lineages or clans or

other kinship groups. The more sovereign groups there are in a society, the more likely it is that active ancestral spirits will be found.

Reincarnation likewise involves the perpetuation of the purposes of the deceased, though at most for a generation or two, and the deceased in this case are thought to return to the living in the body of a newborn child. Reincarnation involves all members of a society, from the most influential to the lowliest. When might the latter be expected to continue to have influence after they die? Clearly it is in their own families--if we exempt the nuclear family, whose influence, as we have seen, is ephemeral. Thus, we may expect to find reincarnation beliefs particularly in societies with extended families or in neighborhoods of a few families united by common bonds. Reincarnation would not be expected to appear where the ultimate sovereign unit--the largest unit responsible for decision making in the society--is at the level of the village or higher.

Swanson's sample consisted of 50 societies chosen from the 556 societies of Murdock's (1957) World Ethnographic Sample. In selecting his sample, Swanson asked "colleagues in anthropology" to indicate which cultures in their geographical areas of specialization were the best described, yet least influenced by a world religion--Judaism, Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, or Buddhism. Having identified those societies that were well described but

little influenced, Swanson chose, at random, one each from the 50 culture areas identified by Murdock.

Each of Swanson's tests had significant outcomes. The number of sovereign groups was found to be related to the belief in active ancestral spirits when both nuclear families and the ultimate sovereign group were excluded ( $p < .01$ ) and when only nuclear families were excluded ( $p < .03$ ) from the analysis. Reincarnation was found to be related to the unit of settlement--the belief appeared significantly more often when the ultimate sovereign group was an extended household or neighborhood than when it was either at a lower (nuclear household) or a higher (village or town) level ( $p < .01$ ).

Davis (1971) successfully replicated only two of six of Swanson's seven tests on the 60-culture Human Relations Area Files (HRAF) Probability Sample (Naroll 1967). The two successful replications concerned beliefs in high gods and active ancestral spirits, although the latter revealed a different distribution than that of Swanson's data. Whereas Swanson found ancestral spirits to appear least frequently in societies in which there were no sovereign groups, Davis found them to appear very often there--Davis's data, in fact, suggest a curvilinear relationship between number of sovereign groups and presence of ancestral spirits. Davis failed altogether to match Swanson's findings on reincarnation: Reincarnation occurred as often in societies

with cities and towns as it did in societies with villages and neighborhoods in his sample ( $p = .9$ ).

Societal Complexity and the Nature of Primitive Man's  
Conception of the Supernatural (Davis 1971).

Davis (1971) not only replicated Swanson's study, he proposed his own hypotheses and conducted an independent series of tests related to them. His theoretical framework is drawn from Lenski (1970), who proposed an evolutionary hierarchy of societies according to the level of technology employed in subsistence activities. Davis tries to position his "evolutionary" thesis against Swanson's. Unlike Swanson, he does not assume a causal relationship between level of technology and type of religious belief, but argues that different types of belief will be characteristically associated with societies at different levels of technological development. The religious or sacred is experienced in a social context, and it is this context which produces the type of concept used to symbolize and, thus, to express man's notions of the supernatural.

Taking his lead from Lenski, Davis defines the level of societal complexity in economic terms, or more precisely in terms of the technology utilized in subsistence activities. Technological progress is understood to be a major consequence of social evolution and, thus, a major index of societal complexity. Lenski identifies nine major types of

society, which Davis collapses into four: (1) Hunting-gathering-fishing, (2) simple horticulture, which relies on the digging stick, (3) advanced horticulture, in which metal implements such as hoes are used, and (4) agriculture, which makes full use of metals, and in which the plow is introduced.

Davis's sample was the 60-culture Human Relations Area Files Probability Sample published by Naroll (1967). (The same sample furnished the pool for the present study; see Appendix III.) Davis exempted five societies (Rural Irish, Serbs, Taiwan Hokkien, Sinhalese, and Bahia Brazilians) on the ground that these are advanced agrarian societies with world religions dominant, and he sought to control further for acculturation (particularly the effects of missionary activity) by focusing on a period preceding the date at which the society "was pacified by a colonial power" (1971:90).

Davis (1971) hypothesized that ancestral spirits would be found predominantly in horticultural societies. He found ancestral spirits to occur slightly more frequently in simple than in advanced horticultural societies and in horticultural societies in general more often than in hunting-gathering or agrarian societies. The relationship was nonsignificant ( $p = .25$ ) when tested on the HRAF sample, although when retested on Swanson's (1960) sample, it did reach significance ( $p = .05$ ). Davis hypothesized that

reincarnation would appear most often in hunting-gathering societies and least often in agrarian societies. Once again he found a nonsignificant trend in his sample ( $p = .5$ ), but although the same trend appeared in the retest on Swanson's sample, the relationship across variables in this case was even closer to chance ( $p = .95$ ).

Davis seems to think that his theory is non-Durkheimian, but it is obvious that it depends on essentially the same ideas. The difference between a belief modelled on social structure and a belief that expresses social organization is hardly enough to give Davis the distance he claims to be obtaining.

#### Death Symbolism: A Cross-Cultural Study (Somersan 1981)

The third cross-cultural study to examine reincarnation in relation to social variables is Somersan's (1981) doctoral dissertation, a portion of which she reported in a published paper (Somersan 1984). Somersan follows Luckmann (1967) in hypothesizing that the "symbolic universes" from which specific religious beliefs are derived "refer to the world of everyday life on the one hand, and point to a world that is experienced as transcending everyday life on the other" (Somersan 1981:13). Religious systems are partly experiential but also partly social, because it is in social interactions that meaning is associated with experience. Moreover, the maintenance of symbolic universes across

generations depends on social interaction.

Somersan recognizes the experiential basis of religious beliefs. Nonetheless, she, like Swanson and Davis, uses these beliefs--about the soul, the afterlife, ancestral spirits, and reincarnation--as dependent variables. Among her independent variables are a variety of social practices and structures, including subsistence, community size and settlement pattern, succession to headman's office, type of marriage and postmarital residence, descent rule, and initiation of adolescent boys.

Somersan (1981) introduces seven hypotheses, six of them concerning the relation of soul beliefs to social variables. Rephrased, these are: (1) All human societies have some concept of soul; (2) relatively unspecialized and unstratified societies have an undifferentiated (unitary) concept of the soul; (3) more specialized and stratified societies are more likely to have differentiated (multiple) soul concepts; (4) unilineal societies are more likely to have beliefs in single than in multiple souls; (5) low accumulation societies are more likely to believe that the afterlife is a gratifying place for all, regardless of one's conduct while in the flesh, than are high accumulation societies; (6) societies with beliefs in ancestral spirits are more likely than others to have reincarnation beliefs; and (7) hunting and gathering societies are more likely than pastoral and agricultural societies to have ancestors which

are "rewarding and guiding." In addition, she introduces a variety of exploratory tests.

Somersan (1981) used the same 60-culture HRAF Probability Sample employed by Davis (1971) and used again in the present study. She reports the results of 77 different tests, but never summarizes her findings as they relate to her hypotheses. This may be because it is clear from her presentation of data that all except Hypothesis 6 (the only one to test an association between dependent variables) have failed to be supported. The relationship between ancestral spirit and reincarnation beliefs, tested by chi-square, gave a probability of less than .0000. Not only were the other tests non-significant, the trends were often in a direction other than, sometimes opposite to, the expected one. But Somersan's findings group themselves in unexpected ways, and she uses her concluding discussion to construct an explanatory model based on them.

What Somersan claims to have found is one constellation of traits characteristic of societies organized around matrilineal descent and another constellation characteristic of societies that are either patrilineal or bilateral. Matrilineal societies seem to have multiple soul concepts, reincarnation and ancestral spirit beliefs, an afterlife whose quality does not depend upon actions taken by the living, and "morally disinterested high gods." Patrilineal and bilateral societies, on the other hand, seem to have

unitary soul concepts, an afterlife whose quality is conditional upon actions on earth, and high gods concerned with morality. The first of these patterns "diffuses power and authority as well as responsibility and obligation to the ancestors, the lineage, and the community," whereas the second "concentrates power and authority with the Deity; responsibility and obligation with the single individual, the self." These differences are to be explained, Somersan believes, by the different position of women in the two types of society (1981:134-144).

Somersan (1984) reported the key tests in a paper published in Ethos. My replication of these tests using a parallel sample (drawn from the same 60 culture-clusters used by HRAF in defining the Probability Sample) was a failure (Matlock n.d.). None of my tests reached significance.

Somersan's (1981) study has methodological problems that complicate interpretation of her results, my unsuccessful replication of four of her tests notwithstanding. Unlike Davis (1971), she made no attempt to focus on specific communities or time periods, but accepted as relevant to her tests all data represented in the HRAF microfiche for her sample societies. She defends this decision on the basis of unit focus tests that gave non-significant results (Somersan 1981:184-186), but even so the practice is not really satisfactory. Lumping together data from different groups

that may have different beliefs and social practices undercuts (if it does not vitiate) any attempt to correlate these variables.

There are difficulties with Somersan's statistical analysis also. When more than a few tests are conducted on a single database, there is an increased likelihood that one or more of them will reach significance by chance alone. There are various ways to control for "multiple analysis," including setting higher alpha levels, employing correction formulas, or building a replication into one's study. Davis (1971), for instance, tested his hypotheses on both the HRAF Probability Sample and on Swanson's (1960) sample. Nevertheless, despite that fact that Somersan conducted some 77 tests, far more than either Davis or Swanson, she took no steps to control for multiple analysis. She applied no correction, and she evidently accepted an alpha of .1 (she does not state this, but many of her claims of significance do not make sense otherwise). If a chance factor (which may be considered a measure of sampling error) accounts for the four tests she published, this could help to explain why I failed to replicate them successfully (Matlock n.d.).

#### A Theoretical Framework

Swanson (1960) anchored his study firmly to Durkheim's. Both Davis (1971) and Somersan (1981) sought distance from

it, basing their theories on Lenski (1970) and Luckmann (1967), respectively. However, if Durkheim is taken to represent the position that religious beliefs may be explained by reference to social variables, both Davis and Somersan fail to make the break as cleanly as they seem to think that they do. As I have shown, their theories, just as much as Swanson's, assume that soul beliefs are modelled upon features of social organization. I propose to avoid Durkheimian reductionism altogether by going back to Tylor for my theoretical inspiration.

Somersan (for that matter, Swanson and Davis also) used a broad definition of reincarnation. In her coding instructions Somersan says that reincarnation "refers to the return of a soul, usually a maturing one, in consecutive bodies" (1981:218). These bodies may be those of animals or plants as well as human beings. Such inclusive definitions obscure the very interesting fact that the belief usually includes (and may only include) the idea of rebirth in human bodies. In my replication of Somersan's (1984) study, I found that in 17 (85%) of the 20 societies with reincarnation beliefs in my sample, the belief definitely included the idea of rebirth in human form, while in the remaining three societies there was ambiguous evidence for it (Matlock n.d.). In 8 (47%) of the 17 societies in which the belief in reincarnation (in the strict sense used here) was definite, members were said to recognize reborn children

on the basis of certain signs.

In the case of the Ila (Smith and Dale 1920) divination was used to determine the identity of the child. In the seven other cases, the signs were physical marks.

Thus, the Bhil (Naik 1956:108), the Chagga (Raum 1940:159), and the Bambara (Monteil 1924:133) check newborn babies for recognizable marks in order to identify their previous incarnations. The Mossi are fond of pointing out the resemblances between a child and some ancestor (Tauxier 1917:34, HRAF translation). The Winnebago, also, believe that if a child resembles a deceased person he is that person reincarnated (Radin 1923:139), as do the Murngin, who also use dreams for the purpose (Warner 1937:23). The Gilyak have a legend "which tells that after the death of a Gilyak who had on his face distinctive scars from wounds received in a fight with a bear, a boy was born to another Gilyak with the very scars on his face as the deceased had" (Shternberg 1933:522, HRAF translation). (Matlock n.d.)

The reader will not have failed to notice the resemblance of these signs to those cited by Tylor in the passage quoted earlier in this chapter. The eight cultures in question (Ila, Chagga, Mossi, Bambara, Bhil, Gilyak, Winnebago, and Murngin) are located in widely separated culture areas, representing four continents. A larger acquaintance with the literature on reincarnation confirms the widespread presence of such signs (Matlock 1990a, 1990b); they are reported with high frequency in association with the belief in reincarnation. Elsewhere (Matlock n.d.) I have suggested that signs of this sort not only provided the basis for the belief in reincarnation, but are a major part of the reason it has persisted where it has (cf.

Matlock 1992).

It is of course an assumption that if events such as these are widespread today that they were present at the dawn of human civilization. However, I think that few will seriously question that they must have been. These are after all psychological, physiological, and physical traits (dreams, birthmarks) that would seem to be a universal human heritage. The real question is whether we may deduce that these traits were responsible for the origin of soul beliefs. The idea that experiences led to beliefs is sometimes said to be untestable hypothesis (e.g., by Swanson 1960:5). Indeed, it is untestable in the direct sense. We do not now have access to our distant ancestors, and cannot ask them what they believed, and why. Nevertheless, we can test the idea indirectly by making it a theoretical postulate.

One important advantage of assuming soul and spirit concepts to be derived from the type of material Tylor described is that we thus bring our hypotheses in line with indigenous explanations. Native peoples often say that they believe in spirits because they have seen apparitions, in the afterlife because they have heard descriptions of it from those who have seemed to die but returned, in reincarnation because this child was born with distinctive marks and that one behaved in a certain way (e.g., Hallowell 1955:151; Matlock 1992; Tuzin 1975:566). Armellada's

observation of the Pemon would seem to be of general validity: "To the Pemon there is no doubt that the soul survives, although this conviction is not deduced by them from logistic arguments, but from intimate personal experience and from very vivid imaginative impressions while asleep and in other states of exaltation" (Armellada 1946:97, HRAF translation).

If our goal is to arrive at an understanding of the basis of the beliefs, then clearly it is reasonable to listen to the holders of the beliefs when they tell us why they hold them. Moreover, if our native consultants can help us to understand why they believe certain things, they can help us to understand why they do certain things as well. Some of their explanations may surprise us, because the motives are liable to be rather different from what we might expect on the basis of our own system of beliefs, and we have often (over the decades of post-Durkheimian and post-Freudian anthropology) developed very different ideas about them.

I am aware that much of what I propose in the following chapters goes against longstanding assumptions in anthropology. Nevertheless, I believe that seeking emically-based explanations is superior to developing etically-based ones. It is often asserted that etic explanations alone are "scientific," but there would seem to be no a priori reason that an emically-derived explanation

need be restricted to the society in which it is found. This is especially so when the belief system in which it is embedded has a general and widespread currency.

A critic would be correct in questioning whether there is any reasonable hope of probing origins at this late date. Once again, my appeal must be to theory. We cannot tell for sure what caused what to happen through the course of development of human civilization. But, consistent with my assumption that soul beliefs are grounded in empirical and experiential events, we may assume that these beliefs (or at any rate among them the core beliefs) originated at a time before those social practices that have been recorded by modern observers came into being. Given this premise, I will argue that the beliefs in fact helped to bring the practices into being, that the practices arose as a response to (and as a way of taking advantage of certain implications of) the beliefs.

A corollary assumption is that the essential animistic beliefs, including reincarnation, date from a period in human history preceding that of the great human diaspora, when Homo sapiens sapiens spread from some common point of origin to populate the entire globe. This third assumption subsumes a series of smaller assumptions, which are, however, on the way to becoming established "facts."

In Tylor's day, it was usual to assume that humankind had had a much shorter history than we now know to have been

the case; Tylor himself set the age of the earth at just 12,000 years (Leaf 1979). It did not take long after the overthrow of this paradigm for two distinctly different schools of thought to develop in anthropology. One assumed a common origin for humankind, followed by a fanning out of a core population and a replacement of representatives of Homo erectus which had preceded it to far parts of the globe; the other argued for a development of Homo sapiens from Homo erectus in several different places. Recent genetic marker studies have begun to establish the former hypothesis in favor of the latter (Mellars 1988; Mellars and Stringer 1989).

Linguistic analysis supports the notion of a common homeland for our species (Ruhlen 1987, 1991). Nevertheless, to hold that the origin of social practices lies in the remote past tells us everything we need to know about their place in contemporary society would be naive. There obviously has been a great span of time between the origin of practices hypothesized to have been inspired by certain beliefs and the description of these practices by modern observers. Over this span of time the beliefs have become developed into complex religious ideologies, and it could be argued that it is these ideologies, rather than the beliefs themselves, which have sustained the practices. If this is so, then social practices may be expected to become ever more estranged from the beliefs which originally motivated

them, and ideology and social practice might become decoupled altogether under the stress of contact with radically different belief systems, as depicted by Bloch (1986) and, especially, Geertz (1980).

Not only this, but we must bear in mind the warnings raised by Boas (1896) against the incautious application of the comparative method. If we are to revive a single-origin evolutionary model in some form, we must not forget to take into account processes such as diffusion and independent invention. This is what Renfrew (1987, 1991) does in suggesting that Indo-European languages arose with the spread of agriculture, overlaying an earlier macro-family of languages which had spread with the original peopling of Europe and Asia. Although there are good reasons (both linguistic and archeological) to doubt Renfrew's scenario (acknowledged by the author himself in 1991), it serves to suggest the way the data must be handled over both time and space if we are to come to an adequate understanding of social processes acting historically on the global level.

The historical approach is holistic, although along a single dimension. In order to reach an adequate understanding of society, it is also necessary to consider social elements in association with one another synchronically, at any given point in time. This view is so well accepted that it may be called an anthropological maxim, but there is a tendency to reduce religious beliefs

and values to the status of epiphenomena, if not to leave them out of consideration altogether. A recent exception is a paper by Parkin (1988), who demonstrates the importance of including soul beliefs in any attempt to reconstruct the proto-historical situation in central India.

Trautmann (1981) found attractive a proto-Dravidian kinship system based on alternate-generation equations, but was reluctant to embrace it because of the absence of such systems in the best-studied Dravidian societies of southern India. In reviewing the evidence from central India, Parkin stresses the indigenous belief in the reincarnation of grandparents in grandchildren, and suggests that this belief might underlie the organization of central Dravidian societies into two genealogical levels (or generation moieties), as reflected in the kinship terminology. I return to Parkin's suggestion in Chapter II, where it furnishes a central part of my theoretical statement. To anticipate my main point, I argue that alternate generation equivalence (suggested and supported by reincarnation beliefs) may have characterized not only proto-Dravidian society, but also the aboriginal proto-society from which all other human societies evolved during the Middle Paleolithic (cf. Allen 1982, 1986, 1989a, 1989b).

Religious beliefs and ideology (indeed, cognitive factors generally) are downplayed especially in those models which posit some form of economic or ecological determinism

(e.g., Steward 1955). According to these models, human behavior is governed principally by external variables such as the availability of resources. However, these models have not fared well in empirical tests. In his Distinguished Lecture to the American Anthropological Association, archeologist Bruce Trigger cites Sanders, Parsons, and Stanley's (1979) failure "to account for 80% of the changes in prehistoric settlement patterns in the Valley of Mexico in terms of four or five ecological tests", and concludes that "it has become clear that non-economic and non-ecological factors also influence human behavior" (Trigger 1991:556). Trigger favors a return to the "possibilism" of the early twentieth century, which viewed ecology as a constraining rather than as a determining factor.

In rejecting ecological determinism, however, we must be careful not to throw the baby out with the bath. It would be as indefensible to claim that cognitive factors alone predict social behavior as to overlook the fact that both beliefs and behaviors have changed over time. What is needed is a more complex model of the relation of ecological, cognitive, and social factors, one which allows for multicausality (and multidirectionality) and does not restrict itself to any single factor or vector. Ives (1990) takes an important step in this direction in his exploration of northern Athapaskan prehistory. He shows how social

organization is constrained and molded by the environment, but insists that ideology must be taken into account as well.

My study is holistic not only in taking the historical dimension into account, and in examining the relationship of reincarnation to a variety of social practices, but also, and most obviously, in being cross-cultural. Here again my approach is somewhat different from the familiar one, and some introductory comment is necessary.

In making the assumption that all societies were historically related, I run headlong up against what has come to be called "Galton's problem." In comments on a cross-cultural study by Tylor, Galton questioned whether Tylor's statistical results might be due to lack of independence between his cases (Tylor 1888:23). Much effort has gone to controlling for Galton's problem in cross-cultural sampling (e.g. Naroll 1970), but it is only in the last few years that a method of evaluating and thus controlling for connections between cases has been introduced. Called network autocorrelation analyses, the procedure models intersocietal linkages and estimates nomothetic (universal) relationships, while controlling for effects of linkages between societies (Burton and White 1991:64-66).

Network autocorrelation analysis represents historical linkages between societies more accurately than is otherwise

possible (Burton and White 1991:65), and if it were appropriate to my data, I might have chosen to use it. Unfortunately, it requires ordinal scales which I cannot easily develop. Instead I have decided to use a standard worldwide sample, but with a rationale different from the usual one. Rather than assuming that random sampling reduces the likelihood of historical connections between societies, I use the sample to measure the degree to which my variables, which theoretically once were related to one another universally, have remained in association.

In other words, given the assumption that reincarnation originally provided the motive for naming a child after a grandparent, finding a cross-culturally significant relationship between these variables would suggest not only that there is a logical association between them, but that the practice has survived from early times. A weaker interpretation would be that reincarnation did indeed inspire the practice, and did so in many different places, although these events would not necessarily have been related historically. Rather than trying to get around Galton's Problem, however, I accept his argument and work with it.

A cross-cultural study has both advantages and disadvantages over other types of comparative analysis. Modern cross-cultural studies that depend on random sampling and the statistical evaluation of relations between

variables are distinctly superior to the older comparative studies, which were qualitative and subjective in both the selection and the appraisal of data. The major disadvantage of cross-cultural analyses, especially on a global scale, is that the results, being statistical, are at best an abstraction of the real world order. What emerges from a cross-cultural study is a common denominator, a model which any given society will only more or less approximate. Accordingly, my aim in this study is not to establish a set of relationships that hold true everywhere, but to identify a general pattern of thought and behavior against which local manifestations may be assessed.

Ideally I would use a fairly large, representative sample of societies, and retest my hypotheses against a second similar sample, thereby replicating them (in the manner of Davis 1971). In this way I would overcome the problems related to multiple analysis encountered by Somersan (Matlock n.d., described above). Initially, I had hoped to use the full 60-culture HRAF Probability Sample to refine a series of hypothesis (based on an extensive literature review), then replicate my study on the second series of 57 cultures identified by HRAF as part of an expanded sample (Ember and Ember 1988). However, time has not allowed for such an ambitious undertaking, and I have had to scale the study down to a test of hypotheses on 30 societies randomly chosen from the first series of 60 (see

Appendix I). Both because of the relatively small sample size and because my refinement of hypotheses continued through the period of data collection and coding, I consider the present study to be a pilot for the larger study that I hope eventually to complete as originally planned.

In conclusion, my major premises are that: (a) soul beliefs are grounded in a set of empirical and experiential events; and (b) the origin of the beliefs preceded the origin of key social practices. My hypotheses (to be articulated in the following chapter) have to do with the ways in which the soul beliefs (especially reincarnation) influenced the development of certain social practices. Although I will only be able to show statistical relationships between variables, my theoretical assumptions will allow me to interpret my results in terms of a causal influence of the beliefs on the social variables.

I expect the statistically strongest effects to be found in societies that have: (a) a relatively strong animistic belief system, and where: (b) the effect of culture contact, particularly missionary activity, has been relatively minor. These measures will act as controls for the more obvious effects of culture change, but it should be understood that in the interpretation of results it may be necessary to take a variety of other factors into account, and that these may well be specific to particular cases. Unlike the usual cross-cultural study, whose assumptions make it possible to

interpret results within a synchronic frame (Ember and Ember 1983), my assumption of a common origin of all societies means that historical factors must be allowed for.

Societies may have been differentially affected by processes such as independent invention, diffusion, and acculturation through contact. This leads me to expect that many of my statistical effects may be fairly weak (in synchronic comparison) and is one reason I had originally planned to use a much larger sample for my tests.

Nonetheless, I hope on the basis of my results to be able to construct a model of the relation of reincarnation to society that may act as a new interpretive framework for use by ethnographers, archeologists, and culture analysts. A more personal goal is to clarify certain problems to be probed further in the course of doctoral fieldwork.

## CHAPTER II

### THEORY AND HYPOTHESES

#### Introduction

My general theory concerning the relation of reincarnation and society was introduced in Chapter I. The theory contains two basic propositions: (1) Belief in reincarnation is grounded in observations and experiences of the sort noted by Tylor (1920ii:3-4) and by me (Matlock n.d.) in my replication of Somersan's study (cf. also Matlock 1990a, 1990b, 1992);<sup>1</sup> and (2) belief in reincarnation not only preceded the development of social practices and institutions described by modern observers, but helped to bring them into being. In other words, the belief that one would be reborn in a living body after death provided the motivating factor for the development of certain social practices. This second proposition is linked to a third, more implicit one: (3) All human societies share a common origin in a single society or group of societies in the distant past. Common features (when not traceable to diffusion, parallel evolution, etc.) are explained as survivals from this aboriginal period; whereas divergent features are explained as independent evolution since this period.

In the present chapter I will develop this theory in

more detail, drawing on an extensive review of the literature (including a survey of the entire Human Relations Area Files), and will formulate a series of hypotheses to be tested cross-culturally. The chapter is organized topically, with a set of hypotheses introduced under each heading. The same arrangement is used in reporting results in Chapter III. All hypotheses are stated in a directional way, with reincarnation as the independent variable. Hypotheses, measures, and variables are presented formally in Appendix I. Technical terms are defined in the Glossary.

#### The Belief in Reincarnation

Beliefs about the soul and its destiny are as various as the societies in which they are found. Probably no two cultures employ soul concepts in exactly the same way, and not infrequently individuals differ from one another in such matters. If we are to conduct an effective cross-cultural study, we must have some way of reducing the extent of the diversity, even though this may mean classing together some concepts which are not precisely equivalent. We must find operational definitions for our terms that are of a sufficient level of generality that they may be used cross-culturally, even while they are specific enough to discriminate the beliefs designated by them from beliefs designated by other terms.

In dealing with reincarnation, we are confronted with another (although not unrelated) problem, and that is the lack of a standardized terminology. Different authors use such words as rebirth, reincarnation, transmigration, and metempsychosis in different ways, sometimes treating them synonymously, sometimes making distinctions between them. Durkheim, as we have seen, found it useful to distinguish terminologically between rebirth as a human being and rebirth as an animal. I will follow him in this practice, although I will call the former reincarnation rather than "transmigration," and the latter transmigration rather than "metempsychosis." I will use metempsychosis to designate a cycle in which human beings are reborn one or more times as animals (or plants, etc.) before resuming human form. I will use rebirth as a general term to denote the process common to all of the other terms.

In the Glossary, rebirth is defined as: "The process by which a vivifying element associated with an entity leaves it, usually at death, and becomes joined with another entity, usually before birth." Reincarnation is given as: "Rebirth as a member of the same species; unless otherwise specified, the rebirth of human beings as other human beings." Both of these definitions call for clarification and defense.

Whether rebirth is considered a belief, an idea, a concept, a doctrine, or is described in some other way, it

clearly denotes a process. The subject of this process is designated as a "vivifying element" rather than a "spirit" or "soul" because it may be glossed by either or these terms, and occasionally by some other. In the Navajo conception it is simply a "wind" (Haile 1943). For many Inuit groups, the soul is an intimate part of the name, producing what is called in the literature a "name soul" (Wachtmeister 1956). In some areas, particularly in Africa, the vivifying element cannot be distinguished from a person's guardian spirit (Ellis 1887; Smith and Dale 1920; Stefaniszyn 1954). Where the personal guardian spirit is inherited from a deceased ancestor at birth, the concepts are particularly close, and the term reincarnating guardian spirit seems appropriate. Although the details vary, essentially the same concept is involved in all of these ideas, and they can thus be grouped together, even though ethnographers sometimes make a point of saying that the indigenous concept varies somewhat from the idea of reincarnation in its familiar sense.

Most often the vivifying element is thought to depart the body with the last breath, although sometimes, especially where it is more or less equivalent to a name, it may be transferred before death. In what is probably the most widespread notion, the spirit travels after death to the land of the dead, there to live a life that resembles in many ways the life on earth, while an aspect of the

spirit--perhaps the ghost--undergoes rebirth. Yet despite the fragmenting of the spirit, the deceased person and the newborn child are joined in a continuous stream of consciousness, and awareness of the intermediate period as well as memories of the previous life may be claimed (de Laguna 1972:767; Hallowell 1955:174; Radin 1923:267-268).

The rejoining of the vivifying element with a new physical body usually is thought to occur, if not at conception, then at some point during gestation. However, it may occur at or after birth. This is so particularly when the soul is believed to take up its new abode at the naming ceremony, which may be delayed days, months, or even years. When this occurs, it is not necessarily because name and soul are equivalent: De Laguna (1956) quotes a Tlingit consultant as explaining that if there are not signs (dreams, birthmarks, etc.) that indicate the identity of a newborn child, a suitable name simply is bestowed, and this signals the spirit with whom the name was lately associated to become attached to the child.

The beliefs which play the most havoc with our customary idea of reincarnation (derived from Hindu and Buddhist sources) are those which hold it possible for a single person to possess simultaneously more than one ancestral soul or for a single ancestral soul to animate simultaneously more than one human body. The former, a variation on multiple naming (a frequent occurrence in

animistic societies, in which an individual receives more than one name), will be called multiple rebirth (or multiple reincarnation); the latter, following generally accepted usage, name sharing (or divided reincarnation). Multiple and divided reincarnation are found in various places, including Tibet, Burma, West and Central Africa, the Northwest Coast, and the Canadian arctic and subarctic, although their precise character varies.

There are other variations on the rebirth theme, among them some which probably represent deteriorations of a belief that was once more general. Reincarnation may be thought possible only for children or for certain other classes of persons (such as shamans, twins, or those who die violent deaths), or it may be held to be only an occasional occurrence, although possible for all. In Siberia and the Americas, particularly, the spirit may undergo a limited number of rebirths before becoming extinct.

This overview of rebirth concepts has been written as if reincarnation (that is, the reaffiliation of the vivifying element with a human body) only were involved, but essentially the same processes are found in relation to rebirth as an animal or other form (transmigration). That the same beliefs apply to both reincarnation and transmigration suggests that these are, at a deep level, equivalent concepts, and in the end we may wish to return to the broad definition of reincarnation used in previous

studies (Davis 1971; Somersan 1981; Swanson 1960).

Nevertheless, for the present, it seems desirable to keep the variants separate. The social practices and structures with which this study is concerned assume reincarnation (that is, human to human rebirth), and it would be confusing to equate reincarnation with transmigration at this stage. Should it turn out that no useful distinction can be made between reincarnation and transmigration, this may indicate that transmigration beliefs are or were originally part of a cycle of metempsychosis.

The meanings of all the terms so far discussed are specific to their use in the animistic system, and are rather different in important ways from Hindu (Brahmanic) and Buddhist doctrinal notions (Obeyesekere 1980; Parrinder 1957). Absent from the animistic conception is any notion of karma, so pivotal in Brahmanic and Buddhist belief. Karma, often said to be a "moral law of cause and effect," is the principle that one's actions in one's previous lives in some way precipitate or are responsible for one's circumstances in the present life. In Hinduism this idea is coupled with the idea of a reincarnating soul, but classical Buddhism denies the existence of a soul (it is a figment as is everything else), and the new birth is actualized by the karmic nexus itself (Nuefeldt 1986; O'Flaherty 1980).

In West Africa one encounters a concept that bears a surface resemblance to karma, but is in actuality quite

different. At the beginning of each lifetime, before descending again into the body of a child, each soul plans its destiny, which is played out ineluctably unless certain things are done to change it (see Jackson 1989:Chap. 3 and Fortes 1983 for good introductions to the concept). This African predestination differs from the Asian in two important respects: The soul is involved in its making, and the fate is negotiable later on. The planning and negotiation rob the African notion of much of its moral force. The lack of a moral or ethical imperative in animistic reincarnation beliefs generally, in fact, is one of the things that sets them off from their Asian counterparts (Obeyesekere 1980).

In measuring reincarnation belief, we may examine such things as the extensiveness of the belief (held by some or all members of a community); who may reincarnate (all persons or some only); the frequency of reincarnation (regularly or occasionally); and the use of signs in the identification of children with spiritual forbears.

#### Animistic Soul Beliefs

No one, so far as I am aware has questioned the antiquity of the animistic belief system. Its tenets are far too widespread and generalized for it to be the result of diffusion, independent invention, or some other

historical accident. If the belief in reincarnation is equally ancient and if, as is here proposed, it was an integral part of the animistic system as originally constituted, then reincarnation should be found in the same societies as other animistic soul beliefs are found--that is, we would expect to find statistically significant relationships between reincarnation and the other traits listed below.

¶1 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in some form of interaction between the living and the dead.

In order for a vivifying element to be reborn, there must first have been some survival of death. Investigation of survival beliefs as such would not be particularly rewarding, inasmuch as almost all societies have some belief in survival (Matlock n.d.; Somersan 1981). Ancestral spirits who remain actively involved in the lives of the surviving members of the community, however, are characteristic of animism, and in Matlock (n.d.) I suggested that the problem might better be couched in terms of interaction between the living and the dead. The dead may have the power to bring fertility, disease, or disaster, although their actions are often related to rituals carried out by living persons (Somersan 1984).

H2 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in an afterlife whose social organization is modelled on that of the living.

A related topic is the nature of the life after death. In animistic societies, the land of the dead is often envisioned as being much like the land of the living. The deceased may live in towns, be organized into lineages, and conduct their lives much as the living do, although sometimes their existence is a mirror image and everything is done in reverse. Where reincarnation beliefs occur, death is seen as a transitory phase between lives on earth, and a similar organization after death facilitates the return of the spirit to its old lines of descent.

H3 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe that the body houses more than a single soul.

Our European traditions have accustomed us to think of the soul as something unitary and indivisible, but in the animistic system one often finds differentiated, or multiple, souls. It is easy to confuse this trait with the phenomenon of multiple ancestral souls (multiple reincarnation), discussed above, but a very different conception is involved in the present case. Here each soul has responsibility for a different body part or function (e.g. bones, breath, intellect), and may have a unique fate after death (e.g. one may cease to exist, another go to the

land of the dead, a third reincarnate). Somersan (1981) found reincarnation beliefs to be significantly associated with multiple soul concepts ( $p = .05$ ), and this test is a repetition of hers.

H4 Societies with reincarnation beliefs and beliefs in single souls believe that the spirit fragments after death.

If there are multiple souls, typically there is no differentiation of the spirit after death; one soul becomes the ancestral spirit, another reincarnates. If there is only a single soul, however, this may undergo various transformations at the body's death (e.g., into ghost, ancestral spirit, and reincarnating spirit), eventually leading to reincarnation (Goulet 1988; Kan 1989:54). The effect in both cases is to provide the possibility of indefinite survival in the afterlife and reincarnation of the same entity.

H5 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have transmigration beliefs.

As described above, reincarnation (rebirth of human beings as human beings) and transmigration (rebirth of human beings as lower animals) are closely linked beliefs, which in some places are joined in a cycle of metempsychosis (rebirth of humans as animals which in turn are reborn as humans). Although these distinctions are sometimes made by

analysts, their interrelations have never been investigated cross-culturally.

H6 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have transformation beliefs.

Rebirth in general must be distinguished from transformation. This refers to a changing of physical form, rather than to the transfer of the spirit or soul from one body to another. Besterman (1968a) stressed the importance of distinguishing rebirth from transformation (he called it "metamorphosis," evoking Ovid) in Africa. Much of the confusion between these concepts may arise from the loose usage of terms in the literature, but both have been reported widely enough that I do not doubt that they represent distinct beliefs. Transformation is closely allied with shamanism (Eliade 1964), although in some societies almost anyone may be capable of transformation, before or after death (e.g., see Jackson 1989:Chap. 7).

H7 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have totemic beliefs.

The concept of totemism ceased to have much analytical value when it was realized that it was simply an artificial classification of beliefs and practices whose common denominator was identification of some sort between human beings and animals. What Levi-Strauss (1963b) aptly calls

the "totemic illusion" is simply a set of manifestations of animistic thinking. Reincarnation and totemism are intertwined because they are both part of the animistic system, but it seems clear that neither can be wholly explained in terms of the other. Nevertheless, some aspects of the totemic thought rather clearly relate to rebirth. These include the identification of the totem with the mythic ancestor of a descent group, transmigration or transformation after death into the totem animal, and the connection of conception with totemic sites, as among the Arunta (Spencer and Gillen 1899, 1927).<sup>2</sup>

H8 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in personal guardian spirits.

Another important concept is that of the guardian spirit, sometimes called the "tutelary spirit" or "genius." Although particularly identified with North America (Benedict 1923; Swanson 1973), guardian spirits are found throughout the world (see Tylor 1920ii:199-203). Personal guardian spirits provide guidance and protection for an individual, but guardians of houses and places may also be found, especially in Africa and Asia.

The personal guardian spirit may be more closely associated with reincarnation than is commonly realized (Stefaniszyn 1954). When both beliefs appear it is often in such a way as to suggest that they were once conjoined. So

it appears to be with the Ila of Northern Rhodesia (Zambia) even today. "He is Mungalo, and Mungalo is his grandfather and Mungalo is also his guardian spirit. That is to say, a man's guardian spirit, his tutelary genius, is the reincarnate spirit within him: shall we say, is himself. The genius is not only within him, but, in a sense, external to himself, protecting and guiding him" (Smith and Dale 1920ii:157). We may say that this type of personal guardian is inherited, and refer to it as a reincarnating guardian spirit, as opposed to a reincarnating ancestral soul.

H9 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in nonhuman spirits.

Our survey of beliefs related to the human soul is now complete, but we have not yet exhausted the catalog of spiritual entities in the animistic system. There is another entire class of spirits, altogether separate from those associated with human beings. Whether or not we agree with Tylor (1920) that these other spirits were modelled after the human spirit (which he held was deduced from experience of trances, dreams, etc.), it is clear that both human and non-human spirits share the same basic properties. Nature spirits and demons, also, may change shape or character, take human form, and in various ways act as instrumental forces in the world of living men and women.

### Historical Transformations

The primitiveness of reincarnation beliefs is one of the theoretical assumptions, or premises, stated at the end of Chapter I. This premise is linked to the fundamental premise that core soul beliefs had their origin in experiential events and empirical observations relating to such things as dreams, trances, and visions. Because there is no reason to think that such experiences do not date back to the beginnings of humankind, it follows that the belief in the soul and its rebirth could be equally ancient.

The supposition that reincarnation is an especially old belief is supported by its widespread presence throughout the world. Spencer and Gillen (1899, 1904) found the belief to be so general in central Australia that they hypothesized that it was once universal throughout the area. Montagu (1937), in reviewing Aborigine procreation beliefs, made the same argument for the entire continent. Mills and my search of the literature on North America (Matlock and Mills in press) turned up references to rebirth in every major geographical area, again suggesting a formerly universal presence of the belief. Karsten (1964) made the case for South America and Besterman (1968a) for Africa. Somersan (1981, 1984) found some form of rebirth reported for 60% of societies in the HRAF Probability Sample, and reincarnation

properly speaking may be present today in as many as 50% (Matlock n.d.).

In theory, reincarnation could once have been present in every society, or in a hypothetical aboriginal society from which all others originated (see Chapter I). It may be objected that if the belief in reincarnation was originally based on the observation and experience of such things as dreams and birthmarks, there is no reason to posit its presence in such an aboriginal society. Reincarnation could as easily have originated in several places as have diffused from a single place. This is true, but the positions are not incompatible: If belief in reincarnation is based on observations and experiences, there is no reason it could not have been present at the earliest stage of human history.

From the theoretical point of view, we might even argue that the belief was present from the very start of humankind's ability to develop beliefs about the world in which it found itself, which Goodenough (1990) suggests may have been a capacity of the earliest humans. For simplicity of argument, I will assume that reincarnation was once present in every society (or in an early aboriginal society out of which all others developed). The problem then shifts from explaining the presence of the belief to accounting for its absence.

Reincarnation is most conspicuously absent today in

European cultures, thanks to the influence of Christianity. One can trace some lines of its loss over the course of the millenia. There are indications of reincarnation in the Kabala, although it is not part of orthodox Hebrew teachings. Reincarnation seems to have been taught by some Gnostic sects and by early Church fathers such as Origin; it was not definitely expunged from Christianity until the codification of the Bible at the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 A.D. The Celtic Irish had a firm belief in reincarnation, as did the Druids and the early Scandinavians (Head and Cranston 1977; Stevenson 1987). Reincarnation seems always to have been alien to Islamic teaching, but what is certainly a survival from an earlier animistic period persists today in two sects, the Druse of Lebanon and Israel and the Alevi of Turkey (Besterman 1968b; Stevenson 1980).

Not only is reincarnation absent from mainstream European and Arabian culture, there are numerous animistic societies in which one does not find the belief today. Again, it is possible to document the loss of the belief in the historical period in certain cases. Crantz (1767) recorded a belief in reincarnation among the Inuit of western Greenland in the eighteenth century, whereas Birket-Smith's (1924) report from the same area, 160 years later, describes the name soul without mentioning reincarnation.<sup>3</sup> Schebesta (1957:174) noted a report of

reincarnation among the Semang by "King Chulalongkorn," although he did not encounter the belief himself.

Schebesta, for his part, recorded reincarnation for the Munande, a Bantu tribe bordering on the Ituri Forest, and wrote that "belief in metempsychosis is fairly widespread in Africa, even among the forest tribes" (1936:169), in other words, the Mbuti Pygmies. Yet Turnbull (1961, 1965a, 1965b), who was in the same region only a few decades later, has nothing to say on the subject.<sup>4</sup>

In Asia, animistic ideas about reincarnation have been transformed and incorporated into the great religious systems of Hinduism, Buddhism, and their offshoots. (Parrinder 1957 provides a brief synopsis of this development; for more detailed accounts, see Campbell 1962 and Obeyesekere 1980). Indigenous Indian ideas about reincarnation were picked up by the invading Aryans and transformed by them into the doctrines we know today. With the introduction of the law of karma, reincarnation took on a moral tone, and became in a true sense a religious doctrine. Whereas within the animistic tradition the belief is based on empirical and experiential signs, in Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and the rest, it is much more an article of faith. When signs and cases appear in societies dominated by these religions (e.g., see Stevenson 1975b, 1977, 1983), they are used to justify the faith, but they are not the basis on which the belief rests.

I am principally concerned with the loss of reincarnation beliefs in animistic societies, because these are the societies in which the beliefs are hypothesized to have influenced the social practices under review. I am less concerned with the two major transformations of the belief, suppression in Christianity and Islam and development into an ethicized doctrine in Hinduism and Buddhism. The coexistence of animistic and other religious beliefs in Asia has been well studied by anthropologists (e.g. Bello 1960; Geertz 1960, Spiro 1978), and we may expect to find syncretisms in reincarnation beliefs, if not in social practices, in societies throughout that area.<sup>5</sup>

Below, I introduce three hypotheses intended to gauge the age of reincarnation belief and its progress through history. It should be understood that the expectation of significant outcomes has a different theoretical basis here than in the studies from which these hypotheses were derived. Swanson (1960) argued that reincarnation beliefs were a direct result of the social constitution (the level of the ultimate sovereign group), and Davis (1971) held that the sophistication of the society (as measured by its use of technology in subsistence activities) furnished the ground for the belief. By contrast, I view both social constitution and social sophistication to be measures of historical change. Because I hold that belief in reincarnation was once universal, and it is clear that it is

not universal today, even in animistic societies, it follows that it has been lost over time; therefore, measures of historical change should correlate with the incidence of the belief.

H10 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have ultimately sovereign groups below the level of the village. (Swanson 1960)

Swanson (1960:113-114) hypothesized that reincarnation beliefs would be found most often where the highest level of social integration (the "ultimately sovereign group") was above the nuclear family but below the village. I have modified this hypothesis slightly, to omit "above the nuclear family," because Davis (1971) reports finding nuclear-family-centered societies with reincarnation beliefs in his sample. Moreover, although Swanson reports finding none, he evidently was not aware of Yurok beliefs (L. Thompson 1916). I have also added "kingdom" as a type of sovereign group higher than "town," and in my coding follow Davis in distinguishing kinship-based from territorial-based social organizations. Societies whose highest level of social integration is below the village (i.e., societies organized strictly on a kinship basis or by neighborhoods or bands) are presumed to represent an historically-earlier social form, and therefore are expected to be more likely to have reincarnation beliefs.

H11 Societies with reincarnation beliefs are less reliant on agriculture than societies without the belief. (Davis 1971)

Davis' (1971) finding of a trend for reincarnation to appear more frequently in hunting-gathering than in agrarian societies seems reasonable, on the supposition that hunting-gathering societies represent an historically-earlier social form, and I expect to find a similar trend in my tests. However, my hypothesis is stated more generally than is Davis's. He compared societies with hunting and gathering, simple horticulture, advanced horticulture, and agriculture, finding a nonsignificant trend across these groups.

H12 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have been under the influence of Christianity or Islam for 50 years or less.

The loss of belief in reincarnation in animistic societies no doubt may be related to indigenous factors, but because these are not clearly definable at present, they are not amenable to test or control. One factor that is open to control is the effect of contact with Europeans, particularly missionaries. Both Swanson (1960) and Davis (1971) recognized missionizing as a potential confound, and tried to control for it by selectively admitting societies to their samples. Davis in addition tried to control for

the effects of contact by selecting a coding period earlier than the date the society was "pacified" by a colonial power. Dates of pacification, however, may be well after the dates of initial contact (the pacification date given for the Arunta, for example, is 1960), and thus do little, if anything, to control for the effects of contact on a society. It would seem more reasonable to take the date of initial contact as the starting point. Fifty years represents approximately two generations, after which time we may expect the effect of missionary activity to be felt throughout the society.

#### From Conception to Childbirth

H13 Societies with reincarnation beliefs do not understand the connection between sexual intercourse and conception.

(Malinowski 1927; Spencer and Gillen 1899) [Confirmation not expected]

In 1899, Spencer and Gillen reported that many of the peoples living in the central Australian desert did not understand the connection between sexual intercourse and conception, attributing pregnancy instead to the entry of a "spirit child" into the womb of the mother. This was believed to occur when the mother first felt a quickening in her womb. Carl Strehlew (1913) reported contrary findings, although as Spencer and Gillen (1927:ix) pointed out in

reply, Strehlew was a missionary whose consultants consisted of a handful of persons with whom he lived at his mission--a very different population from the aboriginal one they had contacted.

A stronger challenge came from Warner (1937, 1958), who reported from Arnhem Land that the Murngin understood quite well what sex had to do with conception, yet believed in reincarnation. Meanwhile, Malinowski (1916, 1929) had joined the debate with his report that the Trobrianders credited reincarnation for conception, only to be rebutted by Rentoul (1931). Montagu reviewed the Australian data in an exhaustive way in 1937 and came to the conclusion that a connection between sex and procreation was understood in most parts of Australia, although intercourse was believed only to "open the way" for the spirit to enter the womb.

Montagu's contribution served to quiet the discussion for a time, but the problem has continued to attract attention (Biersack 1983; Hinton and McCall 1983; Merlin 1986; Maddock and Barnard 1989; Mountford 1981; Tonkinson 1984; Weiner 1976, 1977), partly because of its bearing on descent and kinship theory (see Scheffler 1973, who reviews the earlier entries in what has come to be called the "Virgin Birth debate"; also Jorgenson 1983). If paternity is not recognized, it is difficult to defend the proposition that kinship concepts are based on awareness of biological links. From this insight has developed a specialized set of

analytical concepts and terms, such as the contrast between "genitor" (biological father) and "pater" (social father), and Fortes' (1959, 1969) distinction between descent (relation to the ancestors) and filiation (relation to the parents).

The link between belief in reincarnation and ignorance of the physiological basis of paternity has been examined cross-culturally once before, by Ford (1945), who found no support for the association. Although I have stated my hypothesis in a directional way, to reflect the arguments of Spencer and Gillen and Malinowski, I do not expect the hypothesis to be confirmed.

H14 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe that there is a spiritual dimension to conception, over and above what is required to produce the physical body. (Ford 1945; Warner 1958)

Ford (1945:34-35) observed that the majority of societies in his sample understood the connection between sex and conception, although many were inclined to perceive a supernatural element in procreation also. This observation implies that the whole issue has been misunderstood and miscast by European observers. What may be significant to the animist is not how babies are made, but whence a baby's spirit comes. Put another way, what is socially important may not be so much who one's father is,

but of whom one is the reincarnation (Warner 1958:24).<sup>6</sup>

If we take conception to refer to the process by which the formation of the child's body is initiated, then in the animistic scheme, spiritual conception (Warner 1958:24) is required over and above this, to supply the soul or vivifying element to animate the child's body. Spiritual conception typically takes one of two forms, both discovered by Malinowski (1916, 1929) in the Trobriands. In the belief that Malinowski considered dominant, a spirit child is brought by one of its ancestral spirits and deposited on the head of the mother-to-be, from which point it descends into her womb. In the variant, women swimmers become impregnated by spirit children who proceed into their wombs directly from the driftwood and other debris to which they cling. Although the details of these beliefs are specific to the Trobriand culture, their forms are universal. In the first case the spirit is assisted in reaching the mother, whereas in the second case it acts on its own initiative.

Spiritual conception may also take place after birth, with a child's first naming (e.g., Hugh-Jones 1979:133-134). Among the Nupe (Nadel 1954:23), a reincarnating soul enters its new body at birth, though it merges with it only when the umbilical cord is cut, and body and soul do not come fully into harmony until the name of the child (also the name of the person it is identified as having been) is pronounced for the first time.

H15 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have methods of bringing about conception that involve contact with places or items associated with deceased persons (fetishes or shrines).

Pregnancy rituals designed to bring about rebirth are not uncommon. In many cases these involve fetishes that are used to help transmit the spirit to the new mother. Fetishes animated with the souls of the deceased are widely used to relieve barrenness. Barren Hopi women wear kachina dolls, which, if Parsons is right, incarnate the souls of deceased children, tied in a sash at the waist (E. C. Parsons 1937:318). The Yoruba believe twins to share a single soul, and if a twin dies, a small wooden statue is carved to take its place. Should the other twin die as well, a second statue is fashioned, and these are kept in the house in the hope of assisting the return of the soul to the same mother (Lawal 1978). Shrines or totemic locations may serve the same function. Australian women become pregnant when they pass by the totem centers in which "spirit children" reside (Montagu 1937; Mountford 1981; Spencer and Gillen 1899, 1904).

H16 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice the couvade. (Karsten 1964)

The failure to understand or to take into account

animistic ideas about conception has led to much confusion concerning the couvade. The term couvade has been used in anthropology in various ways. In its most general (magico-religious) sense it refers to observance by the father of rituals and taboos relating to his wife's pregnancy and childbirth. In its classical form, the couvade involves the husband's mimicry of labor and lying-in after parturition, although the existence of such practices may be no more than an anthropological myth (Munroe, Munroe and Whiting 1973). The couvade has occasioned many interpretations, the modern favorite being Munroe, Munroe and Whiting's idea that it results from childrearing practices which encourage an unconscious cross-sex identification by the male (although cf. Broude 1989).

Karsten (1964:130-133) draws a very different picture of the matter, one of the few with an authentic animistic shading. His is also one of the few theories put forward on the basis of fieldwork, which, moreover, was conducted in South America, the area recognized as the practice's major domain. According to Karsten, the couvade among the Jivaro and other lowland South American peoples has to do with the father's contribution of the "physical germ" from which a new body is created. The man is the bearer of the "egg," which he puts into his wife during sexual intercourse, and which she "hatches" during her pregnancy. Because the man

retains a mystical connection with the egg throughout the gestation, it is vital that he be involved in the birthing process.<sup>7</sup>

Karsten (1964) recognizes the difference between biological and spiritual conception. A child's body is formed in the way just described, but this must be supplemented by an "animating principle," an ancestral soul, which for the Jivaro may come from either the father's or the mother's side of the family. In other societies where the couvade is practiced, the soul, rather than arriving from outside the parental union, is contributed by the father to the mother, who has been using menstrual blood retained in her womb to build the child's physical body. Regardless of how the process is conceptualized (and there are other ways; e.g., see Collomb 1973:447-448), the beginning of a new life depends on both biological and spiritual conception. The spiritual element--the reincarnating soul--is a vital part of the process, and thus we may expect the presence of reincarnation beliefs to predict the couvade.

### Mortuary Practices

#### H17 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice secondary burial. (Hertz 1960)

Recent anthropological studies of mortuary practice have

tended to focus on the impact of death on the community of survivors (Bloch and Parry 1982; Humphreys and King 1981; Huntington and Metcalf 1979). Death is seen as a tear in the social fabric that must be repaired through mourning and funerary activities. Many writers have recognized that one major purpose of mortuary ritual, from the participants' point of view, is to ease the deceased's passage to the land of the dead, but recognition that another purpose may be to ensure the rebirth of one of the deceased's souls or of part of its spirit (Balzer 1980; Bradbury 1964; Kan 1989) has been rather more rare.

The oversight cannot be reduced simply to an absence of the belief in the society at the time of fieldwork, because there are often ample indicators of a former belief, and much ritual activity makes good sense only if understood within a framework that includes reincarnation. This is the case, for example, with Bloch's (1971) study of tomb burials in Madagascar.<sup>2</sup>

The common omission of reference to reincarnation is the more odd because the connection was well understood by Hertz (1960 [1907]), whose classic study of death observances has provided an analytical model for much subsequent work (e.g., Bloch 1971; Goody 1962; Huntington and Metcalf 1979; Kan 1989). Hertz, in viewing reincarnation as a symbolic reincorporation of the deceased into society, made reincarnation the cornerstone of the mortuary complex.

Although his was essentially a worldwide comparative study, Hertz (1960) foregrounded Indonesian data. Throughout Indonesia, one finds an initial funeral and burial, followed by a mourning period usually of about one year, then a second funeral. At the time of the second funeral, the body is exhumed and the bones cleaned and reburied in a collective grave or tomb. Hertz shows that the purpose of the original burial and the year-long period before the second is to allow time for the bones to become cleansed of flesh. This is important because part of the deceased's soul resides in the flesh, and until the flesh rots away that part of the soul with which it is associated cannot join the part which departed with the deceased's last breath, and the deceased's spirit can neither make the crossing to the land of the dead nor be reborn. The second funeral both celebrates and facilitates the crossing and the rebirth. The secondary burial in a common grave parallels (and symbolizes) the rejoining of the deceased with his predecessors.

H18 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have double obsequies. (Hertz 1960)

Secondary burials typically but not invariably accompany double obsequies (double funeral observances), so independent investigation of these variables seems in order. Kan (1989), who uses Hertz's model as part of his analytical

framework, discusses the role of double obsequies in Tlingit society. The Tlingit mortuary potlatch is held a year after the funeral and serves both to mark the passage of the deceased's spirit to the land of the dead and the rebirth of his reincarnating spirit in one of his matrikin.

H19 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice house and yard burial. (Rose 1922)

Although Hertz's model has been used particularly in reference to double obsequies and secondary burial, Hertz himself believed that he was offering a general model of mortuary ritual. For Hertz, practices such as single burials and cremations were variations on the same theme, perhaps later developments of it. Single burials were often accompanied by year-long mourning periods, suggesting that the second funeral and reburial had simply dropped out of the system. Cremations could be understood as procedures designed to artificially advance the defleshing process, thereby freeing the fleshy part of the soul immediately upon death; they were in any case often followed by a burial of the ashes and remaining bones.

One especially common type of single burial is interment in the living quarters, which then continue to be occupied.<sup>9</sup> Although Hertz did not comment on this form of burial, other writers (King 1903; Rose 1922) have associated it with reincarnation. Many examples might be given. J. E.

Thompson (1930:82), for instance, remarked on floor burial among the Yucatec Maya and the Kekchi of Guatemala. The practice extends beyond the living quarters, to take in other public areas (Rose 1922). Jackson (1989:76) reports that the Kuranko bury infants at the back of the house, in a domestic area where women prepare food and cook. Seventeenth-century Huron buried children by footpaths (Thwaites 1897:263), and archeologists working in the American Southwest have sometimes found burials at the bases of cliffs, at or near to the places where ladders would have led up to the pueblos above, as well as in the pueblos themselves (Fewkes 1904).

The similarity of such practices asks that they be classed together, and they will be designated here by the term house and yard burial. Often their purpose is expressly given as the facilitation of the deceased's rebirth in the same family or among the same people (Kingsley 1965:478; Radcliffe-Brown 1948:109; J. E. Thompson 1930:82). They reflect the same principle as that involved in the use of the fetish in assisting rebirth, described above (H15)--that is, they place the deceased's spirit, which is supposed to hang around the corpse for a few days (and may remain more loosely associated with it for a full year), in close proximity to those by whom it may expect to take rebirth. It is noteworthy that one finds such practices especially in the burials of children and infants,

whose souls are considered less developed and thus less able to make the (generally treacherous) journey to the land of the dead, as well as to be less of a danger to the living (King 1903).

H20 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have lineage or clan cemeteries. (Hertz 1960)

Lineage or community affiliation is apparent when it comes to collective graves (or tombs) and cemeteries. Typically, when cemeteries were employed before the contact period (when missionaries often forced their use), each clan or lineage had its own. Very often these are on the ancestral land possessed by the clan, and they may continue to be utilized even after the major portion of the population has dispersed and lives elsewhere (Bloch 1971). Clan affiliation at death may not seem to be directly associated with reincarnation, but because such groupings allow the lineage to be reconstituted in death and it is from this postmortem lineage that souls return to be reborn, proper burial is essential for proper rebirth (Bloch 1982; Bradbury 1965; Crocker 1985:53).

H21 Societies with reincarnation beliefs mark or mutilate bodies at death. (Frazer 1918)

Manipulation of mortuary practices relative to reincarnation is also evident in the marking of cadavers for

the purpose of tracking the deceased into the next life. If a deceased person is recognizable in a baby's physical features or marks (see Chapter I; also H25, below), then it follows that the mutilation of the corpse might stimulate such signs, in turn making identification of the newborn easier (Goody 1962:150; Parkin 1988). In West Africa, it is often children who die in infancy who are thus marked, and this is because when a family has lost several children in a row, it is believed that it is the same child returning again and again. The way to stop the child from dying the next time around, it is thought, is to cut or mark the corpse in some way (Edelstein 1986; Parrinder 1951; Stevenson 1985). Frazer (1918:200-248) brought together reports of similar practices from various parts of the world.

H22 Societies with reincarnation beliefs orient burials terrestrially. (Rose 1922)

A different type of manipulation may account for the orientation of graves. Rose (1922) contrasted what he calls "terrestrial" and "celestial" orientation, both of which he believed were compatible with reincarnation, although they did not directly imply it. Terrestrial orientation Rose believed evolved directly from what he called "hut burial" (house and yard burial), and refers to the orientation toward some physical landmark, which is the place that the

spirit of the deceased is believed to go after death and from which it will return to be reborn. Celestial orientation refers to the orientation of the grave toward some feature in the heavens.

H23 Societies with reincarnation beliefs employ a flexed burial posture. (Whipple 1905) [Confirmation not expected]

One aspect of burial often mentioned in connection with reincarnation, especially in the archeological literature, is the positioning of the body in the grave. Wilder (1905) suggested that the crouched (fully flexed) position mimicked the position of the fetus in the womb, and thus suggested the belief in rebirth. The suggestion has also (and perhaps more often) been attributed to Tyler (1921, e.g. by Binford 1971:12), but this appears to be based on a misreading. When he wrote of the revival of the corpse, Tyler seems to have been thinking of resurrection (or perhaps of apparitions); he clearly did not mean rebirth in any of the forms identified here. Nor is the idea well founded ethnographically (Andree 1907). In a later paper (Wilder and Wipple 1917), Wilder himself retracted his suggestion.<sup>10</sup> Although a positive relationship is predicted here, in order to test Wilder's original hypothesis, confirmation is not expected.

## Names and Naming Practices

H24 Societies with reincarnation beliefs name children after deceased relatives or ancestors. (Frazer 1911; Tylor 1920)

Tylor wrote that "the renewal of old family names by giving them to new-born children among the lower races may always be suspected as involving some such thought" as reincarnation (1920ii:4-5). Frazer made a similar observation, suggesting that even where the belief was no longer extant, "many of the solemnities which attend the naming of children may have sprung originally from the widespread notion that the souls of the dead come to life again in their namesakes" (1911:372).

In his cross-cultural study of personal naming practices, Alford (1988:44) notes that when a family name is given, it typically is that of a grandparent; children were named after parents on a regular basis in only two of his 60 sample societies. If children were routinely named after their grandparents, an alternate-generational pattern of names would result. Levi-Strauss (1982), who recognized the widespread presence of such a pattern, dubbed it "periodic naming." Although he did not expressly relate periodic naming to reincarnation, it is interesting that he used the Tsimshian and their belief "in the reincarnation of the grandfather in the person of the grandson" (Levi-Strauss

1982:175) as his sole example.

The name given a child at birth is not necessarily the ancestral name given to the person with whom the child has been identified, but may be another of that person's names, such as a nickname, or even a tecknonymous name (de Laguna 1972). In the Americas, at least, it is sufficient that the name be reminiscent of the previous person for it to act as, or to become, an ancestral name. Collier and Bricker (1970) delineate the process by which nicknames become ancestral names in Zinacantan, through their adoption as surnames by the descendents of their original holders. Their demonstration is interesting particularly because nicknames are sometimes given in recognition of previous life identity when this has become clear only later in life, such as with a baby's first words (Slobodin 1970:69). Although Collier and Bricker do not comment on the linkage between nicknames and reincarnation beliefs, it is significant that reincarnation beliefs have been recorded for Zinacantan (Laughlin 1976:4).

A person may be given many names besides the ancestral one. In perhaps the majority of animistic societies, a child is given more than one name, if not at birth or at the first naming ceremony, then later in life (Alford 1988). These other names do not imply reincarnation as directly as does the ancestral name (they do not, in other words, come with ancestral spirits attached). They may, nevertheless,

become linked to reincarnation, because often a child is expected to grow up to acquire the same names he or she possessed in the previous life. This is the case, for example, with the honorific "feast names" or "potlatch names" common in Northwest Coast and Athapaskan societies (Matlock 1990a; Mills 1988a, in press-a). Significantly, Halpin (1984) has demonstrated the periodic pattern in Hartley Bay Tsimshian feast names.

H25 Societies with reincarnation beliefs use signs or tests in deciding on names for children.

The practice of naming children after grandparents or other deceased relatives may be diagnostic of belief in reincarnation, but seldom is naming an automatic procedure. Instead, a great variety of means are employed to determine which ancestor a child reincarnates, and to name the child appropriately. If the periodic pattern is related to reincarnation, it would seem to be an accidental byproduct of naming practices based on signs, perhaps a result of the availability of recently deceased namesakes in the grandparental generation. Perhaps periodic naming is the accepted norm, to be used as a fall-back when there are no signs to go by (Matlock 1990a). Or again it may be classificatory and not actual grandparents who are involved--a situation which in many societies would include not only the actual grandparents and other members of their

generation, but all generations above them.

We have seen that corpses may be marked with the hope of tracking deceased persons into their new births (H21), and in a complementary way, newborns may be checked for birthmarks as clues to their previous identities. Newborns were reported as identified with specific persons on the basis of birthmarks or birth defects in seven of the societies in the cross-cultural sample I used in replicating Somersan's (1984) study (Matlock n.d.), and other examples are not hard to find (e.g., Collomb 1973; Ford 1941:167; Jochelson 1926:160; Parry 1932:398-399). Mills (in press-b) reports three cases of Gitksan children born with birthmarks on the earlobes, establishing the children as reincarnations of chiefs (whose ears are ceremoniously pierced). One of the children was said to be the reincarnation of a person who had himself been born with pierced-ear birthmarks.

A variety of other signs may be used to identify the relative reborn in the child. The Tlingit are guided not only by an infant's birthmarks, but also by its behavior, and by dreams occurring to the mother or another close relation. Elderly Tlingit sometimes state their intention to be reborn to certain persons, which primes the latter to expect the rebirth, and thus serves as a cue for naming (de Laguna 1972; Stevenson 1966; cf. Matlock 1990a). Mills (1988a, 1988b, in press-b) describes the use of the same set of signs in determining identities and names among northern

Athapaskan peoples. Dreams and behaviors, together with birthmarks, have been reported in association with naming from many parts of the word (Jochelson 1926:160; Parkin 1988; Parrinder 1951).

In the absence of signs, divination may be used to determine which ancestor a child reincarnates. A newborn infant may be made to cry, and names called out one after another until it becomes quiet. The baby stops crying because it has recognized its former name, and this is therefore given to it again (e.g., see Smith and Dale 1920ii:153). Hollis (1909:66) tells us that the Nandi would blow snuff up a baby's nose and call out names, the one pronounced as the baby sneezed being that which belonged to the person it reincarnated. Gitksan shamans used to array articles before a child and watch to see which one it chose first (Mills in press-b).

H26 Societies with reincarnation beliefs acknowledge a special relationship between name sharers. (Guemple 1965)

A child may receive several ancestral names at once, and this sometimes (perhaps usually) is conceived of as a multiple reincarnation. We may be inclined to think of multiple reincarnation as a sort of composite rebirth, with the blending of the different ancestral souls into one, but for the Qiqiktamuit of Hudson Bay, at least, this is not the case; the various souls are thought to retain their

individual identities (Guemple 1965). The same appears to be true of the East African Kuguru, who attempt to appease the spirits who are harassing sickly children by adding their names to those the child already has been given (Beidelman 1974). In other societies, the implication of multiple naming is more ambiguous. One of de Laguna's Tlingit consultants did not think that multiple naming meant multiple reincarnation, because "two spirits fight each other" (1972:780).

Multiple naming with ancestral names occurs less commonly than the opposite situation, that of giving the same ancestral name to several persons (name sharing, or divided reincarnation). The Qiqiktamuit, although they have developed name sharing into an especially strong institution, may serve as an example. Often three, and sometimes as many as four, living persons have the same ancestral name at the same time. Each individual with the same name is thought to reflect different facets of the same person, and indeed, in some sense, to be the same person. The belief is carried to the logical extent of name sharers having free use of each others' property and kinship terms (Guemple 1965, 1988).<sup>11</sup> There is thought to be a somewhat closer relationship between a name donor and namesake than there is between the donor and the other name sharers, however, a belief reported by Marshall (1957) for the !Kung as well. Mondloch (1980) describes a similar arrangement

among the Quiche Maya.

The same concept would seem to underlie both multiple naming (with ancestral names) and name sharing, and indeed these practices are often found together. Significantly, however, different rationales are given for them in different places, implying either different sources, or a single, more ancient common source. In Africa, the idea that children's souls are "emanations" from a generalized soul stuff makes it possible to combine and separate ancestral names and spirits (Beidelman 1974; Ellis 1887; Smith and Dale 1920). Among the Inuit, it is the idea that the name embodies the soul that makes these things possible (Weyer 1932). On the Northwest Coast, on the other hand, the phenomenon may be only a response to demographic trends (Matlock 1990a).<sup>12</sup>

Karsten (1964) suspected that South American aboriginals had name soul beliefs (indeed, Crocker 1985 identifies the "name-soul" as one of the basic organizing principles of the Bororo), and if so, this would mean that the Inuit concept could be a survival of a once much more widespread belief. This conclusion is tempting, because it would help to explain the great power with which the name is invested in many societies, even those in which reincarnation beliefs are now absent (see Clodd 1968 for a general discussion of this subject). Ancestral names have a "magical aura" even in Africa, where, as we have seen, the soul stuff belief is

represented today in some strength, so it seems possible that the name soul and soul stuff were once more closely related than they now are. Interestingly, it is in Africa, also, that the reincarnating and guardian spirits are most closely identified today (Ellis 1887:149; Smith and Dale 1920ii:157; Stefaniszyn 1954).

H27 Societies with reincarnation beliefs taboo names at death, but then lift the taboos after an interval or when a new child is born. (Frazer 1911)

The personal name is subject to taboo in many places (the Qiqiktamuit taboo the use of the common name between name sharers, according to Guemple 1965, who suggests that Qiqiktamuit nicknames may have developed as a way of getting around the problem thereby caused). Although Alford (1988) found reincarnation to be unrelated to name taboos in general, there may be an association with taboos that are placed at death, then lifted after an interval. Frazer (1911:364-371) cited many examples of this practice, almost uniformly tied to reincarnation.

The taboo interval is often one year, suggesting an association with Hertz's model of funerary rites. Name taboos are in fact remarked upon by Hertz (1960:75), who treats the child's naming ceremony (at which the taboo is lifted) as equivalent to the second funeral in societies without double obsequies. Names tabooed at death have to do

with fears of calling the deceased's spirit back from the dead, a particular concern during the liminal period between death and final incorporation into the society of the dead. Once the spirit has advanced to the land of the dead, the hazard has lessened, and the taboo may be lifted. At the same time, of course, another part of the spirit may have taken rebirth, and therefore be entitled to receive the name.

### Kinship Structures

H28 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have complementarity between alternate generations. (Parkin 1988)

Levi-Strauss (1982) wrote that the possibility that periodic naming was systematically associated with some type of social structure could not be ruled out. Although he did not elaborate on this statement, an obvious candidate is a society with a kinship terminology which merges alternate generations. Indeed, it is interesting to note that the Tsimshian, whom Levi-Strauss chose to illustrate periodic naming, include the Gitksan, whose terminology has equations between the +3 and -3 levels (the generations of ego's great-grandparents and great-grandchildren), a variation of alternate-generation terminology (Aberle 1967). Kasakoff (1984), who remarks on this feature of the Gitksan terminology, ties it to reincarnation beliefs. Gitksan

expect to reincarnate in their great-grandchildren (members of ego's generation), creating a double reincarnation cycle within the terminological system.

The Gitksan terminology is unusual in having +3/-3 equations only. Many other societies, such as the Ashanti (Rattray 1923), have equations between the +2/-2 levels, and some, such as the Chiricua Apache (Opler 1955), have a double set of equations, with mergers between the +1 and -1 levels as well. In a few societies ego's generation is included with the +2/-2 equations. Aberle (1967) calls the latter systems (with +2/0/-2 and +1/-1 sets of equations) "strong," systems with both sets of equations but with ego's generation not included "intermediate," and systems with +2/-2 equations only "weak." He terms systems with +1/-1 equations only "anomalous."<sup>13</sup>

Societies with the strong system of alternate-generation equations include the Murngin (Warner 1958), the !Kung (Marshall 1957), the Dravidian Maria Gond (Grigson 1949), and the Panare of Venezuela (Henley 1982). Strong equations structure a society into two groups, often called generation moieties. In contrast to lineal moieties, which generally are exogamous, generation moieties are endogamous: Ego is expected to marry a cross-relative of his own moiety. Generation moieties often also act together on ceremonial occasions and otherwise behave in corporate ways.

Trautmann (1981) commented on alternate-generation

equations in the course of his effort to reconstruct the proto-Dravidian kinship terminology. The Dravidian-type terminology, based on nomenclatures typical of southern Indian societies, lacks alternate-generation equations, but similar terminologies with equations are found in many central Indian societies. This circumstance presents two possibilities--either the southern Indian terminology is the prototypical one and equations between alternate generations were added in central Indian societies, or the alternate-generation terminology is prototypical and equations were lost in southern Indian societies. Trautmann found he could not come to a firm conclusion on the matter, but Parkin (1988) proposed that a consideration of naming practices and reincarnation beliefs--both of which also have alternate-generation structures--in central Indian societies tilted the balance in favor of the latter possibility.

Parkin (1988) took the further step of documenting the presence of periodic naming and reincarnation beliefs along with alternate-generation equations in other parts of the world. He stops short of suggesting alternate-generation equations as typical of a global proto-society, but Allen (1982, 1988, 1989a, 1989b) is not so reticent. Allen (1982) describes a world proto-society with a strong form of alternate-generation equivalence (and systematic cross/parallel mergers and contrasts). He has shown (1988) how all the major types of kinship terminology could have

developed out a strong system of alternate generation equations, which he calls "tetradic." More recently (1989b), he has traced these developments back through time.

Allen is not the only author to have suggested an historical priority for generation moieties and alternate generation equivalence. Dumont was willing to "risk the evolutionary surmise that alternating generations are more primitive than a continuous flow of generations" (1966:233). In a similar vein, Wallace (1970:105) suggested that "a concept of world cycles and of death-and-rebirth of individuals" might have preceded the concept of reversible cyclical processes (cf. Allen 1989a; Parkin 1988).

If alternate-generation terminologies and generation moieties did precede the divers forms of social organization observable today, we might expect to find remnants (survivals) of them in other societies. Indeed, this appears to be the case. The most prominent apparent survival is the idea of repetition or alternation itself. Belief in the regular reincarnation of grandparents in grandchildren must be counted as an example, because reincarnation does not logically require return in the second descending generation, and this expectation is absent from the Hindu-Buddhist belief complex. Periodic naming might follow from a regular pattern of reincarnation, but again this requirement is absent from societies with reincarnation beliefs less influenced by animism.

Various other apparent survivals have been reported. Turner (1955) described the separation of alternate generations in Ndembu villages--grandparents and grandchildren build next to each other whereas the intervening generations build on the opposite side of the village circle. Although the Ndembu do not have alternate-generation equations today, several other Bantu societies in the same area do have them (Colson 1951; Gluckman 1951; Smith and Dale 1920). The Ndembu may also be compared to the Nyakyusa, another Bantu society with equations, who carry the separation of generations to the point of segregating them (or rather, their age sets) into separate villages (Wilson 1951).

Radcliffe-Brown (1950:27-31) cites several instances of complementarity of alternate generations in Africa, although he portrays these as steps on the road to full equivalence, rather than as the survivals of such a system. In equatorial Africa, they frequently take the somewhat peculiar (though suggestive) form of homology between the words for "wife" and "granddaughter" and "husband" and "grandson," even in societies where marriage between grandparents and grandchildren is not now permitted.

Perhaps the most interesting of Radcliffe-Brown's examples concerns age sets. Age sets have been reported in association with generation moieties (Warner 1958; Wilson 1951), so they should not be interpreted as reduced versions

of such systems. That they may, however, be survivals from them is suggested by the fact that in East African societies where age sets are arranged in cycles, ego's son's son may belong to the same group as ego's father's father (a bringing together of the -2 and +2 generations from ego). Kettel (1972) links age sets, periodic naming, and reincarnation elsewhere in East Africa, and Graham (1990) shows how a cyclic arrangement of age sets is associated with reincarnation and naming among the Shavante.

Alternate-generation equations are sufficiently rare that too few can be expected to turn up in a random cross-cultural sample to make hypothesis-testing feasible (Aberle 1967), but by generalizing the hypothesis to include other forms of complementarity between alternate generations, it may be possible to enlarge the sample to a suitable size. Other forms of complementarity might include periodic naming where there is no naming after members of the parental generation; marriage between grandparents and grandchildren; and joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren, especially when complemented by restraint or avoidance between parents and children. Each of these features is commonly reported in association with alternate generation equivalence and generation moieties (Parkin 1988), and their presence may be used as a measure of the merger of generations in the absence of equations. Other striking complementarities between grandparents and

grandchildren, such as in village layout or in recruitment to cyclically-arranged age sets would also qualify, but the oft-reported familiarity between grandparents and grandchildren would not count (unless supported by a joking relationship).

H29 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have clans.

Although it is usual to distinguish between clans and lineages on the basis of whether or not genealogical links between members can be traced back to an apical ancestor, it is rare to find the inability to trace genealogical links to a presumed founder the defining criterion of a clan. There are, however, advantages to doing just this. If we define a clan simply as a group of persons who claim descent from a putative common ancestor, we can then ask how often and under what conditions other attributes appear. For instance, the founding ancestor may be a mythic personage and the resulting descent group may be associated with a tract of ancestral land, typically the place where the ancestor first descended to earth or rose from underground. Clans may be either dispersed or co-residential and they may be but are not necessarily corporate. Given the great diversity of kinship groups described in the ethnographic record it seems preferable to begin with a minimal definition of "clan" and extend it as necessary rather than to use a detailed definition that restricts usage to a

certain small number of cases from the start.

Clans often are presumed to be characteristic of lineal social organizations, but clans (as here defined) may be found associated with generation moiety organizations as well. The Murngin, for instance, have a strong system of alternate generation equations supporting generation moieties. They also have clans, each of which claims a mythic founding ancestor who resides in a sacred water hole (Warner 1958:16).

Besides identifying with clan and moiety, every Murngin is also a member of a matrilineage and a patrilineage by right of birth. Unlike the clan, whose history traces back to the mythic age, the lineages are of narrow depth and breadth (Warner 1958). The contrast between clan and lineage evident here corresponds to the contrast between descent and filiation drawn by Fortes (1953, 1959, 1969). Descent designates the relationship between a person and his or her ancestors (defined as persons of the grandparental generation or above) and filiation designates the (biological) relationship between a person and his or her parents. Murngin clans thus are true "descent groups" in Fortes' sense of descent, the members related through reincarnational links to the ancestor (Warner 1958:19).

We might say that filiation is by nature double unilineal whereas descent is strictly unilineal. And once the distinction between descent and filiation has been

grasped and the double unilineal nature of the latter has been recognized, it is a simple matter to see how what are called "unilineal descent" and "double unilineal descent" could have developed out of a generation moiety organization (Matlock in press). Unilineal structures would require only a change in relative emphasis, from generational to lineal organizational principles. Stressed in one way along lines of filiation a society would become patrilineal, stressed in another way it would become matrilineal, stressed in both ways at the same time it would become double unilineal. (Movement away from alternate generation equivalence without an accompanying stress on lineality, on the other hand, would result in a bilateral, cognatic kinship structure.)

The kinship groups formed of filiative lines might properly be called "filiative groups," as opposed to "descent groups." In many societies, of course, it is not possible to distinguish between the two types of kinship groups. The clan and its descent group has become merged with one or the other of the filiative lines and its filiative group. I suspect that the process of amalgamation occurs at the time of the collapse of the generation moiety organization and the substitution of alternate-generational for lineal equations. But in any event, it is the clan with which descent (in Fortes's sense) is associated and which is thus linked to reincarnation.<sup>14</sup>

H30 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice cross-cousin marriage. (Hocart 1923; Rattray and Buxton 1925)

Hocart (1923) appears to have been the first to associate cross-cousin marriage with reincarnation. About the same time but evidently independently, Rattray and Buxton (1925) proposed a similar linkage, based largely on data collected by Rattray at Ashanti. They were strongly criticized by Seligman (1925) and their model never led to any productive research, despite Rattray's (1927) subsequent revisions, based on more complete data. This is unfortunate, because he and Buxton may have been on the track of some genuine insights.<sup>15</sup>

Present-day Ashanti are grouped into several matrilineal, exogamous clans. They also belong to one of several patrilineal divisions, also exogamous. Clans and divisions are associated with separate male and female souls (or soul substances). Blood relationship (and with it inheritance) is reckoned through the clan, or female line, whereas names pass through the division, or male line. The name is generally that of the paternal grandfather or his sister. Ideally an Ashanti male is reborn both into the same clan and the same division, in line to receive both his former name and to inherit his former status and rights. Rattray and Buxton (1925) argued that only a regular practice of cross-cousin marriage would serve to reunite both the blood and the name in a given descendent, and

proposed the same rationale as the explanation for cross-cousin marriage cross-culturally.

Subsequent field research by Rattray uncovered considerable support for their hypothesis. He discovered that traditionally marriages were arranged by the mother's brother, and those uncles with whom he spoke were explicit in saying that they made their children marry their cousins so that names and blood would be inherited together. This turned out to be so much a cultural ideal that the Ashanti language has a term (kra pa) which Rattray (1927:324) translated as "pure reincarnation" to describe it.

Rattray (1927) provided genealogies showing that Ashanti royalty had practiced cross-cousin marriage for generations. He also claimed to have found evidence that the clans and divisions were previously paired for purposes of marriage, an arrangement which, given that both clans and divisions were exogamous, would have led to the reunion of blood and name in subsequent generations without the necessity of the marriage prescription. With the breakdown of this dual organization, Rattray held, cross-cousin marriage became necessary for all Ashanti, not only royalty.

One of Seligman's (1925) criticisms of Rattray and Buxton (1925) was that their model supposed a dual organization, evidence of which was wanting not only for the Ashanti but for Africa in general. However, Seligman appears to have been thinking of lineal moieties. It seems

to have occurred to neither Seligman nor Rattray that the dual organization may have taken the form of generation moieties, although Rattray and Buxton (1925) do compare their model to ethnographic descriptions of Australian societies, where this type of organization prevails.

Above (under H28), I commented on Trautmann's (1981) and Parkin's (1988) reconstruction of alternate-generation equations for the proto-Dravidian kinship terminology. The Dravidian-type terminology is distinguished by systematic distinctions between cross and parallel relatives, and strong alternate generation terminologies typically feature Dravidian crossness (Henley 1982; Parkin 1988; Trautmann 1981:434-436 on the Kariera and passim on central Indian societies). In a society structured around generation moieties, marriages are contracted not only within one's own moiety but with a cross-relative in this moiety. Because alternate generations are grouped together in a moiety, this makes possible marriages between (classificatory) grandparents and grandchildren (consanguineous relatives being excluded from the prescriptions), and marriages of this sort are not uncommon in societies whose terminologies feature alternate-generation equations (Parkin 1988; Seligman 1924).

Grandparent-grandchild marriage may be interpreted as an inter-generational variation on cross-cousin marriage, or cross-cousin marriage may be seen as the special case,

representing a restriction to ego's generation of the basic pattern (Parkin 1988:2, citing Trautmann 1981). That the latter is the more appropriate view is suggested by the preference for avuncular (uncle-niece) marriage among southern Dravidian groups, where alternate-generation equations are absent, probably having lapsed (Parkin 1988). Avuncular marriage turns up also in societies with alternate-generation equivalence where prohibitions against marriage between adjacent generations are relatively relaxed, as among the Trio of Surinam (Riviere 1969).

Systematic cross-parallel distinctions (Dravidian-style) may derive from an ideology of different soul substances transmitted through males and females. Such ideologies are associated especially with New Guinea (Cook and O'Brian 1980; Hinton and McCall 1983), but they have been reported more widely than is generally realized (e.g., see Fortes 1969:197; Hugh-Jones 1979:133-134; Meggitt 1972:78). If males and females were considered fundamentally different, it would follow that one would need to take all linking generations into account in calculating crossness, not just the first ascending generation, as with Iroquoian terminologies (Lounsbury 1964). Marriage with a cross-relative in each succeeding generation would ensure the rejoining of the same sets of (lineally-transmitted) soul substances in alternate generations. If there were in addition a belief in the reincarnation of an ancestral soul

independent of the transmission of soul substance (Fortes 1969:199; Hugh-Jones 1979:133-134; Meggitt:1972:78), and if this returned every other generation to the same lineage, it would take up abode in a body formed of the same soul substances as in its previous incarnation (as among the Ashanti).<sup>18</sup>

On this hypothesis reincarnation is indirectly rather than directly related to cross-cousin marriage. Nonetheless, cross-cousin marriage, as it appears, occurs frequently in association with reincarnation beliefs, and for the same general reason as for the Ashanti: This form of marriage guarantees the reunion of the same lines in successive generations. This holds whether the marriage is to the actual first (or second or third) cousin, or whether the relationship between "cousins" is classificatory only. Kasakoff (1974) discusses the biological factor in connection with Gitksan marriage choice, and shows that while marriages with first cousins are rare, marriages with classificatory cousins are much more common. Another weak expression of what appears to be the same motive is preferential marriage to an unspecified member of the father's house (assuming an exogamous matrilineal society), as one finds among the Tlingit (de Lagrva 1972:490).

McClellan provides an especially striking illustration of this phenomenon in her report that nineteenth century Tagish tried to make exactly the same marriages as had their

predecessors who bore the same names, so that members of the two Tagish clans would be forever linked in the same way. This was thought possible because the pool of clan names and accompanying statuses remained constant. The name-holders changed, but through reincarnation these were in fact the same individuals, cycling through a system "that thus incorporated the living and the dead indissolubly" (McClellan 1981:487).

H31 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice the levirate and/or the sororate. (Rattray 1927; Seligman 1924)

Rattray closed his discussion of reincarnation and cross-cousin marriage among the Ashanti by averring that "it is just possible that the sororate and the levirate, and indirectly polygamy, may all be involved in the question which has been examined" (1927:331). This may well be the case in equatorial Africa and in parts of Melanesia, where grandparent-grandchild marriages occur in the context of the levirate. As Seligman (1924) points out for Africa, this means that if ego has reincarnated his grandfather (as would ordinarily be assumed), in marrying his grandfather's widow, he is actually re-marrying "his" spouse. Hocart (1923) made a similar point in commenting on Rivers' (1915) report of Melanesian "gerontocracy."

H32 Societies with reincarnation beliefs transmit property to heirs within lines of descent rather than lines of filiation. (Matlock in press)

In Matlock (1990a) I suggested that the desire to inherit one's rights and statuses in one's future life had spurred the development of lineal structures (clans) out of a cognatic kinship base. I have since (Matlock in press) amended this argument, taking into account generation moieties. I now think that lineal structures developed directly out of a generation moiety organization (although they might have developed out of a cognatic structure in some cases). Furthermore, I believe that the increasing importance of material property and the desirability of its transmission that came with settled life and agriculture played a key role in the breakdown of the generation moiety organization and its replacement by lineal ones. I am not the first to suggest that material property and inheritance are at the root of lineal structures (Lowie 1917 was), but so far as I know I am the first to relate the process to generation moieties and to reincarnation.

The problem is not that generation moiety societies do not have property to pass to heirs; they often do, but this property is generally of a different sort than the property transmitted in lineal societies. In societies with generation moieties, as in societies of hunter-gatherers generally, property is mostly what Lowie (1928) called

"incorporeal"--rights to hunt or fish or collect berries in certain spots, to use certain religious objects, to perform certain songs or dances, to hold certain positions, and so forth. Incorporeal property may be transmitted in an alternate-generational fashion, not only preserving the property within the generation moiety but providing for its transmission to a grandchild of the owner, in whom he is believed to be reincarnated (Keen 1988). Interestingly, in the case of the Kitlatla, a Tsimshian outlying group similar in structure to the Gitksan (and thus having +3/-3 equations), rights pass not to the grandchild, but to the great-grandchild (Dunn 1984).

Morphy (1988) depicts the way Murngin property transfers are related to conception beliefs. The clan best placed to take over the ritual privileges of a clan which is dying out is one which stands to it as (sister's) daughter's child--the same relationship as the ideal relationship between a deceased ego and his reincarnation. In all these cases, the transmission is in the line of descent, and it appears to be linked directly to the inheritance by the reincarnation of the former owner. This would not necessarily be the case if transmission were in lines of filiation, especially if it were bilateral; a person reincarnating in the second descending generation could expect to receive some portion of his previously-held property, but he would also receive some property alien to him.

Inheritance in the line of descent does not necessarily imply the transmission of property directly from grandparent to grandchild; the transmission may be indirect, via the intervening generations. But in this case property is less likely to be divided among heirs if there is a regular rule, such as primogeniture or ultimogeniture, tying inheritance to birth position. Thus, Gutmann remarks that among the Chagga reincarnation beliefs are "responsible for the privileged position of the first- and last-born sons when it comes to the distribution of inheritance" (1926:208, HRAF translation).

In Matlock (1990a) I showed how this worked for the Kwakiutl. Although now generally considered to have a cognatic structure (Levi-Strauss 1982), the Kwakiutl have patrilineal clans on the definition employed here--that is, there are mythic ancestors from which the heads of major houses are believed to have descended. Birth position in the chiefly lines is important, because the order of birth determines the office, rights, and prerogatives a person may attain. It is noteworthy, then, that in several cases of reincarnation among the Kwakiutl, birth order is repeated from one incarnation to the next. One example is furnished by Ford (1941) in his autobiography of a Kwakiutl chief. This man, a second-born son, was recognized as the reincarnation of a second-born son by a birthmark on his temple.

As I remarked above (H29), with the transition from generation moieties to lineal structures, the descent line may become fused with one of the filiative lines. This appears to have happened with the Ashanti who have, as we have seen, a weak form of alternate generation equivalence, with five terminologically-distinct (lineal) generations between the two equated ones. Ashanti clans trace descent from a common ancestor (or "ancestress") who descended from an animal (Rattray 1929), and inheritance passes through adjacent generations in the maternal line. However, Rattray (1927) argues that inheritance of both worldly possessions and names is the primary motive for making cross-cousin marriages and providing for a "pure reincarnation" by offspring. Ashanti cross-cousin marriages thus provide for a sort of triple inheritance--of soul substances, of names, and of material possessions.<sup>27</sup>

H33 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have hereditary succession to the office of community headman. (Somersan 1981)

Not only inheritance, but succession also appears to be related to reincarnation. Meek says of northern Nigeria: "Re-incarnation ideas are the basis of the belief in the hereditary powers of priests, and also, no doubt, of the common idea that it is disgraceful to abandon the profession followed by one's forefathers" (1925:37). Smith and Dale

(1920i:304) say that among the Ila there is no regular pattern of succession, but that if a descendent of a "man of parts" has been recognized as his reincarnation, this may facilitate his advancement to the former man's position. Somersan (1981) found reincarnation to be strongly related to hereditary succession to the headman's office ( $p < .001$ ).<sup>19</sup>

### Control Measures

In Appendix II, I describe the construction of two control measures, an Animism Index and a Missionary Impact Scale. The Animism Index (Appendix IIA) is intended to help control for those societies (e.g. in southeast Asia) with reincarnation beliefs influenced by the Hindu-Buddhist tradition. In these societies, the social practices that are the subject of Hypotheses 13 to 33 will be less likely to be linked to reincarnation than in those societies that are more purely animistic. The Missionary Impact Scale (Appendix IIB) is designed to control for missionary influences. Both scales are crude, and would probably benefit from refinement. This is especially true of the Missionary Impact Scale, which might better be used as a subscale on a scale measuring the effects of culture contact more generally.

I expect to find the statistically strongest effects

when these control scales are combined, that is in those societies which rate both high on the Animism Index and low on the Missionary Impact Scale.

CHAPTER III  
CROSS-CULTURAL TESTS

Introduction

Tests of the 33 hypotheses introduced in Chapter II are reported in this chapter. For convenience of reference, the tests are arranged under the same headings as were used to introduce the hypotheses. Where appropriate, post hoc, exploratory analyses aimed at clarifying issues raised in the course of the presentation are included. Results of the two control measures, the Animism Index and the Missionary Impact Scale, are reported at the end of the chapter. Construction of these scales is explained in Appendix II.

The test methodology, including sampling, coding, and procedures of analysis, is set out in Appendix I. Hypotheses 1-9 relate reincarnation to other elements of the animistic system. Hypotheses 10-12 attempt to measure the antiquity of reincarnation belief by relating it to social organization, subsistence, and religious acculturation. Hypotheses 13-33 refer to various social practices linked to reincarnation beliefs. The hypotheses are supported individually and collectively by the body of ethnographic evidence and theory described in Chapter II, and are phrased in a directional way. All are tested by Fisher's exact probability test, and unless noted otherwise, reported p

values are one-tailed.

Alpha--the statistical level required for significance--was formally set at .05. In reporting results, a level of .1 will also be designated as significant (for justification, see Appendix IA), with results of less than this called non-significant. Phi correlation coefficients are reported for each test. A phi of .3 or less will be interpreted as implying a weak association between variables; a phi of .4 or .5, a moderate association; and a phi of .6 or above, a strong association.

In addition to the major measure (trait) associated with a given hypothesis, a variety of subsidiary measures were coded. Perhaps due to the small sample size, data sufficient for statistical analysis were not recorded for any of the subsidiary measures. The results, where interesting, are discussed below, with additional comment in Appendix IG (Coding Notes). Coded data for all traits, measures, and variables appears in Appendix IF.

### The Belief in Reincarnation

Fifteen (50%) of the 30 societies in the sample were reported to have reincarnation beliefs during the focus period (see Table 3.1). For three other societies (Aymara, Hausa, and Yakut), there is evidence of a prior belief (documented in Appendix IG), but because the belief was not

mentioned during the focus period, its absence at that time is inferred. In one case (Bahia Brazilians) data in the HRAF file were insufficient to make a reasonably confident judgement about the presence or absence of the belief during the focus period. In two cases (Klamath, Lozi) belief in reincarnation was stated to be absent during the focus period, and in all other cases, absence was inferred from other data in the file. In one case (Lapps) too few data were available on the relevant traits to make a time focus possible.

Subsidiary measures were coded for 10 of the 15 societies. In seven cases, the belief was reported to be

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Table 3.1. Presence and absence of reincarnation beliefs in sample societies.

Present	Absent-- Stated	Absent-- Inferred	Insufficient Data
Aranda <sup>a</sup>	Klamath	Aymara <sup>a, b</sup>	Bahia Brazil <sup>a</sup>
Ashanti	Lozi <sup>a</sup>	Azande	
Bush Negroes		Hausa <sup>a, b</sup>	
Central Thai		Iban	
Ganda <sup>a</sup>		Ifugao	
Hokkien		Kurds	
Korea		Somali	
Lapps <sup>a</sup>		Tarahumara	
Ojibwa		Tikopia	
Pawnee <sup>a</sup>		Tzeltal	
Santal		Yakut <sup>a, b</sup>	
Sinhalese		Yanomamo	
Tiv <sup>a</sup>			
Toradja			
Trobriands			

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<sup>a</sup>See comments in Appendix IG (Coding Notes). <sup>b</sup> Former belief documented (see Appendix IG).

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general among the population, whereas in two other cases its prevalence was unclear. In only a single case (Tiv) was the belief said to be held by only some individuals during the focus period. In all seven cases where the belief was said to be a general one, it was believed possible for all persons to reincarnate, and in all except one (Ojibwa) the process was said to occur on a regular basis. Hallowell (1955:173) says that "reincarnation is possible, even if occasional" for the Ojibwa.

Signs were mentioned in association with the belief in six societies. Malinowski (1916:405) says that in the Trobriand Islands, a reincarnating spirit "often appears in a dream to the prospective mother." At least at one time, the same was true of the Lapps (Billson n.d.). Hallowell (1955) notes "special cues" recognized by the Ojibwa, including pregnancy dreams and gray hairs on the head of a newborn baby. Adriani and Kruyt (1951) remark that the Toradja make identifications on the basis of dreams, physical characteristics and defects. The Bush Negroes use birthmarks to establish previous life identity (Hurault 1961). Ingersoll (1963) describes cases in which Thai children claimed to have memories of previous lives.

On the whole, these findings support the contention that belief in reincarnation was once more general and widespread than is the case at present. The 15 societies with the belief coded as present are well spaced geographically, as

Table 3.2. Arrangement of sample societies with reincarnation beliefs by culture area.

Africa	Asia	Europe	North America	South America	Oceania
Ashanti Ganda Tiv	Thai Hokkien Korea Santal Sinhalese	Lapps	Ojibwa Pawnee	Bush Negroes	Aranda Toradja Trobriands

shown in Table 3.2.

As might be expected, the majority of societies with reincarnation beliefs are in Asia. The Bush Negroes, the only South American society with the belief, are descendants of African slaves, and not indigenous to the region; no indigenous South American peoples with reincarnation beliefs are included in the sample. Reincarnation may be underrepresented in North America and overrepresented in Oceania, due to sampling error in association with the small sample size (compare the geographical distribution of the entire sample, as given in Appendix IC). Clearly, the belief in reincarnation has been reported from various parts of the world. Although it has not been evaluated statistically, the sample is evidently well enough distributed to provide a reliable basis on which to test the cross-cultural effect of reincarnation on beliefs and social practices.

There are some important differences between the codes used in the present study and those used by Somersan (1981)

and Davis (1971). A concordance of the rebirth codes for these studies and the present one is presented in Appendix III. The present study agrees with Somersan in 22 of 29 cases (76%) and with Davis (who used different time and place foci) in 14 of 27 cases (52%). Across all three studies, there was agreement in only 12 of 27 cases (44%). Where there was disagreement on a code, the code used in the present study is defended in the coding notes (Appendix IG). The disagreements do not appear to affect the global distribution of reincarnation beliefs. Both Somersan and Davis report finding no significant relationship between presence and absence of the belief and geographical area.

#### Animistic Soul Beliefs

H1 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in some form of interaction between the living and the dead.

Nine of 13 societies with reincarnation beliefs believed the living could interact with the dead, whereas this belief was present in only 5 of 14 societies in which the belief was absent. The relationship between these proportions was significant at the .1 level but not at the .05 level set as alpha (Table 3.3).

Table 3.3. Reincarnation and interaction between living and dead.

Reincarnation	Interaction	
	Present	Absent
Present	9	4
Absent	5	9

$N = 27$ ,  $p = .087$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .34$

H2 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in an afterlife whose social organization is modelled on that of the living.

Too few data were available to test this hypothesis. Of the sample societies, only the Tikopia believed that the physical organization of the land of the dead resembled the land of the living. In no cases was the social organization of the dead held to resemble the social organization of the living.

H3 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe that the human body houses more than one soul.

Somersan (1981:51) reported a significant ( $p = .05$ ) relationship between reincarnation and multiple souls, so it is surprising to find this hypothesis so decisively rejected here (Table 3.4). Of 27 societies, multiple souls were

present in 5 where reincarnation was present and in 6 where it was absent. This unsuccessful replication may indicate that the subsample used in the present study is unrepresentative of the entire Probability Sample as regards the distribution of this trait, or it may be attributable to differences in focus or in coding (Appendix III).

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Table 3.4. Reincarnation and multiple souls.

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Reincarnation	Multiple Souls	
	Present	Absent
Present	5	9
Absent	6	8

---

$N = 27$ ,  $p = .778$  (two-tailed),  $\phi = -.07$

---

H4 Societies with reincarnation beliefs and beliefs in single souls believe that the spirit fragments after death.

This hypothesis is related to the previous one in a complementary way. It was suggested that where reincarnation beliefs were associated with multiple souls, one of these souls would be available to return to life in the body of a child, whereas where beliefs in single souls only were present, the spirit would undergo some fragmentation after death. This hypotheses was confirmed at the .05 level of significance (see Table 3.5). All three societies with beliefs in the fragmentation of the spirit

after death had reincarnation beliefs and beliefs in single souls. The two societies with reincarnation beliefs and single souls which did not believe the spirit fragments after death were the Ojibwa and Pawnee.

---

Table 3.5. Reincarnation, single souls, and fragmentation of the spirit after death.

---

Reincarnation and Single Soul	Fragmentation	
	Present	Absent <sup>a</sup>
Present	3	2
Absent <sup>b</sup>	0	8

---

$N = 13$ ,  $p = .035$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .69$

<sup>a</sup>Includes cases in which absence of fragmentation is inferred, but not cases in which there is no indication (no mention) of fragmentation.

<sup>b</sup>Includes cases with reincarnation absent as well as cases with reincarnation present but single souls absent.

---

##### H5 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have transmigration beliefs.

The relationship of reincarnation to transmigration is shown in Table 3.6. Again the relationship is not significant. Although transmigration beliefs were present in 8 of 15 societies in which reincarnation was present, they were also present in 4 societies in which reincarnation was absent. In one of these four societies (Aymara), however, there is evidence of reincarnation beliefs in the past (see

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 Table 3.6. Reincarnation and transmigration.
 

---

Reincarnation	Transmigration	
	Present	Absent
Present	8	7
Absent	4	10

---

$N = 29$ ,  $p = .165$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .25$

---

#### Appendix IH).

Three of four societies with reincarnation absent but transmigration present (Aymara, Azande, Iban) have multiple souls. We might predict, on the basis of the finding on Hypothesis 4, that the fourth society (Tarahumara) with a belief in single souls would have a spirit which fragmented after death, but data on this variable is missing for this culture.

#### H6 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have transformation beliefs.

Although this hypothesis was not confirmed at the .05 level, the test did reach significance at the lesser level of .1 (Table 3.7). Five of 15 societies with reincarnation also had transformation beliefs, whereas only one of 13 societies without reincarnation beliefs thought transformation possible. The single society without

reincarnation beliefs but with transformation beliefs was the Yanomamo.

---

Table 3.7. Reincarnation and transformation.

---

Reincarnation	Transformation	
	Present	Absent
Present	5	10
Absent	1	13

---

$N = 29$ ,  $p = .099$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .32$

---

H7 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have totemic beliefs.

No significant relationship was found between reincarnation and totemic beliefs (Table 3.8). Five of 14 societies with reincarnation beliefs also had totemic beliefs or practices, but totemism was also present in 3 of 14 societies without reincarnation beliefs.

---

Table 3.8. Reincarnation and totemism.

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Reincarnation	Totemism	
	Present	Absent
Present	5	9
Absent	3	11

---

$N = 28$ ,  $p = .339$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .16$

---

Interestingly, in two of the three societies with totemism but without reincarnation (Aymara, Azande), transmigration was present. Rearrangement of the data from the point of view of rebirth rather than reincarnation results in the proportions (7 : 11) and (1 : 9), but the statistical relationship between these still falls short of significance ( $p = .116$ ). The society with totemism but without rebirth beliefs is Tikopia.

H8 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in guardian spirits.

By now, the reader may be so accustomed to nonsignificant findings that it may come as a surprise to find a comparatively strong relationship between reincarnation and personal guardian spirits (Table 3.9).

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Table 3.9. Reincarnation and personal guardian spirits.

---

Reincarnation	Personal Guardians	
	Present	Absent
Present	9	5
Absent	3	11

---

$N = 28$ ,  $p = .027$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .43$

---

Personal guardians were present in 9 of 14 societies in which reincarnation was present, but in only 3 of 14

societies in which reincarnation was absent ( $p < .05$ ). In one of the three societies with guardian spirits but not reincarnation, transmigration was present. The same level of significance is maintained when the data are reanalyzed from the point of view of rebirth. The proportions change to (10 : 6) and (2 : 10), with the resulting probability value of .019).

H9 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in nonhuman spirits.

The category of nonhuman spirits includes evil spirits, as well as nature spirits of various sorts. As shown in Table 3.10, almost all sample societies held beliefs in nonhuman spirits of some kind, and thus there was no significant contrast between societies with reincarnation beliefs and others.

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Table 3.10. Reincarnation and nonhuman spirits.

---

Reincarnation	Nonhuman Spirits	
	Present	Absent
Present	11	1
Absent	13	1

---

$N = 27$ ,  $p = .923$  (two-tailed),  $\phi = -.07$

---

## Historical Transformations

H10 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have ultimately sovereign groups below the level of the village. (Swanson 1960)

Swanson argued that reincarnation beliefs would be "likely to appear where the pattern of settlement is by small hamlets, compounds of extended families, small nomadic bands, scattered rural neighborhoods, or other units smaller than a village" (Swanson 1960:113). Reincarnation was not expected to appear in societies in which there was no sovereign group higher than the nuclear family, because such groups are usually highly transitory, and thus unlikely to provide the basis for reincarnation beliefs. Neither were such beliefs expected to appear in societies with ultimately sovereign groups at levels higher than the village, because in these societies the little person would tend not be remembered so easily as the community's political leaders. Swanson's expectations were met, and his test was significant at the .01 level.

Davis (1971) was unable to replicate this finding. He also had trouble coding his sample according to Swanson's categories. Swanson assumes an entirely territorial basis for social organization, whereas many animistic societies are organized on kinship principles that cross-cut whatever territorial organization is present. Davis distinguished

kinship-based from territorial-based social organization, and this practice was followed in coding for the present study. For purposes of analysis, all kinship-based structures that did not also have a territorial political organization were placed in the "household" category.

Because Swanson's idea that societies with ultimately sovereign groups no higher than the nuclear household would not have reincarnation beliefs was called into question on his own sample by the presence of the belief (unrecognized by him) among the Yurok (L. Thompson 1916), and was further unsupported by Davis' (1971) findings, the hypothesis to be tested here stated simply that reincarnation beliefs would appear when the highest (territorial) sovereign group was at a level below that of the village.

The present analysis differs from Swanson's in the use of a dichotomous test. Swanson looked for a relationship across his settlement categories. If there were an effect to be discovered, it should have been helped by the present procedure, but the test, shown in Table 3.11, not only was nonsignificant, the distribution fails to conform to Swanson's expectation in a rather dramatic way. Whereas Swanson predicted that reincarnation beliefs would appear most often when the ultimately sovereign group was below the village level, it is precisely this cell that has the fewest cases, necessitating a two-tailed test.

Table 3.11. Reincarnation and ultimately sovereign group.

Reincarnation	Ultimately Sovereign Group	
	Below Village	Village and Above
Present	4	6
Absent	5	8

$N = 23$ ,  $p = .637$  (two-tailed),  $\phi = .02$

H11 Societies with reincarnation beliefs are less reliant on agriculture than societies without the belief. (Davis 1971)

A dichotomous test was used to test Davis's hypothesis that reincarnation beliefs would appear where agriculture was less intensive. Davis (1971) himself looked for a relationship across four variables that included weak and strong forms of horticulture as well as agriculture. His distribution showed a trend in the expected direction, but his test was not significant. The sample used in the present study was not large enough to replicate Davis's test methodologically, but again, the use of a dichotomous test should have made it easier to obtain significance, if there was an effect to be discovered. The result, however, was once more non-significant (Table 3.12).

The failure to confirm this hypothesis is disappointing, given that one would expect to find reincarnation associated

with societies characterized by less intensive agriculture if reincarnation were a belief established in the far reaches of history. However, although the nonsignificant finding provides no support for this larger hypothesis, it does not necessarily count against it. Agriculture may have been introduced into societies with reincarnation beliefs whose traditional subsistence base did not include agriculture, or included it in only a minor way.

---

Table 3.12. Reincarnation and reliance on agriculture.

---

Reincarnation	Agriculture	
	Nonintensive	Intensive
Present	6	7
Absent	6	7

---

$N = 26$ ,  $p = .652$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = 0$

---

H12 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have been under the influence of Christianity or Islam for 50 years or less.

Both Swanson (1960) and Davis (1971) assumed that missionary activity had had a systematic effect on soul beliefs in animistic societies, and they attempted to control for this effect in selecting their samples (see Chapter I). Davis, in addition, chose time foci that were "pre-pacification." In my replication of Somersan (1984), I

noted a tendency for societies heavily influenced by Christianity and Islam to be without reincarnation beliefs, an observation which would seem to support these authors' assumptions. However, in the present study I sought not to control for the effect of missionary activity through sample selection or coding policy, but to examine the effect of the missionary effort directly.

I hypothesized that reincarnation would tend to be absent in societies that had been under Christian or Islamic influence for longer than 50 years. This figure represented about two generations, and seemed a reasonable period over which to expect to see a decline in the belief. However, the test of the hypothesis was not significant. Three of eight societies under Christian or Islamic influence had been influenced for 50 years or less, whereas only two of 10 societies without the belief had felt the impact of these

---

Table 3.13. Reincarnation and years since initial contact with Christianity or Islam.\*

---

Reincarnation	Missionary Presence	
	0-50 Years	51+ Years
Present	3	10
Absent	2	7

---

$N = 22$ ,  $p = .684$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .01$

\*Test does not include societies first influenced by a religion other than Christianity or Islam.

---

religions for so short an interval. Eight societies in which the belief was absent had had a missionary presence for more than 50 years (see Table 3.13).

#### From Conception to Childbirth

#### H13 Societies with reincarnation beliefs do not understand the connection between sexual intercourse and conception.

(Malinowski 1927; Spencer and Gillen 1899)

Confirmation of this hypothesis was not expected, and it was not forthcoming (see Table 3.14). Two societies with reincarnation beliefs were reported not to understand the connection between sexual intercourse and conception, but another 10 either were said to have such an understanding or it could be inferred. All nine of the societies without reincarnation beliefs either were reported to understand the connection, or it could be inferred.

---

Table 3.14. Reincarnation and an understanding of the connection between sexual intercourse and conception (biological conception).

---

Reincarnation	Sex and Conception	
	Not understood	Understood
Present	2	10
Absent	0	9

---

$N = 21$ ,  $p = .314$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = -.02$

---

It is noteworthy that the two societies stated to be ignorant of the connection between sex and conception were the Aranda and the Trobriand, in other words, those societies on which the hypothesis was based. None of the other societies in the sample were reported to be ignorant of the consequences of the sexual act. The absence of reports similar to those of Spencer and Gillen (1899) and Malinowski (1927) from other areas weighs heavily against the generalizability their accounts, especially given the controversies these have occasioned (briefly reviewed in Chapter II). Malinowski and Spencer and Gillen may have been misled by Aranda and Trobriand beliefs in spiritual conception into thinking that this constituted their understanding of biological conception as well.

H14 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in a spiritual dimension to conception, over and above what is required to produce the physical body. (Ford 1945)

This hypothesis is a complement to the previous one. Societies with reincarnation beliefs may understand the connection between sex and conception, and yet believe that an additional spiritual element is required to bring a new life into being. Indeed, as shown in Table 3.15, this hypothesis is strongly supported. Souls or other vivifying elements were mentioned in all but one of the 15 societies with reincarnation beliefs, and in only 3 of 14 societies

Table 3.15. Reincarnation and belief in a spiritual aspect to conception (spiritual conception).

Reincarnation	Vivifying Element	
	Present	Absent
Present	14	1
Absent	3	11

$N = 29$ ,  $p = .0001$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .73$

without reincarnation beliefs. The difference between these proportions is highly significant ( $p = .0001$ ). The  $\phi$  coefficient for this test is also very strong.

This result shows that reincarnation in animistic societies is conceived as a process involving the transfer of the soul or spirit from one body to another, and is not simply a vague concept or "symbolic" idea, as some anthropologists seem to assume. The single society with reincarnation but without a belief in a vivifying element which animates an embryo was the Sinhalese, whose orthodox Buddhist beliefs deny the existence of a personal soul. In all three societies in which the information was given, the vivifying element was believed to arrive at conception. In two societies (Lapps, Trobriands), a supernatural agent was responsible for bringing the soul to the pregnant woman.

In a third society (Azande), a supernatural agent brought the soul to the woman's husband instead. The Azande

are not reported to have reincarnation beliefs, but they do have transmigration beliefs which hint of metempsychosis. It would be interesting to find a systematic relation between transmigration and spiritual conception beliefs, but the Azande are the only one of the four societies with transmigration beliefs in the absence of reincarnation beliefs for which souls are mentioned in association with conception. The relation of rebirth to spiritual conception is significant, although less so than the relation of reincarnation to spiritual conception. The proportions are (15 : 4) and (2 : 8), resulting in a  $p$  of .004.

H15 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have methods of bringing about conception that involve contact with places or items associated with deceased persons (shrines or fetishes).

It was not possible to test this hypothesis as planned, because too few societies were reported to use fetishes or shrines that were definitely animated, as means of securing pregnancies. Fetishes were reported to be used in this way in several cases, but in none were they expressly said to be animated. In two societies (Aranda, Santal) shrines or totem centers associated with deceased spirits performed the same function. Other societies had various other devices and practices, such as magical rites, that were intended to help bring about conception.

Rather than carrying out the test as planned, the various conception rituals were grouped together, and examined in relation to belief in reincarnation. Cases in which conception rituals were not mentioned were treated as inferred absence. The result, as shown in Table 3.16, was nonsignificant.

---

Table 3.16. Reincarnation and conception rituals.

---

Reincarnation	Conception Rituals	
	Present	Absent
Present	6	9
Absent	4	9

---

$N = 28$ ,  $p = .456$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = -.1$

---

H16. Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice the couvade. (Karsten 1964)

Two types of couvade practice were recognized in the present study: (a) the classical couvade, wherein the husband mimics his wife's labor pains and may lie in for days after her parturition, even while she returns to her chores; and (b) the husband's observance of taboos relating to his wife's pregnancy, either the same as hers or special to him.

One society (Toradja) was reported to have the couvade in its classical form, and in six other societies, the

husband observed pregnancy taboos. Five of these seven societies have reincarnation beliefs. In no societies were couvade or couvade-like behaviors denied, so "not mentioned" was once again treated as "absence inferred." The result falls short of statistical significance, with a low phi coefficient (see Table 3.17).

---

Table 3.17. Reincarnation and the couvade.

---

Reincarnation	Couvade	
	Present	Absent
Present	5	10
Absent	2	11

---

N = 28, p = .258 (one-tailed), phi = .2

---

Nonetheless, it is interesting to note that both of the societies with couvade practices but without reincarnation beliefs (Iban, Tarahumara) have transmigration beliefs. Table 3.18 shows what happens when these societies are classed with those with reincarnation beliefs. The distribution changes sufficiently for the difference between the proportions to reach significance at the .05 level, and phi rises into the moderate range.

---

 Table 3.18. Rebirth and the couvade.
 

---

Reincarnation	Couvade	
	Present	Absent
Present	7	10
Absent	0	12

---

$N = 29$ ,  $p = .012$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .47$

---

### Mortuary Practices

#### H17 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice secondary burial. (Hertz 1960)

Secondary burial was reported for four societies, three of which (Taiwan Hokkien, Toradja, Trobriands) have reincarnation beliefs, and one of which (Ifugao) does not. These proportions suggest that significance might be found in a larger sample, but at present there are too few cases to make analysis meaningful.

#### H18 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have double obsequies. Hertz 1960

Double obsequies were reported for only two sample societies (Toradja and Yanomamo), too few to make statistical evaluation possible.

H19 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice house and yard burial. (Rose 1922)

This hypothesis was not supported (Table 3.19). Five of the 15 societies with reincarnation beliefs practiced house and yard burial, but so did 4 of 13 other societies.

Table 3.19. Reincarnation and house and yard burial.

Reincarnation	House and Yard Burial	
	Present	Absent
Present	5	6
Absent	4	6

$N = 21$ ,  $p = .575$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .06$

Given the many suggestive references in the literature and the association of this form of burial with reincarnation by earlier authors (King 1903; Rose 1922), it is surprising to find the hypothesis disconfirmed.

Transmigration does not seem to be part of the explanation in this case, inasmuch as only one of the societies with transmigration in the absence of reincarnation beliefs (Azande) practiced this form of burial.

The practice may have continued as a survival in some societies, supported by a rationale other than the one which inspired it to begin with. In this case, we might expect to find that those societies which have the practice in the

absence of reincarnation beliefs might be those more impacted by the missionary effort, but relevant data are available on too few societies to make investigation of this possibility feasible (see below). Conceivably, also, the absence of an observed effect is due to sampling error. Further study with larger samples should help to show which of these explanations is the more correct, or whether the idea of a linkage between reincarnation and this form of burial will have to be abandoned.

H20 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have lineage or clan cemeteries. (Hertz 1960)

The number of societies in the test of this hypothesis is unusually small because only those societies with cemeteries and information on recruitment are compared. Three out of four societies with reincarnation beliefs had lineage or clan cemeteries, whereas none of the three

---

Table 3.20. Reincarnation and lineage or clan cemeteries.

---

Reincarnation	Lineage/Clan Cemeteries	
	Present	Absent
Present	3	1
Absent	0	3

---

$N = 7$ ,  $p = .114$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .75$

---

societies without the belief had such cemeteries. The distribution is interesting, but the sample is too small to lead to significance (Table 3.20).

H21 Societies with reincarnation beliefs mark or mutilate bodies at death. (Frazer 1918)

Only two societies were reported to mark or mutilate cadavers. Both these societies (Pawnee, Tiv) have reincarnation beliefs, but more cases are necessary before a statistical analysis can be conducted.

H22 Societies with reincarnation beliefs orient burials terrestrially. (Rose 1922)

Terrestrial orientation was mentioned for two societies, one of which has reincarnation beliefs (Lapps), the other of which does not (Kurds). Again, more cases are needed to make analysis feasible.

H23 Societies with reincarnation beliefs employ a flexed burial posture. (Whipple 1905)

This hypothesis was tested only with those societies for which burial posture was indicated to be either flexed or extended. As predicted, the hypothesis was not confirmed. Four of seven societies with reincarnation beliefs were reported to practice flexed burial, whereas three of seven societies without the belief did so (Table 3.21).

---

 Table 3.21. Reincarnation and flexed burial posture.
 

---

Reincarnation	Burial Posture	
	Flexed	Extended
Present	4	3
Absent	3	4

---

$N = 14$ ,  $p = .5$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .14$

---

#### Names and Naming Practices

#### H24 Societies with reincarnation beliefs name children after deceased relatives or ancestors. (Tylor 1920)

This hypothesis was one of seven to be confirmed at the statistical level of .05 (see Table 3.22). In 8 of 10 societies with reincarnation beliefs, children were named after deceased relatives, whereas children received

---

 Table 3.22. Reincarnation and naming after deceased relatives or ancestors.
 

---

Reincarnation	Name of Deceased Relative	
	Present	Absent
Present	8	2
Absent	3	7

---

$N = 20$ ,  $p = .034$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .5$

---

ancestral names in only 3 of 10 societies in which reincarnation beliefs were absent. The associated phi coefficient of .5 is moderately high.

In four societies, the deceased relative was said to be a grandparent, while in seven societies the identity of the relative was not stated. The Trobrianders were said to give names of maternal relatives, but restrictions were not noted for other societies. A few societies gave children names of living relatives as well as deceased ones. In five societies the practice was said to be regular, whereas in four it was reported to be occasional only. Casual inspection of the data does not suggest that these subsidiary variables vary with the belief in reincarnation, but statistical examination of this possibility will have to wait until more cases are available.

H25 Societies with reincarnation beliefs use signs or tests in deciding on names for children.

Although the distribution of cases in the test of this hypothesis reveals a trend in the expected direction, and phi is moderately high, the result falls just short of significance (Table 3.23).

A child's incessant crying provided the basis for the name choice in four societies. In three other societies, children's physical marks or behaviors were reported to be the basis for choosing the name. This was true also of a

fourth society, Bahia Brazilians, excluded from most tests due to insufficient data on which to base a judgement of presence or absence of reincarnation beliefs. Dreams were mentioned as a source for the name in a single society. (Lapps).

---

Table 3.23. Reincarnation and signs or tests used in choosing personal name.

---

Reincarnation	Signs or Tests	
	Present	Absent
Present	7	1
Absent	3	5

---

$N = 16$ ,  $p = .059$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .52$

---

H26 Societies with reincarnation beliefs acknowledge a special relationship between name sharers. (Guemple 1965)

Name sharer relations were mentioned only for the Bush Negroes and the Hausa, too few cases to permit analysis. Interestingly, the Bush Negroes have reincarnation beliefs, and the Hausa, although they do not appear to have reincarnation beliefs today, did once have them (see Appendix IG, Coding Notes).

H27 Societies with reincarnation beliefs taboo names at death, but lift the taboos after an interval or when a new child is born. (Frazer 1911)

Once again, there is not enough data to make a test of this hypothesis meaningful, but the distribution is suggestive (Table 3.24). Four societies were reported to taboo the use of personal names when persons died. Three of these societies (Aranda, Pawnee, Toradja) lifted the taboo after an interval, whereas the fourth society (Yanomamo) did not. The Aranda, Pawnee, and Toradja all have reincarnation beliefs; the Yanomamo do not.

---

Table 3.24. Reincarnation and name taboos lifted after death.

---

Reincarnation	Name Taboo at Death	
	Lifted	Not Lifted
Present	3	0
Absent	0	1

---

$N = 4$ ,  $p = .25$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = 1$

---

### Kinship Structures

H28 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have complementarity between alternate generations. (Parkin 1988)

Aberle (1967) used a purposive sample to develop and

test the reliability of his scale of alternate generation equations because he found very few examples of equations in a sample drawn from Murdock's (1957) World Ethnographic Sample. Largely on the basis of Aberle's experience, various other forms of alternate-generation complementarity were counted along with equations in the present study. Alternate generation complementarity was expected to relate to reincarnation beliefs, but as Table 3.25 makes apparent, this was not the case. Alternate generation complementarity was recorded for 7 of 15 societies with reincarnation beliefs and for 7 of 14 societies without reincarnation beliefs, and the result was nonsignificant.

---

Table 3.25. Reincarnation and complementarity of alternate generations.

---

Reincarnation	Complementarity	
	Present	Absent
Present	7	8
Absent	7	7

---

$N = 29$ ,  $p = .867$  (two-tailed),  $\phi = -.03$

---

Four societies had an alternate generational transmission of names (that is, ancestral names were passed from grandparent to grandchild, but not from members of the parental generation to children), two of which (Ashanti, Ifugao) also had alternate generation equations. Marriages

between grandparents and grandchildren were not recorded for any sample societies. A joking relationship between grandparents and grandchildren was recorded in three cases--Santal, Tarahumara, and, interestingly enough, Hausa.

Although Smith (1955), the ethnographer whose work is taken as the focus for the Hausa, makes no mention of alternate generation equations, Greenberg (1946) reports them for a different community about a decade earlier. The form of the equations, however, is unusual, and is not readily classifiable according to Aberle's (1967) scale. There are equations between the +1 and +3 levels and equations between the -1 and -3 levels, but these are different terms (Greenberg 1946:20). Of the sample societies, the Lozi (Gluckman 1951) have a similar system, which is otherwise known from only a small group of societies in Zambia (formerly Northern Rhodesia).

Alternate generation equations themselves were much more widespread than expected (Table 3.26). No fewer than 11 of the sample societies had some type of equations between alternate generations (the total is 12 if the Hausa are included). Not only this, but there were more societies with equations without reincarnation beliefs than with them. Five of 15 societies with reincarnation beliefs had alternate generation equations, whereas 6 of 14 societies without reincarnation beliefs had equations. The test was once again nonsignificant.

---

Table 3.26. Reincarnation and alternate generation equations.

---

Reincarnation	Equations	
	Present	Absent
Present	5	10
Absent	6	8

---

$N = 29$ ,  $p = .754$  (two-tailed),  $\phi = -.1$

---

There is no obvious explanation for the failure to obtain significance on this test. There is evidence of a prior belief in reincarnation for none of the societies with alternate generation equations but without reincarnation, with the possible exception of the Lozi (Appendix IG). (Reincarnation was recorded at an earlier date for the Hausa--see Appendix IG--but as explained, the Hausa were not coded as having equations.) Only one society with equations--the Tarahumara--had transmigration beliefs. Even if all three of these societies are classed with societies with reincarnation present, the outcome is largely unaltered. The proportions change to (8 : 11) and (3 : 8), resulting in a  $p$  of .618 (Fisher's exact test, two-tailed), still far from significance.

H29 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have clans.

"Clans" were defined as groups of persons descended from

a putative common ancestor (who might be a mythic personage), in contrast to "lineages," for whom all genealogical links back to the common ancestor were known. No other attributes (such as common residence or corporate activities) were made part of the definition. As revealed in Table 3.27, this approach was very fruitful. Clans were present in 9 societies and absent in 2 societies with reincarnation beliefs, and present in 3 and absent in 9 societies without reincarnation beliefs ( $p < .01$ ). The associated phi coefficient of .57 is moderately high.<sup>1</sup>

---

Table 3.27. Reincarnation and clans.

---

Reincarnation	Clans	
	Present	Absent
Present	9	2
Absent	3	8

---

$N = 23$ ,  $p = .009$  (one-tailed), phi = .57

---

The single society with reincarnation beliefs but without clans was the Central Thai. The four societies without reincarnation beliefs but with clans were the Azande, Tzeltal, Yakut, and Tikopia. Of these, there is evidence of prior reincarnation belief for the Yakut (Appendix IG).

In all seven cases in which information was available,

the clans were dispersed rather than co-residential. In four cases ethnographers stated that the clans did not have a corporate character, and in no cases were corporate activities noted. These findings suggest that neither common residence nor corporate activities should be used in defining a clan. On the other hand, in 8 (of 12) cases clans were said to be exogamous, so it is clear that clans may serve an important social function.

In three societies (Ashanti, Bush Negroes, Trobriands), clans were matrilineal, whereas in the remaining eleven cases, they were patrilineal. The sample used in the present study is a subsample of the sample used by Somersan (1981, 1984), who reported finding reincarnation beliefs in all matrilineal societies, so it is no surprise that all three matrilineal clans are associated with reincarnation beliefs. Somersan also found a significant difference between the proportions of matrilineal and other sorts of organization and reincarnation beliefs, using Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock 1967) codes for descent groups. The contrast between matrilineal and patrilineal clans in the present study reveals nothing interesting, however. Of 10 societies with reincarnation beliefs, 3 had matrilineal clans and 7 patrilineal clans, whereas of 4 societies without reincarnation beliefs, all clans were patrilineal. The resulting probability value of .66 (Fisher's exact test, two-tailed) falls short of significance.

H30 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice cross-cousin marriage. (Rattray and Buxton 1925)

This test reached statistical significance (Table 3.28). Of 12 societies with reincarnation beliefs, 9 had cross-cousin marriage and 3 did not; of 12 societies without reincarnation beliefs, 4 had cross-cousin marriage and 8 did not ( $p = .05$ ). The  $\phi$  coefficient is moderate.

Table 3.28. Reincarnation and cross-cousin marriage.

Reincarnation	Cross-Cousin Marriage	
	Present	Absent
Present	9	3
Absent	4	8

$N = 24$ ,  $p = .05$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .42$

None of the four societies with cross-cousin marriage but without reincarnation beliefs had transmigration beliefs. The proportions for rebirth and cross-cousin marriage are (9 : 6) and (4 : 5), clearly nonsignificant ( $p = .375$ ).

H31 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice the levirate and/or the sororate. (Rattray 1927; Seligman 1924)

Eight sample societies practiced the levirate or

sororate or both. All eight societies practiced the levirate, whereas four had the sororate also. Thus, this test is in essence a test of the relationship between reincarnation and the levirate. Four out of 14 societies with reincarnation beliefs practiced the levirate, whereas 4 out of 9 societies without reincarnation beliefs practiced the levirate, leading to a nonsignificant result (Table 3.29).

---

Table 3.29. Reincarnation and the levirate or sororate.

---

Reincarnation	Spouse Inheritance	
	Present	Absent
Present	4	3
Absent	4	4

---

$N = 15$ ,  $p = .595$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .07$

---

H32 Societies with reincarnation beliefs transmit property to heirs within lines of descent rather than lines of filiation. (Matlock in press)

On the theory advanced in Chapter II, animistic societies attempt to transmit property to the reincarnation of the owner. One way of doing this would be to have inheritance rules or practices that provide for inheritance in lines of descent in contrast to lines of filiation,

insofar as descent is understood in terms of reincarnation. The hypothesis was confirmed (see Table 3.30). Six of 7 societies with reincarnation beliefs passed property and privileges in the descent line (as opposed to the filiative line or lines), whereas this was true of only 1 of 8 societies without reincarnation beliefs ( $p < .01$ ). The associated phi coefficient (.73) was strong.<sup>2</sup>

---

Table 3.30. Reincarnation and inheritance in line of descent vs. line of filiation.

---

Reincarnation	Inheritance	
	Descent	Filiation
Present	6	1
Absent	1	7

---

$N = 15$ ,  $p = .009$  (one-tailed), phi = .73

---

The society with reincarnation beliefs which passed property in the filial line is the Lapp, the society without reincarnation beliefs which passed property in the descent line is the Tikopia. Data on inheritance is ambiguous for the Tzeltal, another society without reincarnation beliefs but with clans. The Tzeltal were omitted from the analysis (see Appendix IG for justification), but if they are included as having inheritance within the clan, significance is retained, although reduced somewhat. The proportions change to (6 : 1) and (2 : 7), resulting in a  $p$  of .02

(Fisher's exact test, 1-tailed).

In four of the eight cases of inheritance in filial lines, transmission was bilateral--that is, the heir or heirs received inheritances from both parents. The other four societies, lacking clans, transmitted property on the father's side of the family. Primogeniture was recorded for three societies (Iban, Ifugao, and Pawnee) and ultimogeniture for a single society (Lapps).

H33 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have hereditary succession to the office of community headman. (Somersan 1981)

Given Somersan's (1981) report of a highly significant relationship ( $p = .001$ ) between reincarnation and hereditary succession to the office of community headman, one might expect this hypothesis to be decisively confirmed. However, it was rejected (Table 3.31).

---

Table 3.31. Reincarnation and hereditary succession to the headman's office.

---

Reincarnation	Hereditary Succession	
	Present	Absent
Present	2	5
Absent	2	9

---

$N = 29$ ,  $p = .515$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .12$

---

This is the second time a highly significant result claimed by Somersan (1981) failed to be replicated here. In the case of multiple soul beliefs (H3), it was suggested that the discrepancy could be due to either to a difference in coding (Appendix III) or sampling error, the present sample being a subset of hers. In this instance, the discrepancy may be related to Somersan's use of precoded data from the Ethnographic Atlas (Murdock 1967) for the succession variable. In an effort to evaluate this possibility, data were reanalyzed using Ethnographic Atlas codes for succession. The number of societies having hereditary succession to the headman's office is substantially increased in both reincarnation-present and reincarnation-absent conditions, and the result still falls short of significance (Table 3.32).

---

Table 3.32. Reincarnation and hereditary succession to the headman's office (Ethnographic Atlas codes).

---

Reincarnation	Hereditary Succession	
	Present	Absent
Present	6	5
Absent	4	7

---

N = 29, p = .335 (one-tailed), phi = .18

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## Control Tests

### Animism Index Tests

The nine soul beliefs whose co-occurrence with reincarnation was explored above were each assigned a score of one, and the number of traits recorded for each society was summed to give an overall score for each society (see Appendix IIA). Possible scores ranged from 0 to 9. A total of 19 societies received scores between 0 and 3, and were thus rated as having animistic beliefs absent or weak. The remaining 11 societies received scores from 4 to 6, and were rated as having animism to a moderate degree. No societies were rated as having a strong degree of animism during the focus period.

Societies are listed under the appropriate categories in Table 3.33. The rationale behind taking a minimum score of 3 to represent animism as present in dichotomous tests was that this would serve to screen out those societies with animistic beliefs that had survived under Hindu and Buddhist influence, but it is apparent from this listing that a minimum score of 3 was only partially successful in doing this. Of Asian societies with Hindu and Buddhist influences, the Sinhalese, Ta'wan Hokkien, and Santal were rated as having absent or weak animistic beliefs, but the Central Thai and Koreans were rated as having a moderate degree of animism.

Table 3.33. Arrangement of sample by Animism Index assignment.

Absent (0)*	Weak (1-3)	Moderate (4-6)	Strong (7-9)
Kurds	Bahia Brazil	Aranda	
Sinhalese	Bush Negroes	Ashanti	
	Ganda	Aymara	
	Hausa	Azande	
	Hokkien	Central Thai	
	Ifugao	Iban	
	Klamath	Korea	
	Lozi	Lapps	
	Pawnee	Ojibwa	
	Santal	Toradja	
	Somali	Trobrianders	
	Tarahumara		
	Tikopia		
	Tiv		
	Tzeltal		
	Yakut		
	Yanomamo		

\*Numbers in parentheses refer to Animism Index score (see Appendix IA).

The relationship of reincarnation to the degree of animism (moderate or weak/absent) present in a society is shown in Table 3.34. Despite the fact that the majority of tests of individual traits produced nonsignificant results, their overall relation to reincarnation is significant only at the .1 level. Eight of the 15 societies with reincarnation beliefs were rated as having a moderate degree of animism, whereas only 3 of 14 societies without reincarnation had animism present to such a degree.

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 Table 3.34. Reincarnation and degree of animism.
 

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Reincarnation	Animism	
	Moderate	Weak/Absent
Present	8	7
Absent	3	11

---

$N = 29$ ,  $p = .082$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .33$

---

Of considerable interest is the fact that all three of the societies without reincarnation beliefs but with a moderate degree of animism had transmigration beliefs. In other words, all 11 societies rated as having a moderate degree of animism had rebirth beliefs.

Rebirth beliefs were present in 8 of the societies rated as having weak or absent animistic beliefs, and absent in another 10. The relationship between these proportions was significant with a  $p$  of .002 (Table 3.35).

These results provide some support for the contention that reincarnation was once universal in animistic societies, particularly since there is evidence for the presence of the belief historically in one of the three societies (Aymara) with transmigration beliefs only. In a second case (Azande), the link that would return a transmigrated soul to a human body and thus complete a cycle of metempsychosis may only recently have been severed.

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 Table 3.35. Rebirth and degree of animism.
 

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Rebirth	Animism	
	Moderate	Weak/Absent
Present	11	8
Absent	0	10

---

$N = 29$ ,  $p = .002$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .57$ .

---

Evans-Pritchard (1932) observes that a person transmigrates into his or her totem animal at death, and that a child is born from a totemic animal, but remarks: "I would like to make clear that no Azande ever suggested to me an association between beliefs about conception and what happens to the soul at death. These beliefs are, however, complementary."

However, no systematic effect between degree of animism and presence of traits was found in a control test. Degree of animism was controlled by dividing the sample cases into high and low animism groups, based on their Animism Index rating (high = moderate, low = weak/absent), rearranging the data for all testable hypotheses, and computing the  $\phi$  coefficients (Tables 3.36 and 3.37). These were then compared (Table 3.38) and a sign test was conducted to test the hypothesis that better results would be obtained under the high than under the low animism condition. Hypotheses 1

through 9 were ignored in this analysis. Of the 16 tests compared, nine phi coefficients were higher in the high animism condition and seven in the low animism condition, leading to a nonsignificant result ( $p = .402$ ) (Siegal 1956:250).

The result is not improved by restricting the test to those hypotheses that were confirmed at the .05 level. Of the five tests compared, three phi coefficients were higher in the high animism condition and two in the low animism condition, leading to a nonsignificant result ( $p = .5$ ) (Siegal 1956:250).

Table 3.36. Control tests summary--High animistic societies.

Test	2 x 2 Cells				Phi	
	A <sup>a</sup>	B <sup>b</sup>	C <sup>c</sup>	D <sup>d</sup>		
1	Interaction with dead	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
2	Afterlife modelled	-	-	-	- <sup>e</sup>	
3	Multiple souls	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
4	Spirit fragments	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
5	Transmigration	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
6	Transformation	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
7	Totemism	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
8	Guardian spirits	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
9	Nonhuman spirits	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
10	Sovereign group	2	3	0	3	.45
11	Agriculture	4	3	1	2	.22
12	Missionary influence	2	6	1	1	-.22
13	Understanding of sex	2	5	0	3	.33
14	Spiritual conception	8	0	1	2	.77
15	Conception rituals	3	5	1	2	.04
16	Couvade	2	6	1	2	-.08
17	Double obsequies	-	-	-	-	--- <sup>f</sup>
18	Secondary burial	-	-	-	-	--- <sup>f</sup>
19	House and yard burial	2	4	1	1	-.15
20	Clan/lineage cemeteries	1	0	0	0	--- <sup>f</sup>
21	Marking of bodies	-	-	-	-	--- <sup>f</sup>
22	Terrestrial orientation	-	-	-	-	--- <sup>f</sup>
23	Burial posture	3	2	1	1	.09
24	Ancestral name	5	1	1	2	.5
25	Signs in name choice	4	1	0	2	.73
26	Namesake relationship	-	-	-	-	--- <sup>f</sup>
27	Name taboo lifted	2	0	0	0	1
28	Generation equivalence	5	3	0	3	.56
29	Clans	5	1	1	2	.5
30	Cross-cousin marriage	6	1	0	2	.76
31	Levirate or sororate	2	3	1	1	-.09
32	Inheritance	3	1	0	3	.75
33	Hereditary succession	2	3	0	3	.45

<sup>a</sup>Reincarnation present/Trait present. <sup>b</sup>Reincarnation present/Trait absent. <sup>c</sup>Reincarnation absent/Trait present. <sup>d</sup>Reincarnation absent/Trait absent. <sup>e</sup>Excluded from analysis. <sup>f</sup>Insufficient data for test.

Table 3.37. Control tests summary--Low animistic societies.

Test	2 x 2 Cells				Phi
	A <sup>a</sup>	B <sup>b</sup>	C <sup>c</sup>	D <sup>d</sup>	
1	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
2	-	-	-	-	
3	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
4	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
5	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
6	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
7	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
8	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
9	x	x	x	x <sup>e</sup>	
10	2	3	5	5	-.09
11	2	4	5	5	-.16
12	1	4	1	6	.08
13	0	5	0	6	1.7E+38
14	6	1	2	9	.66
15	3	4	3	9	.19
16	3	4	1	9	.38
17	-	-	-	-	--- <sup>f</sup>
18	-	-	-	-	--- <sup>f</sup>
19	3	2	3	5	.22
20	2	1	0	3	.71
21	-	-	-	-	--- <sup>f</sup>
22	-	-	-	-	--- <sup>f</sup>
23	1	1	2	3	.09
24	3	1	2	5	.45
25	3	0	3	3	.5
26	-	-	-	-	--- <sup>f</sup>
27	1	0	0	1	1
28	2	5	7	4	-.34
29	4	1	2	7	.56
30	3	2	4	6	.19
31	2	0	3	3	.45
32	3	0	1	4	.77
33	0	2	2	6	-.25

<sup>a</sup>Reincarnation present/Trait present. <sup>b</sup>Reincarnation present/Trait absent. <sup>c</sup>Reincarnation absent/Trait present. <sup>d</sup>Reincarnation absent/Trait absent. <sup>e</sup>Excluded from analysis. <sup>f</sup>Insufficient data for test.

Table 3.38. Control tests summary--Comparison of phi coefficients, high and low animistic societies

Test	High Animism	Low Animism	Sign
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9			
10	.45	-.09	+
11	.22	-.16	+
12	-.22	.08	-
13	.33	1.7E+38	+
14	.77	.66	+
15	.04	.19	-
16	-.08	.38	-
17	--	--	
18	--	--	
19	-.15	.22	-
20	--	.71	
21	--	--	
22	--	--	
23	.09	.09	
24	.5	.45	+
25	.73	.5	+
26	--	--	
27	--	1	
28	.56	-.34	+
29	.5	.56	-
30	.76	.19	+
31	-.09	.45	-
32	.75	.77	
33	.45	-.25	+

### Missionary Impact Scale Tests

Hypothesis 12 stated that reincarnation beliefs would be most likely to appear where Christian or Islamic missionaries had been present for 50 years or less. The Missionary Impact Scale (see Appendix IIB) was designed to take into account a variety of factors related to contact with missionaries, such as amount of resistance to conversion and the extent of acceptance of the religion during the focal period (nominal, syncretic, complete), and thus to provide a more broadly based measure of the impact of missionary activities on a society. Unfortunately, lack of detailed information on missionary contact collected from the HRAF microfiles made it impossible to construct the scale as planned. Data were consistently available on only a single measure--years since initial contact. As constructed, therefore, the Missionary Impact Scale measures the same factor tested under Hypothesis 12. There is, however, an important difference. Whereas 50 years was taken as the dividing line between categories in the test of Hypothesis 12, in the Missionary Impact Scale it is 100 years.

Table 3.39 shows the sample societies arranged by the world religion with which they first came into contact. One society (Santal) was first influenced by Hinduism, and four others (Central Thai, Taiwan Hokkien, Koreans, and Sinhalese) by Buddhism. Three peoples (Hausa, Kurds,

Table 3.39. Arrangement of sample by world religion with which society first came into contact

Hinduism*	Buddhism*	Christianity	Islam
Santal	Central Thai Hokkien Korea Sinhalese	Aranda Ashanti Aymara Azande Bahia Brazil Bush Negroes Ganda Iban Ifugao Klamath Lapps Lozi Ojibwa Pawnee Tarahumara Tikopia Tiv Toradja Trobriands Tzeltal Yakut Yanomamo	Hausa Kurds Somali

\*Not rated on Missionary Impact Scale (Appendix IIB).

Somali) fell under the influence of Islam, with the remaining 22 affected by Christianity.

Only those societies influenced by either Islam or Christianity were scored on the Missionary Impact Scale. Data on years since contact were unavailable for all three Islamic societies, so the Missionary Impact Scale in effect is a measure of years since contact with Christian missionaries, taking 100 years as the dividing line between those societies weakly and strongly impacted by these

Table 3.40. Arrangement of sample by Missionary Impact Scale assignment.\*

Absent (0)	Weak (1-4)	Moderate (5-11)	Strong (12-15)
	Aranda	Ashanti	
	Ganda	Aymara	
	Iban	Bahia Brazilians	
	Ifugao	Lapps	
	Klamath	Tarahumara	
	Lozi	Toradja	
	Ojibwa	Tzeltal	
	Pawnee	Yakut	
	Trobriands		
	Yanomamo		

\*Numbers in parentheses refer to Missionary Impact Scale score (see Appendix IB). Only societies whose initial contact was with either Christianity or Islam were scored. Some societies could not be scored, due to insufficient data.

emissaries. This important restriction must be kept in mind in the interpretation of tests in which the Scale is used. Societies assigned a Scale rating are listed in Table 3.40. Ten societies were rated as having been impacted weakly, and eight societies as having been impacted strongly. Table 3.41 shows the relationship of reincarnation to the Scale rating for 17 of these societies. The same societies were examined under Hypothesis 12, and the results of the present test should be compared to that shown in Table 3. Here, five of eight societies with reincarnation had been weakly impacted by missionaries, whereas five of nine societies without the belief had been weakly impacted. In the earlier test, three of the eight societies with

reincarnation beliefs had been under missionary influence for 50 years or less, whereas two of the nine societies without the belief had been influenced for this length of time.

---

Table 3.41. Reincarnation and impact of missionary activity (per Missionary Impact Scale).

---

Reincarnation	Missionary Impact	
	Weak	Strong
Present	5	3
Absent	5	4

---

$N = 17$ ,  $p = .581$  (one-tailed),  $\phi = .07$

---

The movement of two cases from the "strong" to the "weak" column with the passage of an additional 50 years suggests that missionary influence may indeed cause the loss of the belief in reincarnation over time, although the effect does not seem to be pronounced.

Statistically stronger effects were expected to be found in those societies which had been influenced by missionaries for a longer period and a control test analogous to the one for animism was planned. Unfortunately, the small number of cases available made the control test impossible. With only 10 cases in the "strong impact" group and seven cases in the "weak impact" group, given the loss of data in several societies in many of the tests,  $\phi$  could have been

calculated, but would have had little meaning. It follows that a test of the hypothesis that the strongest effects would be found in those societies which were rated high on the Animism Index and low on the Missionary Impact Scale could not be made, either.

#### Rebirth versus Reincarnation as an Independent Variables

A test of rebirth (in contrast to reincarnation) as an independent variable was not planned, but the number of cases in which results were enhanced when rebirth was substituted for reincarnation suggest that the effect should be investigated systematically.

The hypothesis that rebirth would prove a better predictor than reincarnation was tested by rearranging the data in the tables using rebirth as the independent variable and computing phi coefficients (Table 3.42), then comparing these with the phi coefficients obtained for the same tests conducted with reincarnation as the independent variable (Table 3.43). The hypothesis was not confirmed by a sign test. In nine cases, rebirth was associated with a greater phi coefficient than was reincarnation, whereas in 15 cases, reincarnation was associated with a greater phi coefficient than was rebirth ( $p = .3$ , two-tailed) (Siege? 1956:250).

Table 3.42. Summary of tests of traits in relation to rebirth.

Test	2 x 2 Cells				P <sup>a</sup>	Phi	
	A <sup>b</sup>	B <sup>c</sup>	C <sup>d</sup>	D <sup>e</sup>			
1	Interaction with dead	12	5	2	8	.015	.49
2	Afterlife modelled	-	-	-	-	--	-- <sup>x</sup>
3	Multiple souls	8	10	3	7	.368	.14
4	Spirit fragments	3	2	0	8	.035	.69
5	Transmigration	-	-	-	-	--	--
6	Transformation	5	14	1	9	.05	.19
7	Totemism	7	11	1	9	.116	.3
8	Guardian spirits	10	6	2	10	.019	.46
9	Nonhuman spirits	14	2	10	0	.738 <sup>z</sup>	-.23
10	Sovereign group	4	10	5	4	.392 <sup>z</sup>	-.27
11	Agriculture	7	9	5	5	.763	-.06
12	Missionary influence	4	12	1	∞	.58	.09
13	Understanding of sex <sup>h</sup>	2	14	0	5	.571	-.18
14	Spiritual conception	15	4	2	8	.004	.56
15	Conception rituals <sup>i</sup>	8	11	2	7	.278	.19
16	Couvade	7	10	0	11	.016	.46
17	Double obsequies	-	-	-	-	--	-- <sup>x</sup>
18	Secondary burial	-	-	-	-	--	-- <sup>x</sup>
19	House and yard burial	6	8	3	4	.681	0
20	Lineage cemeteries	3	0	3	1	.571	.35
21	Marking of bodies	-	-	-	-	--	-- <sup>x</sup>
22	Terrestrial orientation	-	-	-	-	--	-- <sup>x</sup>
23	Burial posture <sup>h</sup>	5	5	2	2	.72	0
24	Ancestral name	10	6	1	2	.377	.22
25	Signs in name choice	7	4	3	2	.654	.03
26	Name sharer relations	-	-	-	-	--	-- <sup>x</sup>
27	Name taboo lifted	3	0	0	1	.25	1
28	Generation equivalence	8	11	6	4	.905	-.17
29	Clans	10	4	2	6	.048	.45
30	Cross-cousin marriage	9	6	4	5	.375	.15
31	Levirate or sororate	6	4	2	3	.427	.19
32	Inheritance	6	5	1	3	.338	.26
33	Hereditary succession	2	9	2	5	.863	-.12

<sup>a</sup>Calculated by Fisher's exact method, one-tailed, unless otherwise noted. <sup>b</sup>Reincarnation present/Trait present. <sup>c</sup>Reincarnation present/Trait absent. <sup>d</sup>Reincarnation absent/Trait present. <sup>e</sup>Reincarnation absent/Trait absent. <sup>x</sup>Insufficient data for test. <sup>z</sup>Calculated by Fisher's exact test, two-tailed. <sup>h</sup>Nonsignificant outcome predicted. <sup>i</sup>Not conducted as planned.

Table 3.43. Comparison of phi coefficients, rebirth vs. reincarnation as independent variables

Test	Rebirth	Reincarnation	Sign
1 Interaction with dead	.46	.34	+
2 Afterlife modelled	--	--	
3 Multiple souls	.14	-.07	+
4 Spirit fragments	.69	.69	
5 Transmigration	--	.5	
6 Transformation	.19	.32	-
7 Totemism	.30	.16	+
8 Guardian spirits	.46	.43	+
9 Nonhuman spirits	-.23	-.07	-
10 Sovereign group	-.27	.02	-
11 Agriculture	-.06	0	-
12 Missionary influence	.09	.01	+
13 Understanding of sex	.18	.02	+
14 Spiritual conception	.56	.73	-
15 Conception rituals	.19	-.1	+
16 Couvade	.46	.2	+
17 Double obsequies <sup>a</sup>			
18 Secondary burial <sup>a</sup>			
19 House and yard burial	0	.06	-
20 Lineage cemeteries	.35	.75	-
21 Marking of bodies <sup>a</sup>			
22 Terrestrial orientation <sup>a</sup>			
23 Burial posture	0	.14	-
24 Ancestral name	.22	.5	-
25 Signs in name choice	.03	.52	-
26 Name sharer relations <sup>a</sup>			
27 Name taboo lifted		1	
28 Generation equivalence	-.17	-.03	-
29 Clans	.45	.57	-
30 Cross-cousin marriage	.15	.42	-
31 Levirate or sororate	.19	.07	+
32 Inheritance	.26	.73	-
33 Hereditary succession	-.12	.12	-

<sup>a</sup>Insufficient data available to make test feasible.

CHAPTER IV  
DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Summary of Results

Results of the tests of the 33 hypotheses are summarized in Table 4.1. Seven tests reached significance at the .05 level (4, 8, 14, 24, 29, 30, 32), three of these at the .01 level or beyond (14, 29, 32). Three other tests reached significance at the unofficial .1 level (1, 6, 25), although one of these came close to the .05 level (25). Both tests for which failure was predicted did in fact fail (13, 23). This leaves 21 hypotheses, for six of which there was insufficient data to make testing feasible (2, 17, 18, 21, 22, 26). In two additional instances (20, 27), the distribution of cases was interesting enough to make it seem likely that significance would be achieved with a larger sample, were the proportions to remain similar. This still leaves 13 nonsignificant tests, overall a disappointing showing, especially considering the failure of the control measures to show the expected effects.

Looking at the results in this way does not tell the whole story, however. The hypotheses do not all have the same theoretical implications or value, and it is necessary to interpret the results in light of the general theory of the study to comprehend their significance fully.

Table 4.1 Summary of results of major tests.

Test	2 x 2 Cells				P <sup>a</sup>	Phi	
	A <sup>b</sup>	B <sup>c</sup>	C <sup>d</sup>	D <sup>e</sup>			
1	Interaction with dead	9	4	5	9	.087	.34
2	Afterlife modelled	-	-	-	-	---	--- <sup>z</sup>
3	Multiple souls	5	9	6	8	.778 <sup>x</sup>	-.07
4	Spirit fragments	3	2	0	8	.035	.69
5	Transmigration	8	7	4	10	.165	.25
6	Transformation	5	10	1	13	.099	.32
7	Totemism	5	9	3	11	.339	.16
8	Guardian spirits	9	5	3	11	.027	.43
9	Nonhuman spirits	11	1	13	1	.923 <sup>x</sup>	-.07
10	Sovereign group	4	6	5	8	.637 <sup>x</sup>	.02
11	Agriculture	6	7	6	7	.652	0
12	Missionary influence	3	10	2	7	.684	.01
13	Understanding of sex <sup>h</sup>	2	10	0	9	.314	-.02
14	Spiritual conception	14	1	3	11	.0001	.73
15	Conception rituals <sup>i</sup>	6	9	4	9	.456	-.1
16	Couvade	5	10	2	11	.258	.2
17	Double obsequies	-	-	-	-	---	--- <sup>z</sup>
18	Secondary burial	-	-	-	-	---	--- <sup>z</sup>
19	House and yard burial	5	6	4	6	.575	.06
20	Lineage cemeteries	3	1	0	3	.114	.75
21	Marking of bodies	-	-	-	-	---	--- <sup>z</sup>
22	Terrestrial orientation	-	-	-	-	---	--- <sup>z</sup>
23	Burial posture <sup>h</sup>	4	3	3	4	.5	.14
24	Ancestral name	8	2	3	7	.034	.5
25	Signs in name choice	7	1	3	5	.059	.52
26	Name sharer relations	-	-	-	-	---	--- <sup>z</sup>
27	Name taboo lifted	3	0	0	1	.25	1
28	Generation equivalence	7	8	7	7	.867 <sup>x</sup>	-.03
29	Clans	9	2	3	9	.009	.57
30	Cross-cousin marriage	9	3	4	8	.05	.42
31	Levirate or sororate	4	3	4	4	.595	.07
32	Inheritance	6	1	1	7	.009	.73
33	Hereditary succession	2	5	2	9	.515	.12

<sup>a</sup>Calculated by Fisher's exact method, one-tailed, unless otherwise noted. <sup>b</sup>Reincarnation present/Trait present. <sup>c</sup>Reincarnation present/Trait absent. <sup>d</sup>Reincarnation absent/Trait present. <sup>e</sup>Reincarnation absent/Trait absent. <sup>z</sup>Insufficient data for test. <sup>x</sup>Calculated by Fisher's exact test, two-tailed. <sup>h</sup>Nonsignificant outcome predicted. <sup>i</sup>Not conducted as planned.

### The Belief in Reincarnation

I found reincarnation present in 15 of the 30 sample societies during focus periods, with evidence of reincarnation beliefs in three other societies at earlier dates. Transmigration beliefs were present during focus periods in four societies.

My sample consisted of one half of the HRAF Probability Sample. Somersan (1981:231) reported finding rebirth beliefs in 29 of the 60 societies of the entire Probability Sample, omitting time and place foci. Using the same sample but with time and place foci, Davis (1971:207-208) coded 12 societies as having reincarnation beliefs, 4 as having transmigration beliefs, and 7 as having one or the other in a "limited or ambiguous form." In two other societies, he noted evidence of a former belief.

The inconsistencies in coding across the three studies (Appendix III) makes comparison problematical. However, it seems safe to say that rebirth is represented in roughly half of the Probability Sample societies, if time and place foci are ignored, and that the vast majority of these have the belief in reincarnation. This is similar to my finding with another sample drawn from the HRAF sampling universe (Matlock n.d.), but to what extent we can generalize these findings beyond that universe is uncertain. Swanson (1960) reported a much lower percentage of societies with rebirth beliefs (34%), even correcting for several societies for

which beliefs can be documented, coded by him as having no beliefs.<sup>1</sup>

We can be more secure in stating that the belief in reincarnation is widespread, being found in every region of the world, often in several culture areas within a region, and that it appears in societies of various types of social and subsistence organization (cf. Somersan 1981, who reports several tests with these variables). Moreover, we can state with some certainty that the specifics of the beliefs are broadly similar, especially in contrast with similar ideas taught by Hinduism and Buddhism.

Perhaps the chief difference between animistic rebirth beliefs and those of Eastern religions is the absence in the former of the notion of karma (Obeyesekere 1980). But another important difference lies in the position of transmigration as opposed to reincarnation within the systems. In Hinduism and Buddhism, the possibility of animal births are accepted (although considered karmic demotions) as intermediate between successive lives on earth--in the terminology of the present study, Hinduism and Buddhism subscribe to metempsychosis. This does not appear to be the case under animism. The only sample society with transmigration beliefs that suggest metempsychosis is the Azande, and Evans-Pritchard (1932) would not commit himself on this point.

In the other sample societies, with the exception of

those in the Hindu-Buddhist realm, reincarnation and transmigration were held as alternative fates of the soul, not as different facets of a rebirth cycle that returned human souls to human bodies as a matter of course. Moreover, a post-hoc comparison of rebirth and reincarnation as predictors found no support for the hypothesis that rebirth was the better predictor. Taken as a whole, these findings suggest that it is a mistake to class reincarnation and transmigration together, as earlier studies have done.

The theoretical assumption that reincarnation beliefs are based on experiential events and empirical observations was supported by signs reported in 6 (40%) of the 15 sample societies with reincarnation beliefs. This is roughly comparable to the proportion of societies reporting signs in my Somersan replication study (Matlock n.d., described in Chapter 1). There, signs were reported for 8 (47%) of 17 societies. Signs mentioned in the present study included dreams, birthmarks, and behaviors, including children's claims to remember events of previous lives. The societies involved were the Ojibwa, Lapp, Trobriand, Toradja, Bush Negro, and Central Thai. The wide geographical spacing of these societies adds to the impression that events of this sort, interpreted as indicating reincarnation, were responsible for the origin of the belief.

### Animistic Soul Beliefs

It is essential to consider animistic reincarnation beliefs in the context of other soul beliefs. Of the nine hypotheses tested here, two were supported at the .05 level. Two other hypotheses were supported at the .1 level, whereas five were not supported.

One of the unsupported hypotheses concerned the belief in multiple souls. The failure of this test was surprising, not only because Somersan (1981) reported a significant relationship, but because the weight of ethnographic testimony would seem to suggest one as well. Logically, also, the association of reincarnation with multiple soul beliefs is plausible, especially inasmuch as the complementary hypothesis that where there is reincarnation and single souls, there is a postmortem division of the soul into reincarnating and non-reincarnating parts, was supported at the .05 level. Conceivably the failure of this test was due to sampling error.

The finding of a comparatively strong ( $p < .05$ ) relationship between reincarnation and personal guardian spirits takes on special significance against the background of the other marginally significant or nonsignificant tests. It suggests that the two concepts are closely related, as many ethnographic references suggest. I will have reason to return to this point later.

A weaker relationship was found to obtain between

reincarnation and two other variables. Reincarnation was present along with beliefs in an interaction between the living and the dead and transformation (as opposed to transmigration) after death (in both instances,  $p < .1$ ).

In retrospect, a nonsignificant relationship with nature spirits is not surprising. Almost all sample societies had nature spirits, making this belief as universal as the belief in a human spirit which survives bodily death. The nonsignificant relationships between reincarnation and transmigration and reincarnation and totemic beliefs are more intriguing. I have already commented on the lack of a relationship between reincarnation and transmigration. The fact that reincarnation was not related to totemic beliefs, either, underscores the apparent divide between humans and animals in the animistic system.

Insufficient data were available to examine the relation of reincarnation to beliefs regarding the organization of the land of the dead.

#### Historical Transformations

Behind the hypotheses concerning historical transformations was the assumption that reincarnation was an ancient belief, and that it would therefore be found significantly more often in societies with ultimately sovereign groups below the village level, in societies with little or no agriculture, and in societies which have been

under missionary influence for 50 years at less. The first was a retest of an hypothesis of Swanson (1960) for which he claimed statistical support, whereas the second was a retest of an hypothesis of Davis (1971) for which he had found a nonsignificant trend. However, neither of these tests nor the test regarding missionary influence had significant outcomes.

Possibly these failures are attributable to sampling error, but it may be that the hypotheses were wrongly formulated. Ultimately sovereign group and extent of agricultural practice were coded on the basis of the practices during focus periods, but given the theoretical rationale, it might have been more appropriate to code according to practices prevailing in the precontact period, to the extent that these are known or inferred, e.g., from archeological remains. This interpretation assumes that the theory remains substantially correct, although it may be in error in detail without being fundamentally wrong--that is, it is possible that although reincarnation is an ancient belief, it is not more likely to be associated with non-agricultural societies or with societies with political organization below the village level than with others. From this perspective, the critical point becomes the lack of a significant relationship between the variables.

The failure to confirm the hypothesis concerning missionary influence is more difficult to explain. Although

missionaries have unquestionably had a major effect on aboriginal beliefs in many societies, in other societies aboriginal beliefs have managed to survive. Reincarnation has survived along with Christianity among northern Athapaskan groups (Goulet 1982; Mills 1988a, 1988b) and in West Africa (Parrinder 1951), for instance. A more refined measure of missionary influence or a measure that took into account other aspects of the contact situation might produce better results. For now the conclusion must be that there is no systematically observable relationship between loss of reincarnation beliefs and missionary influence cross-culturally. This implies that the loss of reincarnation must be explained by other or more complex processes.

#### From Conception to Childbirth

Of the four hypotheses tested under this heading, support was found for only one. Societies with reincarnation beliefs were much more likely than others to hold that there was a spiritual element to conception, above and beyond what was necessary to produce the physical body. By contrast, societies with reincarnation beliefs were no more likely than others to be ignorant of the consequences of the sexual act for biological conception. These findings establish the basic dualism of animistic psychology--a human being comprises both body and soul, each with a different origin. The soul is not created out of nothing at the

moment of biological conception but preexists that conception and supplements it. Thus, reincarnation is not a vaguely formulated idea but has a central place in a philosophy of physiology and psychology, though this lacks the moral force of the great Eastern religious traditions.

No support was found for the hypothesis that reincarnation was related to conception rituals involving animated fetishes or shrines, although it proved impossible to test the hypothesis as planned. Because too few definitely animated fetishes were mentioned in the literature on the sample societies, the test was conducted with conception rituals of all sorts.

Reincarnation was expected to predict the couvade not because of a direct relationship between them, but because the couvade implied that dualistic conception of the human being of which reincarnation is a part. The hypothesis was not supported, thanks partly to the presence of couvade practices in two societies, both of which had transmigration although not reincarnation beliefs. Reanalysis of the data from the point of view of rebirth led to a significant result ( $p < .05$ ), making this one instance in which rebirth was a better predictor than reincarnation. There is no obvious explanation for the exceptional cases in terms of the present theory. Neither of the societies with transmigration only and the couvade have evidence of prior reincarnation or metempsychosis beliefs, and therefore there

is no evident reason why transmigration in these societies should be related to the couvade. The most economical interpretation in this instance may be that the relationship of rebirth to the couvade is a chance one. If so, we would expect the effect to disappear in replication.

### Mortuary Practices

Of the seven hypotheses under this heading, four could not be tested for want of sufficient data, and three failed to be supported, although for one of the latter, a nonsignificant finding was expected.

Insufficient data were available to test the hypotheses concerning secondary burial, double obsequies, marking of bodies at death, and terrestrial orientation. It seems unlikely that sufficient data would be found with the full 60-culture Probability Sample either, and so tests might best be conducted with purposive samples.

The failure to find a relationship between reincarnation and house and yard burial is surprising and disappointing, given the many suggestive references in the literature and the confident opinion of at least two earlier writers (King 1903; Rose 1922). The result may be due to sampling error, and the test should be repeated on a larger sample before a firm conclusion is reached.

Also surprising was the lack of support for reincarnation in relation to lineage or clan cemeteries. In

this case, however, the failure to attain significance may be due to the small sample size. Only seven cases were available for the test. Three out of the four societies with reincarnation beliefs had lineage or clan cemeteries, whereas none of the three societies without reincarnation beliefs had such cemeteries. The phi coefficient (.75) is high, and if the distribution of cases is replicated with a larger sample, statistical significance can be expected.

Failure to find a relationship between reincarnation and flexed burial posture was expected. This hypothesis was tested mainly as a way of disposing of the idea that flexed burial suggests reincarnation beliefs. Although this is a popular idea among archeologists, the ethnographic literature offers little support for it.

#### Names and Naming Practices

The hypothesis that naming after deceased relatives was related to reincarnation beliefs was supported at the .05 level. Societies with reincarnation beliefs are significantly more likely to give their children names of deceased relatives, usually those of the persons they are considered to have been in their previous lives. Such a relationship has often been suggested, but it has never before been investigated and demonstrated. The corollary hypothesis--that name choice would be dependent on signs or tests that would help determine which ancestor the child

reincarnates--was significant at the .1 level but just missed significance at the .05 ( $p = .059$ ). In both cases, phi was in the moderate range (.5 and .52).

Insufficient data were available to test the hypothesis relating reincarnation and name sharing. The hypothesis that reincarnation was related to name taboos instituted at death but lifted after an interval was not supported, but this was probably due to the small number of cases in the test. Of four societies with name taboos instituted at death, three lifted these after an interval, and all of these had reincarnation beliefs; the one society that kept the taboo permanently did not have reincarnation beliefs.

#### Kinship Structures

Three hypotheses under this heading were supported at the .05 level or beyond. A significant relationship was found between reincarnation and clans ( $p < .01$ ), cross-cousin marriage ( $p = .05$ ), and inheritance in the line of descent versus the line of filiation ( $p < .01$ ). Analyzed from the point of view of rebirth, significance is lost in two of the three tests (it is retained at the .05 level for clans) and phi is substantially reduced in all. We need not look far for an explanation. These traits all involve the return of a human soul to a human lineage, or reincarnation; if transmigration occurs without metempsychosis, the soul is lost to society as a fully functioning member. This no

doubt explains why reincarnation and transmigration are treated as different processes in animistic societies, and it provides powerful justification for holding these beliefs separate in analysis as well.

The significant relationship between reincarnation and inheritance might suggest a relationship would be found between reincarnation and similar variables--the levirate or sororate, and hereditary succession to the office of community headman. However, tests of these hypotheses failed to reach significance. The lack of support for a relationship between reincarnation and hereditary succession is particularly surprising, given the significant ( $p < .001$ ) relationship reported by Somersan (1981). I discussed possible reasons for this failure to confirm her findings in Chapter III. Probably it was due to a combination of factors that included differences in coding for reincarnation between Somersan's and my study and her use of Ethnographic Atlas codes for the succession variable, but this does not entirely explain why such a reasonable-sounding hypothesis was rejected here. Further investigation with a larger sample would seem desirable.

Even more surprising was the lack of support found for the hypothesis relating reincarnation to alternate generation complementarity. Not only was the hypothesis not supported, in the post hoc test of reincarnation in relation to alternate generation equations, the distribution was

actually counter to that expected, and phi was negative (-.1). On its face, this finding seems to endanger the theory advanced in Chapter II, and I will have more to say about it below.

### General Discussion

I have been discussing the results of my tests as they relate to specific hypotheses, and only incidentally have considered their broader implications for the theoretical model. It is now time to address the model in earnest.

This study was based on three related propositions: (1) Basic animistic soul beliefs, including the belief in reincarnation, were grounded originally in experiences and observations; (2) these beliefs not only were independent of certain social practices described by modern observers but preceded these practices and provided their original motivation; and (3) the beliefs and practices in question derive from a period preceding the great human diaspora, when modern populations of Homo sapiens spread out of Africa to populate the globe.

I did not collect material on experiences and observations (e.g., near-death experiences, apparitions, poltergeist phenomena) of the sort Tylor (1920) hypothesized had led to the concept of the human soul and its survival of bodily death, and cannot address the broader problem of the

origins of soul beliefs. However, I did collect references to signs of the sort Tylor suggested had led to the belief in reincarnation (see the passage quoted in Chapter I).

So-called "announcing dreams" (in which a spirit appears to a prospective mother or her close kin and presents itself to be reborn) were reported for the Trobriands (Malinowski 1916), the Lapps (Billson n.d.), the Ojibwa (Hallowell 1955), and the Toradja (Adriani and Kruyt 1951). Physical characteristics, defects, or birthmarks were said to establish past life identity for the Ojibwa (Hallowell 1955), the Toradja (Adriani and Kruyt 1951), and the Bush Negroes (Hurault 1961). Ingersoll (1963) describes cases in which Thai children claimed to have memories of previous lives.

Signs of this sort are quite prevalent in the anthropological literature, as I have observed elsewhere (Matlock 1990a, n.d.). Mills and I (Matlock and Mills in press) list signs in our trait index to reincarnation beliefs in North America, and I am in the process of compiling similar indexes for other world areas.

Signs of reincarnation also figure prominently in the parapsychological literature (e.g., Andrade 1988; Pasricha 1990; Stevenson 1974, 1975, 1977, 1980, 1983; for a review, see Matlock 1990b), where they are debated as evidence that reincarnation actually occurs. Among anthropologists, Mills (1988a, 1988b, 1989, 1990a, 1990b, in press-b) is the

leading contributor to this debate, which is taken up in a forthcoming book edited by Mills and Slobodin (in press). The obvious alternative to accepting these signs (especially children's apparent "memories") as expressive of reincarnation is the possibility that the interpretation is a culturally imposed one and that the more developed cases are no more than responses to parental beliefs and behaviors (see Mills 1989, 1990a, 1990b, but especially Goulet in press).

The issues involved are surprisingly complex, however (Matlock 1990b), and it is not my intent to deal with them here. The point I wish to make is simply that if signs of this sort can be seriously debated as evidence of reincarnation by late twentieth-century academics, there would seem to be no reason that could not been taken equally seriously by animistic peoples 100,000 years ago. We have only to presume that the signs have occurred throughout history--which given that they are related to common psychological, physiological, and physical processes (dreams, birthmarks) does not seem unlikely.

I believe I can claim that the first of my propositions--which held that reincarnation beliefs were based originally on personal experiences--is supported.<sup>3</sup> Support for my second proposition--which held that the belief in reincarnation was the motivating factor behind the development of various social practices and

institutions--is partial and must be qualified. However, with the appropriate qualifications, I believe I can claim support for this as well.

Clearly reincarnation cannot be said to be the principal motivating factor behind many of the practices investigated, but statistical support was found for several hypotheses. Of particular interest are the significant findings on three hypotheses related to kinship--clans, cross-cousin marriage, and inheritance in the line of descent. These form a logical group with ancestral names, for which a significant relationship was also found, and with lineage or clan cemeteries, for which a nonsignificant finding is probably attributable to sample size. In other words, several of the traits found to be significantly related to reincarnation cluster together in a single complex. Earlier authors, especially Hocart (1923, 1931), related various elements of this complex to each other, but the present study constitutes its first empirical demonstration.

That the strongest statistical support was found for practices closely related to kinship is especially interesting because it is these practices that we have the most right to presume may have survived from the earliest times. Motivations behind mortuary practices are likely to be more variable, not only because of the great variety of ways of disposing of the dead, but because burial in the home and in clan or lineage cemeteries clearly would have

had to follow the development of settled lifestyles. Subsistence practices and political organization have certainly changed as well. In these latter cases, then, we are investigating not the survival of a system of beliefs and related social practices, but the power of a belief to motivate similar practices under various conditions--a rather different problem.

This leads on to my third proposition, namely, that the practices and institutions in question originated prior to the emergence of modern humans from Africa during the middle Paleolithic. Following Allen (1982, 1986, 1989a, 1989b), I identified the generation moiety system as being the most likely candidate for an ancestral social organization. So far as I can see, there is nothing intrinsically improbable about this scenario, and it has the advantage of helping to explain the similarity and yet variety (the variations on a theme) of "primitive" social institutions throughout the world (cf. Allen 1989a:46). Indeed, the situation is exactly what we would expect to find if a similar social system had been in the process of breaking down differently in different places over a great span of time.

Allen (1989a:46-47) questions whether the linkage (made by Parkin 1988) between reincarnation and "tetradic" society does not put too much weight on ideas. Kinship, he notes, is about continuity, both social and biological, and cannot be reduced simply to ideas. Admittedly there is more to

kinship and social organization than ideas, but it is apparent also that ideologies play important roles in regulating these institutions, as Allen implicitly recognizes. Indeed, his tetradic model is nothing if not dependent on ideas, and reincarnation, although it does not figure in his original formulation, is an obvious extension of it.

Here we encounter a problem, however, because the hypothesized relationship between reincarnation and alternate generation complementarity was not supported. It would seem that either generation moieties were the historically antecedent form of social organization they are supposed to be but that these were not linked to reincarnation, in which case reincarnation beliefs would have developed after the collapse of the generation moiety organization; or reincarnation was the ancient belief it is supposed to be, but generation moieties were not the antecedent form of human social organization.

I favor the first of these alternatives--that generation moieties have historical priority and that reincarnation beliefs as such developed after their collapse (Matlock in press). This requires less revision of the general theory, and in retrospect, there are several hints of its correctness in the ethnographic literature.

Societies with generation moieties or some form of alternate generation equations typically take little

interest in ancestral spirits but have some concept of a collective and generally amorphous afterlife, in which ancestral spirits do not receive individual attention. These concepts are consistent with a social organization and a kinship terminology which merges relatives by generations and classifies individuals as broadly as possible. The reincarnation idea is represented in the recycling of emanations, name souls, or some sort of vivifying element between alternate generations. In this context, the significant relationship found between reincarnation and personal guardian spirits takes on new meaning. Probably it would be best to treat the alternation as an underlying structure, with name souls, reincarnating souls and inherited personal tutelaries as so many expressions and transformations of it.

Because the idea of the individual soul is often not well developed in societies with alternate generation equivalence, neither is the concept of reincarnation, conceived as the return of a particular deceased person after death in the body of a particular newborn child. On this reasoning, the idea of a discrete personal soul which was reborn after death might have developed at the time the generational moiety organization gave way to a lineal organization, and it might have been related to the same processes.

In Chapter II (and in Matlock in press) I suggested that

the desire to inherit in one's future lives the material property that one possessed in one's present life had been one of the main factors bringing about the collapse of the generation moiety organization in favor of a lineal organization (cf. Matlock 1990a), and in the present study I found a significant relationship between reincarnation and clans and between reincarnation and inheritance in the line of descent. I am now suggesting that the concept of the discrete soul developed as part of this change, in order to make possible the transmission of property to a specific heir. Obviously, it would be meaningless to inherit one's possessions in one's future life if one did not remain substantially oneself to enjoy them.

In the last few paragraphs I have been careful to specify that I am talking about beliefs in personal reincarnation, as opposed to something one might call "impersonal reincarnation"--the recycling of spiritual matter in the form of name souls, inherited personal tutelaries, emanations from a collective soul stuff, etc., without any necessary one-to-one correspondence between donor and recipient. The concept of cycles and of identity between members of alternate generations is part and parcel of the generation moiety system, but it often receives its most specific expression in the equations of the kinship terminology.

Signs are usually taken as indicators of personal

reincarnation, but I can think of no reason that they could not as easily be interpreted in terms of impersonal reincarnation. Animistic societies are not beyond using signs to identify more than one child as the reincarnation of a given person (Mills 1988a). And inasmuch as this is so, there is no reason signs of the sort I have described might not have been the cornerstone of the generation moiety organization.

With these last arguments in mind, I feel confident in claiming support for the third of my theoretical propositions as well as the first two. Not only does the belief in reincarnation appear to have arisen as a deduction from certain personal experiences and observations, but there is evidence that the belief (understood now in its impersonal sense) motivated at least the formation of generation moieties, a form of social organization there is good reason to believe was ancestral to all others. Moreover, reincarnation is implicated in the breakdown of the generation moiety organization and its replacement by lineal structures (where these occur).

I do not pretend to have resolved all the difficulties with my model. Among other things, I am not yet able to specify the conditions under which personal reincarnation beliefs develop within a generation moiety organization, nor am I yet able to explain the collapse of a the generation moiety organization in favor of a simple cognatic

relationship system. Continued theoretical work and hypothesis-testing, together with the replication of key tests presented here, will be necessary before the model is fully developed and established, but a start has been made.

## NOTES

## Chapter I

1 I restrict the meaning of "reincarnation" to the rebirth of human beings (or some aspect of them) in other human bodies and use "transmigration" to designate the rebirth of human beings in the bodies of lower animals. These and related concepts are discussed more extensively at the beginning of Chapter II. Brief definitions of all technical terms are given in the Glossary.

2 Leaf (1979:123) has written that the "source" of Tylor's (1920) conception of animism was the fetishism of Comte (1875), which he says Comte "developed from still earlier sources." Tylor (1920ii:144-155), however, merely compares his "Animism" to Comte's "Fetishism," and then only to explain why he prefers to restrict the meaning of the latter term. It seems clear that Tylor arrived at his theory of animism independently of Comte, perhaps partly on the basis of his travels in Mexico, but also through a close acquaintance with the literature, which he cites at length on each point.

3 Tylor is often said to have held that the soul concept was derived from the experience of dreams alone (for which he has been roundly criticized and dismissed), but this is true only if "dream" is understood to include a broad range of subjective experiences, many of which have little or nothing to do with the imaginative creations of sleep (e.g., Rehfisch 1969).

4 This is not the place to develop this line of argument, but for clarity's sake I may remark that I am not suggesting that all animistic beliefs had an experiential and/or empirical basis, or that religious practitioners were never responsible for their development. Quite clearly religious practitioners have had a major influence on the development of animistic (and other religious) beliefs, particularly the more philosophical and esoteric of them. I am saying that I believe certain fundamental concepts--in particular those concerning the nature of the soul and spirit, and concepts of the afterlife and reincarnation--in animistic societies have their basis more in personal experience than in logical deliberation.

5 Contemporary Australian anthropologists have other criticisms of Durkheim's interpretation of totemism. Writing specifically of the Aranda (Arunta), Peterson (1972) shows that Durkheim's account is deficient partly because it fails to take locality into account, and wrongly dismisses the importance of the linkage between locality and

conception beliefs. One's totem comes from one's place of conception (or the place where conception is presumed to have taken place because it is where the mother first felt a quickening in her womb), conception being understood in a spiritual sense to mean the arrival of a reincarnating spirit.

6 Transmigration beliefs are not as widespread in Australia as in some other world areas, but they have been reported, e.g. by Radcliffe-Brown (1912).

7 This argument was anticipated by Barnouw (1946) and has recently been propounded by Virtanen (1990). The texts of the nineteenth century evolutionists (e.g., Frazer 1890; Lang 1898, 1901; Spencer 1876; Tylor 1920) amply demonstrate the cross-cultural similarities of such experiences, although the analyses are unsophisticated by today's standards. Emmons (1982) and Osis and Haraldsson (1977) explore cultural determinants of apparitions and demonstrate the basic unity of their appearance. Finucane (1984) places greater emphasis on cultural variations, which he traces to differences in belief systems. Hufford (1982) shows that the basic features of the "Old Hag" (incubus) experience remain constant, regardless of whether or not there is a belief system supporting the experience. Shiels (1978) found beliefs in the exteriorization of the soul, if not actual "out-of-body experiences," in 95% of a sample consisting of the entire Human Relations Area Files, and McIntosh (1980) followed this with reports from three peoples in Papua New Guinea. Counts (1983) compared Melanesian out-of-body and near-death experiences with similar material reported from India and the United States and concluded that the cases shared common features, their interpretation was shaped by cultural expectation. Pasricha and Stevenson (1986) identify features of Indian near-death experiences that seem to be culture-bound. Zaleski (1984) argued for cultural determinism in her study of modern Western and Medieval European near-death experiences, although in doing so she overlooked some striking continuities (Matlock 1989). Rehfisch's (1969) shows how new cultural elements may become incorporated in classic near-death experiences, which he calls "dreams."

## Chapter II

1 For psychical researchers like Stevenson (1974, 1975, 1977, 1980, 1983, 1987), material of this sort can supply evidence that reincarnation actually occurs. I have reviewed the relevant literature elsewhere (Matlock 1990b), and it is not my purpose to enter into this problem here.

2 It is not clear who first noticed a connection between rebirth and totemism. Although Spencer and Gillen's (1899) report that the Arunta traced descent through reincarnations from the totem animal was relatively late (see Malinowski 1913 for several earlier references, all Australian), this was picked up by Tylor (1920ii:321) as a possible explanation for totemism generally, in a work first published in 1871. A Dutchman, G. A. Wilken, elaborated on this idea, and his thesis was subsequently expanded by Tylor (1899:146-188).

3 Wachtmeister (1956), who notes this change, concluded that reincarnation might once have been present in all Inuit societies, including those in which there is presently the name soul belief, but where this is not now specifically linked to reincarnation.

4 Additional evidence for Mbuti belief in rebirth, although in the form of transmigration and not reincarnation, comes from Johnston (1908:632, cited in Besterman 1968a:42). Jerome (1907:18) quotes Geil, "the latest explorer of the Pygmy forest," to the effect that when a man is buried his body becomes a large snake, but this appears to refer to transformation rather than transmigration. The closest Turnbull comes to mentioning reincarnation in any of his writings on the Mbuti is to say that the spirit travels upon death to the same place from which the soul of the newborn comes (1978:220). Rather oddly, he appears never to have commented on Schebesta's statement about the belief among either the Mbuti or their Bantu neighbors. He does say repeatedly (1961, 1965a, 1965b), that religious ideas vary throughout the forest, and reincarnation may be one of those he has in mind.

5 Spiro (1978) contrasts Burmese "supernaturalism" with Buddhism but hardly comments on reincarnation, a subject which might have led him counter to his major thesis, which is that there is no syncretism between the two religious systems.

6 Warner states that for his several months among the Murngin he was firmly convinced that these people had no understanding of biological conception and "believed in the spiritual impregnation of a woman by a totemic child spirit" (1958:23). Only on his second stint of fieldwork did he learn otherwise. Meggitt (1962:272-273) found that Walbiri women were better acquainted with the biology of conception than the men, who preferred spiritual explanations. Neither Warner nor Meggitt encountered taboos on the discussion of biological conception among men, but Tonkinson (1984) was told by Jigalong (Australian Western Desert) elders that terms related to the biology of conception were "danger

words" and "women's business," and that he must not inquire about them among the men. The elders had no objection to his questions on "spirit child" beliefs. It may be that the supposed ignorance of the consequences of sexual intercourse among some peoples stems from anthropologists' failure to probe the issues deeply enough, if not from discussions of such matters with men, to the exclusion of women.

7 Harner (1962) reports that many of his data are at variance with those reported by Karsten (1935), but he does not comment on either Jivaro rebirth beliefs or couvade practices. Riviere (1969:63) remarks that the Trio couvade is to be explained in terms of a spiritual connection between the child and both parents (cf. Riviere 1974).

8 The principal indicators of a belief in reincarnation in Bloch (1971) are: (1) A superfluous third soul, of whose fate informants are uncertain--it is said simply to vanish after a time; (2) unilineal (matrilineal) recruitment to what Bloch calls the "tomb group"; (3) the association of this (spiritual) lineage with ancestral land; and (4) double obsequies and secondary burial. In a later work (1982), Bloch acknowledges Merina reincarnation beliefs and reinterprets his (1971) data accordingly.

9 In many societies, houses are destroyed or abandoned after a death. The entire community may even move to another location. Such practices are associated with fear of the deceased's spirit, which is thought capable of bringing about other deaths, particularly those of children, and have no connection with reincarnation. The two sets of beliefs are not mutually exclusive: Many societies, such as the Navajo, who are notoriously afraid of the dead and who abandon homes in which a death has occurred, have reincarnation beliefs (Haile 1943). The souls and spirits of children are generally believed to be less strong (and therefore less dangerous) than those of adults, and it is probably this attitude which allows children to be buried in homes which continue to be inhabited.

10 An ethnographically more supportable explanation for flexed burial is that a sitting posture helps the soul to exit out of the top of the head. Some ethnographers, however, have concluded that it is simply a result of binding the corpse so that it will fit more easily into a (round) grave. If there is a rebirth idea associated with flexed burial, it is more likely to be the idea of rebirth into the land of the dead (of a part of the deceased's spirit), rather than reincarnation among the living (of another part).

11 Several ethnographers have related a skewed use of kinship terms to reincarnation, quite apart from the name sharer relationship. Ego applies to alter the kin term appropriate to the deceased person with whom alter is identified (Burling 1962; Henderson 1967; Hocart 1923; Kasakoff 1984; cf. Mills in press-a).

12 Mills (press-a) seems convinced that multiple naming is an aboriginal Athapaskan belief, although I have argued (Matlock 1990a) that it is most likely a result of demographic changes during the contact period. In Alaska and British Columbia one finds both multiple reincarnation and name sharing, that is, both the giving of a single name to more than one individual and the giving to a single individual of more than one name. Nineteenth century authors mention neither belief or practice in this area (Matlock and Mills in press) and Boas (1920) wrote that the Kwakiutl began to give more than one ancestral name to a single individual during a period of population decline. Giving the same name to several different persons, on the other hand, seems to have begun in a later period of population expansion, and I believe is most likely due to the fact that only a certain number of names were "owned" by each lineage. As the population increased beyond aboriginal levels, there were not enough names to go around, and so each member might find him or herself sharing a name with a relative. Nonetheless, Mills may be right. Perhaps name sharing and multiple naming with ancestral names were traditionally used to meet the exigencies of population flux in Athapaskan and Northwest Coast cultures, and so these strategies were available when needed in the present century.

13 Although I am using Aberle's (1967) classification, I have reversed his scale. Aberle hypothesized that  $+2/-2$  equations were the most easily arrived at, that the  $+1/-1$  set would follow from these, and that the full double set of equations, with ego's generation included, would be the end result of the process. He regarded systems with  $+1/-1$  equations only as anomalous because they failed to conform to this developmental logic, and because he found fewer societies with the strong than of the intermediate or weak forms and only one anomalous case in a randomly chosen sample, he concluded that his scale was reliable. However, there would seem to be no good reason not to understand the developmental sequence as running from the strong through the intermediate to the weak form of the terminology, as I do here and in Matlock (in press).

14 The theoretical statement and hypothesis given here are revisions of those originally written and tested. A less radical definition of "clan" was employed and this was

lumped with "lineage" as a "lineal structure." The hypothesis read: "Societies with reincarnation beliefs have unilineal descent structures (lineages or clans)." The intent was for this hypothesis to serve as a contrast to the hypothesis regarding alternate generation complementarity. On the present theory, clans are seen to be associated with both generation moiety organizations and organizations on lineal principles, and the present hypothesis is entirely independent of the hypothesis regarding alternate generation complementarity. The revision was the result of continuing theoretical work, particularly Matlock (in press), and not acquaintance with the data from the present study, although these data had been analyzed before the hypothesis was revised.

15 Seligman's (1924) analysis was endorsed by Levi-Strauss (1969:111-112), who also refers to a rather silly broadside by Clark (1930), but says nothing about Rattray's (1927) revision of his hypothesis. Fortes (1950) confirms Rattray's (1927, 1929) account in detail, although he says that the relevant ideas and practices were less widely accepted at the time of his visit than they were in Rattray's day. Fortes implicitly supports Rattray against Herskovits (1937), who charged that Rattray was wrong on several counts, based on a month's field work in Ghana (then the Gold Coast). Herskovits emphasizes totemic elements, which are a relatively minor feature for Rattray, evidently because he is seeking data for comparison with that which he himself collected in Dahomey. It seems necessary to make this point, because contemporary writers (e.g., Goody 1961a) have often preferred to cite Herskovits over Rattray.

16 An ideology of sex-linked soul substance could be implicated also in polygamy and sibling sets. In polygamy, the father would transmit the same soul substance to each of his progeny, whereas each of his wives would transmit her soul substance to her children and hers alone. This would create a substantial bond between children of same mother, and serve to set them off from the children of the same father but of different mothers.

17 The revision of the theory and hypothesis regarding clans (see Note 13, above) required a revision in the theory and hypothesis regarding inheritance. Originally, this latter read: "Societies with reincarnation beliefs have inheritance within the descent group." Because clans are here conceived to be closely associated with descent in the sense of Fortes (1953, 1969), the appropriate contrast would seem to be between inheritance in lines of descent versus lines of filiation, the latter concept of course also taken from Fortes. This reconceptualization stems once again from suggestions raised in Matlock (in press) and not from

acquaintance with the data, although these data had been analyzed at the time the hypothesis was reformulated.

18 There may also be an association between reincarnation beliefs and the practice called "positional succession," whereby a man's social position is assumed by his successor. Kasakoff (1984) presents some suggestive data for the Gitksan. However, Richards (1933), who introduced the term, wrote about the transfer of the guardian spirit rather than a "reincarnation" in the heir. Gray (1953) mentions neither transfer of tutelaries or reincarnation in his article on the Wambugwe, and Mitchell (1956) makes clear that among the Yao, positional succession and name transmission may occur without a belief in the transmission of spirit or soul to the successor.

### Chapter III

1 This outcome may be contrasted with the outcome of the test of the hypothesis as it was originally formulated (see Chapter II, Note 13). Nine of 14 societies with reincarnation were found to have unilineal descent structures, whereas this was true of 7 of 13 societies without the belief, leading to a nonsignificant result ( $p = .436$ ).

2 The test of this hypothesis as originally phrased (see Chapter II, Note 16) reached significance only at the unofficial .1 level. In 9 of 14 societies with reincarnation beliefs, inheritance passed within the descent group, whereas this was true in only 4 of 14 societies without reincarnation beliefs ( $p = .064$ ).

### Chapter IV

1 Rebirth beliefs have been reported for five societies Swanson (1960) coded as not having the belief. These are the Blackfoot (Wissler 1912:28), Copper Eskimo (Rasmussen 1932:33), Iroquois (Thwaites 1897:117), Yurok (Thompson 1916:74), and Zuni (Tedlock 1975:270). Swanson did not employ time and place foci. All references except that to Wissler were not part of his source bibliographies. The Copper Eskimo might be considered an ambiguous case, because although reincarnation is stated to be present by Rasmussen, Stefansson (1927:33), who was among these people at about the same time, claimed that it was absent. Except for the Zuni, all five societies have reincarnation as opposed to transmigration beliefs. The Zuni are reported to believe in transmigration.

2 Some Shoshone do have transmigration beliefs (Lowie 1909:227).

3 I do not mean to argue that signs merely suggested the belief originally; clearly they have been responsible for its continuence as well. In the summers of 1991 and 1992 I conducted fieldwork among St. Regis Mohawks, aimed at determining whether reincarnation beliefs described for the Iroquois in the Jesuit Relations (Thwaites 1897) and other early sources had survived and how these might relate to other Iroquois religious beliefs and concepts of the self. I was told that although reincarnation was not explicitly a part of traditional beliefs, nevertheless many people believed in it on the basis of personal experiences. Several people then told me of experiences which had convinced them. These included announcing dreams, physical marks, and children and adults with apparent memories of previous lives (Matlock 1992).

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## APPENDIX I METHODOLOGY AND DOCUMENTATION

### Appendix A Sampling and Procedure

#### Sampling

The study sample (Appendix B) consists of 30 societies selected from the 60-culture HRAF Probability Sample (Ember and Ember 1988) using the randomizing function of the BASIC computer language, which returns a random number within a specified range. The HRAF sample was chosen over the Standard Cross-Cultural Sample as the sampling universe partly due to ease of access, but partly also because the HRAF microfiles contain information on a variety of communities and time periods within a given society. Although the SCCS may be used in conjunction with the HRAF microfiles, not all societies represented in the SCCS have been coded by HRAF (Ember and Ember 1988). The Probability Sample thus provides a larger context for the reports of the principal authority in the community and time frame chosen as a focus (Appendix C). Use of the Probability Sample has an added advantage in that it makes possible direct comparison of the findings of the present study with the findings of previous studies which utilized the same sample (Alford 1988; Davis 1971; Somersan 1981).

#### Data Collection

Data bearing on the hypotheses to be tested were collected from HRAF microfiche by the author. Appendix D lists the hypotheses, along with the principal microfiche categories searched for material on each. A principal authority and time and place foci were chosen for each society (Appendix C) on the basis of amount of relevant data. In other words, the principal authority was the one whose data could be used to test the most hypotheses. Time and place foci, which were usually linked to the principal authority, were chosen with the same principles in mind. Relevant data from other authorities, communities and dates were also recorded, to be used as reliability checks, and as a way of increasing the number of hypotheses that could be tested (see under Coding, below). When relevant data from sources not available in the HRAF microfiles were known, these were collected as well.

#### Coding

All data sheets and photocopies on a given society were placed in a folder to be used in coding. Coding was done

after all data had been collected, on the measures and variables given in Appendix E. In some cases, variables and measures were refined in the process of coding. Two hypotheses (29 and 32) were rephrased and recoded when continuing theoretical work (especially Matlock in press) suggested a superior approach.

Trait (T) numbers in the coding key (Appendix E) correspond to the numbers of the Hypotheses given in Chapters II. When no data were available from the principal authority, data from other authorities within 20 years of the focus period whose work was conducted within the focus region (although not necessarily community) were considered. Data from periods more than 20 years before or after the coding date or from other regions was not used in coding, but if judged of some relevance or interest, is noted in the Coding Notes (Appendix G).

Whenever data from other than the principal authority (or authorities) was used in coding, this was scored as "inferred." The major inferred codings are documented in Appendix G. Works of the principal authority are marked as "PA" and works of other authorities used in coding are marked as "OA" in the Source Bibliography (Appendix H).

No precoded data were used in coding. Codes for all hypotheses, measures and variables are listed in Appendix F.

### Analysis

Reincarnation was used as the independent variable throughout the study. Hypotheses were phrased in a directional way and tested according to the rules set forward in Appendix D. Tests of statistical significance were performed with Fisher's exact test, with one-tailed probability values, utilizing a BASIC program written by George P. Hansen. Where the distribution of a 2 x 2 table made a one-tailed test inappropriate, the  $p$  value was doubled.

Alpha was set at .05, in line with accepted social science procedure, but this was recognized as perhaps being an overly stringent requirement, given the sample size and the nature of the hypotheses. Had it been possible to replicate the study against the other half of the HRAF Probability Sample, as originally planned, alpha for each half would have been set at .1, with .05 required to claim significance on the entire Probability Sample. The .1 level has been used as alpha in some other cross-cultural studies, including Somersan's (1981). Therefore, in reporting results, .05 is regarded as the level officially required for significance, but tests reaching the .1 level are noted as well.

Phi coefficients were calculated with a BASIC program written by the author, following a formula given by Siegel (1956).

Control scales for animism and missionary impact were first developed according to procedures set out in Appendix II. Scale scores were used to divide the sample into two groups for which phi was then calculated separately for each test. A sign test was used to determine whether a control scale had a systematic effect on results (probability values were read off Appendix D in Siegel 1956).

Appendix B  
Sample

Table A1.1. Sample.

OWC	Society Name	Cluster Label
<u>Asia</u>		
AA01	Korea	Korean-Manchu and Japanese-Ryukyuan
AD05	Taiwan Hokkien	Sinitic, Annam-Munong, Miao-Yao
AO07	Central Thai	Thai-Kadai, Malays, Malagasy
AW42	Santal	Dravidian and Kolarian
AX04	Sinhalese	Indic
<u>Europe</u>		
EP04	Lapps	Finno-Ugrians
<u>Africa</u>		
FE12	Ashanti	Guinea Coast
FF57	Tiv	Northern Nigeria and Adamawa
FK07	Ganda	Northeastern Bantu
FO07	Azande	Equatorial Africa
FQ09	Lozi	Southern Bantu
<u>Circum-Mediterranean</u>		
MA11	Kurds	Caucasic and Iranian
MO04	Somali	Cushites
MS12	Hausa	Chadic Speakers
<u>North America</u>		
NG06	Ojibwa	Boreal Forest
NQ18	Pawnee	Prairie
NR10	Klamath	California and Great Basin
NU33	Tarahumara	Yumans, Pimans, and Taracahitians
NV09	Tzeltal	Middle America
<u>Oceania</u>		
OA19	Ifugao	Philippines and Formosa
OC06	Iban	Western Indonesia
OG11	Toradja	Eastern Indonesia
OI08	Aranda	Australians
OL06	Trobriands	Western Melanesians
OT11	Tikopia	Polynesians

Table continues

Table A1.1. Sample, continued.

OWC	Society Name	Cluster Label
		<u>Russia</u>
RV02	Yakut	Altaic
		<u>South America</u>
SF05	Aymara	Andean Peru, Bolivia and Chile
SO11	Bahia Brazil	Southern Europeans
SQ18	Yanomamo	Marginal Peoples of Venezuela
SR08	Bush Negroes	Guiana

Appendix C  
Time and Place Foci

Table A1.2. Time and place foci.

OWC Name	Society Name	Place Focus	Time Focus	Principal Authority
OI08	Aranda	N. Arunta	1898-1925	Spencer/Gillen
FE12	Ashanti	N. Ghana	1920-1924	Rattray
SF05	Aymara	Chucuito	1940-1942	Tschopik
F007	Azande	Sudan	1926-1929	Evans-Pritchard
S011	Bahia Brazil	Reconcavo	1950-1951	Hutchinson
SR08	Bush Negroes	Boni	1948-1958	Hurault
A007	Central Thai	Sagatiam	1959-1960	Ingersoll
FK07	Ganda	Uganda	ca.1900	Roscoe
MS12	Hausa	N. Nigeria	1949-1950	Smith
OC06	Iban	Sarawak	ca.1890	Gomes
OA19	Ifugao	C. Ifugac	1908-1941	Barton
NR10	Klamath	S.W. Oregon	1925-1926	Spier
AA01	Korea	--	1890-1905	Hulbert
MA11	Kurds	Rowanduz	1951	Masters
EP04	Lapps	Scandinavia	n.d.	Karsten
FQ09	Lozi	Barotseland	1940-1947	Gluckman
NG06	Ojibwa	N. Ojibwa	1930-1940	Hallowell
NQ18	Pawnee	Skidi	1903-1907	Dorsey/Murie
AW42	Santal	N. India	1932-1943	Culshaw
AX04	Sinhalese	Pul Eliya	1954-1956	Leach
MO04	Somali	Somaliland	1955-1957	Lewis
AD05	Taiwan Hokkien	Taiwan	1969-1970	Ahern
NU33	Tarahumara	Mexico	1930-1931	Bennet/Zingg
OT11	Tikopia	W. Tikopia	1928-1929	Firth
FF57	Tiv	C. Nigeria	1949-1953	Bohannan
OG11	Toradja	E. Toradja	1891-1932	Adriani/Kruyt
OL06	Trobriands	NW Melanesia	1914-1920	Malinowski
NV09	Tzeltal	Mexico	1945-1946	Villa Rojas
RV02	Yakut	S. Siberia	1884-1902	Jochelson
SQ18	Yanomamo	Venezuela	1964-1968	Chagnon

## Appendix D Hypotheses and Tests

The 33 hypotheses listed in Chapters II-VII are reproduced below, together with an equation specifying how the hypothesis was tested. The terms of the equations refer to the measures and variables defined in Appendix E. "H" (Hypothesis) numbers in all cases relate to "T" (Trait) numbers in one-to-one correspondence. An uppercase letter signifies a particular measure, and lowercase letters (or where appropriate, numbers) signify variables related to that measure. If there are no lowercase letters or numbers, the measure is treated as a unit. Plus signs indicate which measures and variables are to be grouped together for purposes of the test, with parenthesis sometimes introduced for the sake of clarity. An "x" is used to show the contrast to be tested.

Because all tests are designed to compare societies with reincarnation beliefs present to societies with reincarnation beliefs absent, only the comparisons of dependent variables are stated. Data permitting, other tests relating to the same hypotheses or subjects covered by them may be conducted, but any results of these will be regarded as post-hoc. Coded data for all traits, measures, and variables is listed in Appendix F. All tests are to be conducted by the one-tailed Fisher Exact method. The test methodology is described in greater detail in Appendix A.

When an hypothesis is derived from the findings or suggestions of an author other than the principal authority, the reference is given in parenthesis following the statement of the hypothesis. These references will be found in the References Cited list rather than the Source Bibliographies. The principal HRAF microfiche categories searched for data relevant to the hypothesis is given in brackets at the end of the hypothesis.

H1 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in some form of interaction between the living and the dead. [774, 775]

Test:  $(B1 + Bd + Bld + Bi) \times (Ba + Bai)$

H2 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in an afterlife whose organization is modelled on that of the living. [774, 775]

Test:  $(Bp + Bs + Bps + Bm) \times (Ba + Bai)$

H3 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe that the human body houses more than one soul. [774, 775]

Test:  $B1 \times (B2 + B3 + B4 + B5)$

H4 Societies with reincarnation beliefs and beliefs in single souls believe that the spirit fragments after death.

[774, 775]

Test: (Bg + Br + Bs + Bo) x (Ba + Bai)

H5 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have transmigration beliefs. [774, 775]

Test: (Bt + Bst + Bm + Bf) x (Ba + Bai)

H6 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have transformation beliefs. [774, 775]

Test: (Bl + Bd + Bld + Bu) x (Ba + Bai)

H7 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have totemic beliefs. [774]

Test: (Bn + Bt + Bc + Bv) x (Ba + Bai)

H8 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in personal guardian spirits. [776]

Test: Bp x (Bc + Bh + Bv + Ba + Bai)

H9 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in nonhuman spirits. [774, 775]

Test: (Bn + Be + Bo + Bv) x (Ba + Bai)

H10 Societies with reincarnation beliefs tend to have ultimately sovereign groups below the level of the village. (Swanson 1960) [621, 622, 631]

Test: (Bh + Bn) x (Bv + Bt + Bk)

H11 Societies with reincarnation beliefs are less reliant on agriculture than societies without the belief. (Davis 1971) [433]

Test: (Cn + Cs) x (Cm + Ci)

H12 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have been under the influence of Christianity or Islam for 50 years or less. [797]

Test: (BC + BI) + (C1 + C2) x (BH + BB) + [(BC + BI) + (C3 + C4 + C5)]

H13 Societies with reincarnation beliefs do not understand the connection between sexual intercourse and conception.

(Malinowski 1927; Spencer and Gillen 1899). [842]

Test: Bn x (Bu + Bub + Bui)

H14 Societies with reincarnation beliefs believe in a spiritual dimension to conception, over and above what is required to produce the physical body. (Ford 1945; Warner 1958) [842]

Test: (Bbs + Bcs + Brs + Bgs + Bos) x (Ba + Bai)

H15 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have methods

of bringing about conception that involve contact with places or items associated with deceased persons (shrines or fetishes). [842]

Test: (Bf +Ba + Bs + Bv) x (Bm + Bo)

H16 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice the couvade. (Karsten 1964; Riviere 1974) [842, 843]

Test: (Bc + Bt + Bct) x (Bs + Bm + Bo)

H17 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice secondary burial. (Hertz 1960) [764, 766]

Test: (Bb + Bg + Bc + Br) x (Ba + Bai)

H18 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have double obsequies (Hertz 1960) [764, 766]

Test: (Bj + Bn + Bs) x (Ba + Bai)

H19 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice house and yard burial. (Rose 1922) [764, 766]

Test: (Bp + Bpi) x (Ba + Bai)

H20 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have lineage or clan cemeteries. (Hertz 1960) [764, 766]

Test: (Bt + Bc) + Cc x [(Bt + Bc) + (Cl + Cb + Co)]

H21 Societies with reincarnation beliefs mark or mutilate bodies at death. (Frazer 1918) [764, 766]

Test: (Bl + Bk) x (Ba + Bai)

H22 Societies with reincarnation beliefs orient burials terrestrially. (Rose 1922) [764, 766]

Test: Bt x (Bc + Ba + Bai)

H23 Societies with reincarnation beliefs employ a flexed burial posture. (Whipple 1905) [764, 766]

Test: (Bfl + Bfs) x Be

H24 Societies with reincarnation beliefs name children after deceased relatives or ancestors. (Frazer 1911; Tylor 1920) [551, 553]

Test: (Bp + Bpi) x (Ba + Bai)

H25 Societies with reincarnation beliefs use signs or tests in deciding on names for children. [551, 553]

Test: (Bs + Bt + Bc + Bo) x (Ba + Bai)

H26 Societies with reincarnation beliefs acknowledge a special relationship between name sharers. (Guemple 1965) [551, 553]

Test: Bn x (Ba + Bai)

H27 Societies with reincarnation beliefs taboo names at

death, but lift the taboos after an interval or when a new child is born. (Frazer 1911) [551, 553]

Test: (Bb + Bi) x Bn

H28 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have complementarity between alternate generations. (Parkin 1988) [601, 603]

Test: (Bg + Bge + Be) + (Dn + Dj + Dm + Do) x (Ba + Bai)

H29 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have clans. [614-618]

Test: (Bc + Bci) x (Bl + Ba + Bai)

H30 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice cross-cousin marriage. (Hocart 1923; Rattray 1927) [582]

Test: (Bm + Bf + Bb + Bc + Bi) x (Ba + Bai)

H31 Societies with reincarnation beliefs practice the levirate and/or the sororate. (Rattray 1927; Seligman 1924) [582]

Test: (Bl + Bs + Bls + Bo + Bv) x (Ba + Bai)

H32 Societies with reincarnation beliefs transmit property to heirs within lines of descent rather than lines of filiation. (Matlock n.d.-a) [428]

Test: Bd x Bf

H33 Societies with reincarnation beliefs have hereditary succession to the office of community headman. (Somersan 1981) [622]

Test: (Bhr + Bhc) x (Be + Bp + Ba + Bai)

Appendix E  
Coding Key

The following key specifies the codes for the measures and variables for each hypothesis listed in Appendix D, and is to be used in conjunction with Appendix F, which lists the codes for each sample society. T (Trait) numbers refer to Hypothesis (H) numbers in a one-to-one correspondence. For a description of procedures of data collection and coding, see Appendix A. Operational definitions of all terms are given in the Glossary.

T0: Reincarnation belief.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Presence or absence): (p) present; (pi) presence inferred; (a) absent; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned; (nd) no data.

Measure C (Extensiveness of belief): (g) general belief; (s) present in some segments of society only; (i) held by some individuals only.

Measure D (Who may reincarnate): (a) all may reincarnate; (c) children only may reincarnate; (d) only other designated classes of persons may reincarnate; (b) reincarnation available both to children and to other designated classes.

Measure E (Frequency of reincarnation): (r) regularly; (o) occasionally.

Measure F (What reincarnates. Nature of vivifying element): (s) soul; (sc) spirit child; (gs) guardian spirit; (ns) name soul; (o) other vivifying element.

Measure G (Identification of children): (s) identifications made on basis of signs; (r) identifications made by religious practitioners; (i) impossibility of identification asserted.

T1: Interaction between living and dead.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Presence/absence, type): (l) living affect dead; (d) dead affect living; (ld) living and dead affect each other; (i) some form of interaction between living and dead, but characteristics not specified; (a) absence of interaction stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Attitude of living to dead): (p) dead propitiated, e.g. in rituals; (w) dead worshipped, e.g. at shrines; (pw) dead both propitiated and worshipped; (o) other action of living toward dead; (d) general disinterest of living in dead.

Measure D (Attitude of dead to living): (b) dead beneficial to living; (d) dead dangerous to living; (bd) dead both beneficial and dangerous to living; (u) dead affect living, but nature unstated; (n) dead said not to take interest in living.

#### T2: Nature of afterlife.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Modelling): (p) physical arrangement of afterlife modelled on land of living; (s) social organization of afterlife modelled on land of living; (ps) both physical and social organizations modelled; (m) modelling stated, but nature not clear; (a) absence of modelling stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Physical organization): (c) afterlife is copy of earth life; (i) afterlife is inverse of earth life.

Measure D (Social organization): (c) social organization is continuence of organization during life; (m) dead merge indiscriminately after death.

#### T3: Number of human souls.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Number of souls): (1) one soul; (2) two souls; (3) three souls; (4) four souls; (5) five or more souls.

Measure C (Dual souls): (m) matrilineally transmitted soul; (p) patrilineally transmitted soul; (b) two souls, one matrilineally and the other patrilineally transmitted.

Measure D (Exteriorization): (p) exteriorization possible; (ob) out-of-body experience described; (nd) near-death experience described.

#### T4: Fragmentation of spirit after death.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Fragmentation of soul or spirit): (g) divides into ghost and spirit; (r) divides into ancestral spirit and reincarnating spirit; (s) fragments into ghost, ancestral spirit, and reincarnating spirit; (o) fragments into other configuration; (i) absence of fragmentation stated; (ai) absence of fragmentation inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

#### T5: Transmigration.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Form of belief): (t) transmigration; (st)

serial transmigration; (m) metempsychosis; (f) transference; (a) absence of transmigration beliefs stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

#### T6: Transformation.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Presence/absence, when): (l) during life; (d) after death; (ld) both during life and after death; (u) at unspecified times; (a) absence of transformation beliefs stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

#### T7: Totemism

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Presence/absence, type): (n) lineages, clans, have totemic names; (t) taboos against killing, eating, etc., totem animal; (c) conception totemism; (v) various types of totemism present; (a) absence of totemic beliefs stated; (ai) absence may be inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Characteristics of conception totemism): (d) clan descent from totem; (c) child's spirit comes from totem animal; (t) deceased transmigrates into totem.

#### T8: Guardian spirits.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Type of guardian): (p) personal guardian spirit; (c) guardian of clan or lineage; (h) guardian of house; (v) guardian of village; (a) absence of guardian spirit beliefs stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Origin of spirit): (d) deceased person; (i) independent spirit.

Measure D (Acquisition or transmission of guardian): (h) hereditary; (n) associated with name; (hn) both hereditary and associated with name; (v) discovered in "vision quest"; (o) other mode of transmission.

#### T9: Nonhuman spirits.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Type of nature spirit): (n) nature spirits; (e) evil spirits or demons; (o) other nonhuman spirits; (v) various types of spirits; (a) absence of nature spirits stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

#### T10: Ultimately sovereign group.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Highest level of territorial organization): (h) nuclear household or other kinship group; (n) neighborhood; (v) village; (t) town or city; (k) kingdom or chiefdom.

Measure C (Highest level of kinship organization): (n) nuclear family; (l) lineage; (c) clan; (m) moiety or phratry; (t) tribe; (o) other form of kinship organization.

#### T11: Principal subsistence strategy.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Principal subsistence strategy): (fc) food collection; (ah) animal husbandry; (hc) horticulture; (ag) agriculture; (m) mixed, no single mode predominant.

Measure C (Degree of reliance on agriculture): (n) none, agriculture provides no proportion of food; (s) some, agriculture provides 25% or less of total food; (m) moderate, agriculture provides 26% to 74% of food; (i) intensive, agriculture provides 75% or over of food.

#### T12: Influence of world religion.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Religion of principal influence): (H) Hinduism; (B) Buddhism; (C) Christianity; (I) Islam.

Measure C (Time since first missionary contact): (1) 25 years or less; (2) 26 to 50 years; (3) 51-75 years; (4) 76-100 years; (5) 110-200 years; (+) more than 200 years.

Measure D (Generality of conversion): (a) many or all converted; (s) some converted; (f) few converted.

Measure E (Degree of conversion): (c) complete; (s) syncretic; (n) nominal.

Measure F (Manner of conversion): (g) forced, great resistance; (w) forced, weak resistance; (a) not forced, accepted.

#### T13: Biological conception.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Function of sex understood): (u) understood at least in a general way; (ub) understood at least in a general way, but conception may also come about through magical or supernatural means; (ui) understanding inferred; (n) said not to be understood; (ni) lack of understanding inferred; (nm) not mentioned, and insufficient data on which to base inference.

Measure C (Male contribution to formation of child): (w) sex "opens the way" only; (b) semen makes the bones; (s) child carried in semen; (ss) semen carries soul substance; (o) other male contribution; (u) unspecified male contribution.

Measure D (Female contribution to formation of child): (b) child formed at least in part from menstrual blood; (n) female provides "nest" only; (o) other female contribution; (u) unspecified female contribution.

Measure E (Supernatural contribution to formation of child): (f) supernatural agent controls fertility; (b) supernatural agent forms body of child; (o) supernatural agent has other role; (v) supernatural agent has various roles; (p) parents alone contribute to formation of child; (ps) both parents and supernatural agents contribute to formation of child.

#### T14: Spiritual conception.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Type of vivifying element involved): (bs) soul, created at same time as physical body; (cs) soul, created by supernatural agent and deposited in body; (rs) reincarnating soul; (sc) spirit child; (gs) guardian spirit; (ns) name soul; (o) other type of vivifying element; (a) absence of vivifying element stated; (ai) absence of vivifying element inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Time of spiritual conception): (c) spiritual conception occurs at same time as biological conception; (q) at first quickening of fetus in womb; (i) at some other or unspecified time during interuterine period; (b) at birth; (a) at some time after birth; (n) specifically at naming ceremony.

Measure D (Derivation of reincarnating soul): (p) vivifying element comes from paternal ancestor; (m) from maternal ancestor; (b) from either paternal or maternal ancestor, bilateral; (d) from both paternal and maternal ancestors, dual; (r) from other relative, general or unspecified; (o) from other source, not necessarily relative; (c) created at time of spiritual conception.

Measure E (Channel for reincarnating soul): (f) transmitted through father; (m) transmitted through mother; (fm) transmitted through both father and mother; (o) transmitted outside parental union.

Measure F (Supernatural involvement in spiritual conception): (m) supernatural agent gives soul to man; (w) supernatural agent gives soul to woman; (c) supernatural agent controls spiritual conception in other way; (v) supernatural agent has various roles in spiritual conception.

T15: Conception rituals.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Means employed): (f) fetish, not definitely animated; (a) animated fetish; (s) shrine or totem center; (m) magical or ritual acts performed; (o) other means employed; (v) various means employed; (nm) not mentioned.

T16: Couvade.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Form of couvade): (c) classical couvade; (t) magico-religious couvade--man observes taboos; (ct) classical couvade, with taboos; (s) magico-religious couvade--man has spiritual connection only; (a) absence of couvade stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

T17: Secondary burial.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Characteristics of secondary burial): (b) "secondary" burial takes form of initial burial, e.g. following cremation or period of exposure; (g) exhumation and reburial of bones in same grave; (c) exhumation and reburial of bones in collective grave; (r) reburial mentioned, but characteristics different or not given; (a) absence of reburial stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Interval between first and second burials): (n) no interval, part of mortuary sequence; (y) interval of year or more; (u) interval unspecified.

T18: Double obsequies.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Characteristics of secondary observances): (j) major ritual, more important than funeral; (n) minor ritual, less important than funeral; (s) secondary observances mentioned, but not clear whether they are major or minor; (a) absence of secondary observances stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

T19: House and yard burial.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Presence/absence): (p) present; (pi) presence inferred; (a) absent; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not

mentioned.

Measure C (Burial place): (h) house; (c) compound; (m) within community; (p) by path; (o) in other public place; (v) various locations in house and yard.

Measure D (Who buried): (c) children only; (e) elite only; (a) any or all.

Measure E (Frequency of burial): (r) regular; (o) occasional.

Measure F (Continued occupancy of house): (c) house continues to be occupied; (a) house is abandoned; (t) house is torn down.

#### T20: Cemeteries and tombs.

Note: Count collective graves as tombs.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Presence/absence, type of cemetery): (t) tomb or collective grave; (c) traditional cemetery; (g) church graveyard; (a) absence of tomb or cemetery stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Recruitment to cemetery): (c) recruitment by clan membership; (l) recruitment by lineage; (b) recruitment by bilateral kinship; (r) recruitment by residency; (o) other method of recruitment; (nm) recruitment not mentioned.

Measure D (Location): (n) near settlement; (f) far from settlement; (u) location unspecified.

#### T21: Marking or mutilation of bodies at death.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Method of marking): (l) mutilation; (k) marking; (a) marking specified as absent; (ai) absence of marking inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Who marked): (c) children only; (e) elite only; (ce) children and elite; (a) any or all persons may be marked.

#### T22: Orientation of burial (or body at cremation).

Note: Count orientation of body on pyre in preparation for cremation as burial orientation.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Type of orientation): (t) terrestrial orientation; (c) celestial orientation; (a) absence of orientation stated; (ai) absence of orientation inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Point involved in terrestrial orientation): (p) physical feature; (r) religious site.

Measure D (Orientation of grave): (ns) north-south; (ew)

east-west; (o) other or none.

Measure E (Orientation of face): (n) north; (s) south; (e) east; (w) west; (o) other or no regular orientation.

T23: Burial (or cremation) posture.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Body position): (fl) flexed, lying on side; (fs) flexed, sitting up; (e) extended; (nm) not mentioned).

T24: Source of personal name.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Presence/absence of name from relative): (p) present; (pi) presence may be inferred; (a) absent; (ai) absence may be inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Deceased relative): (g) grandparent; (m) mother's kin; (f) father's kin; (r) no specific relative.

Measure D (Living relative): (p) parent; (g) grandparent; (m) mother's kin; (f) father's kin; (r) no specific relative.

Measure E (Non-relative): (c) person in community; (o) name donor may be outsider.

Measure F (Nonhuman source): (a) animal; (n) natural force or feature; (d) day of week; (o) other.

Measure G (Religious text): (c) Christian name; (s) patron saint's name; (k) Koranic name; (o) other religious source; (u) unspecified religious source.

Measure H (Frequency of use of source): (r) regular; (o) occasional.

T25: Basis of choosing personal name.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Presence/absence of signs and tests used in choosing personal name): (s) signs; (t) tests; (c) characteristics; (o) other types of signs or tests; (a) absence of signs or tests stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Type of signs): (d) dreams; (m) birth marks or birth defects; (b) behaviors; (r) spontaneous recognitions; (o) other signs; (v) various signs.

Measure D (Type of tests): (c) crying tests; (r) recognition tests; (o) other types of tests involving child.

Measure E (Type of characteristic): (p) physical characteristic; (b) behavioral characteristic; (pb) physical or behavioral characteristic; (o) other characteristic or trait.

Measure F (Frequency of choosing on specified basis):

(r) regular; (o) occasional.

T26: Name sharer relationship.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Significance of name sharer relationship): (n) name sharers have special relationship; (a) absence of special relationship between name sharers stated; (ai) absence of special relationship between name sharers inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Behavior of name sharers): (j) joking relationship; (r) restraint or avoidance relationship; (k) use each other's kin terms; (p) have equal access to each other's property; (v) relationship characterized by various behaviors.

T27: Taboo on name(s) of dead.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Interval after which taboo is lifted): (b) when next child is born; (i) after some interval; (n) not lifted; (nm) not mentioned.

T28: Alternate generation complementarity.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Kinship terminology and generation moieties): (g) generation moieties, but no alternate-generation equations; (ge) generation moieties, with alternate-generation equations; (e) alternate generation equations with generation moieties absent or not mentioned; (a) complementary between alternate generations stated to be absent; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Terminology, Aberle scale rating): (s) strong; (m) moderate; (w) weak; (a) anomalous

Measure D (Other forms of complementarity): (n) alternate generation transmission of names; (j) joking relationships between grandparents and grandchildren; (m) marriages between grandparents and grandchildren; (o) other forms of complementarity.

T29: Clans.

Note: Disregard designation of kinship group in source and code according to definitions of clan and lineage given in the Glossary.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Presence/absence): (c) clans--lack of known

genealogical connections stated; (ci) clans--lack of known genealogical connections inferred; (l) lineages, but no clans; (a) absence of clans and lineages stated; (ai) absence of clans and lineages inferred; (nm) neither clans nor lineages mentioned.

Measure C (Descent principle, clans): (m) matrilineal  
(p) patrilineal

Measure D (Localization, clans): (l) localized; (d) dispersed.

Measure E (Religious attributes, clans): (a) descent from mythic ancestor; (m) clans originated in mythic age; (k) anchoring; (n) names; (t) totemic features other than names.

Measure F (Marriage, clans): (e) clan is exogamous; (d) clan is endogamous; (n) clan does not regulate marriage.

Measure G (Incorporation, clans): (m) material property held in common; (l) land held in common; (i) incorporeal property rights held in common; (p) clan acts together for political ends; (c) clan acts together on ceremonial occasions.

### T30: Cross-cousin marriage.

Note: Include inter-generational variations (see Measure E).

Measure B (Presence/absence, type): (m) mother's brother's daughter; (f) father's sister's daughter; (b) bilateral; (c) cross-cousin marriage, but type not specified; (i) intergenerational variations; (a) absence of cross-cousin marriage stated; (ai) absence inferred; (nm) not mentioned.

Measure C (Status of cross-cousin): (r) real cross-cousin only; (rc) real and classificatory cross-cousins; (c) classificatory cross-cousins only.

Measure D (Marriage prescription): (m) permitted; (f) preferred; (s) prescribed.

Measure E (Frequency of marriage practice): (r) practiced regularly; (o) practiced occasionally.

Measure F (Nature of marriage practice): (g) as a general practice; (e) especially for the elite.

Measure G (Intergenerational variations): (u) uncle-niece marriage; (g) grandfather-grandaughter marriage; (o) other intergenerational variations; (v) various intergenerational variations.

### T31: Levirate and sororate.

Measure A (Basis of coding): (p) data of principal authority; (o) data of other authority; (b) data of both principal and other authority.

Measure B (Presence/absence, form of marriage): (l) levirate; (s) sororate; (ls) levirate and sororate; (o) other forms of spouse inheritance; (v) various forms of spouse inheritance; (a) absence of spouse inheritance

Appendix F  
Codes

1. Main Series

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series).

Society Name	Traits and Measures														
	RA	RB	RC	RD	RE	RF	RG	1A	1B	1C	1D	2A	2B	2C	2D
Aranda	p	p*	g	a	r	sc	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-
Ashanti	p	p	g	a	r	s*	-	o	d	-	b	p	-	-	-
Aymara	b	ai*	-	-	-	-	-	p	i	-	-	p	-	-	-
Azande	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	b	i	p	b	p	-	-	-
Bahia Brazil	p	-*	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-
Bush Negroes	p	p	g	a	r	s	s	p	-	-	-	p	-	-	-
Central Thai	p	p	g	a	r	s	s	p	i	-	-	p	-	-	-
Ganda	p	p*	-	-	-	s	-	p	d	-	d	p	-	-	-
Hausa	b	ai*	-	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-	-	p	-	-	-
Iban	b	ai	-	-	-	-	-	o	d	d	-	p	-	-	-
Ifugao	b	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-
Klamath	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-
Korea	p	p	g	a	r	s*	-	p	l	w	-	p	-	-	-
Kurds	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-	-	p	-	-	-
Lapps	p	p	-	-	-	s	-*	p	-	-	-	p	-	-	-
Lozi	p	a*	-	-	-	-	-	p	d	-	u*	p	-	-	-
Ojibwa	p	p	g	a	o	s	s	p	d	-	b	p	-	-	-
Pawnee	p	p*	-	d	o*	s	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-
Santal	p	p	-	-	-	s	-	p	d	-	d	p	s	-	c
Sinhalese	o	p	-	-	-	s*	-	o	a	-	-	p	-	-	-
Somali	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-	-	p	-	-	-
Taiwan Hokkien	p	p	g	a	r	s	-	p	l	pw	-	p	-	-	-
Tarahumara	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-
Tikopia	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	i	-	-	p	p	c	-
Tiv	p	p*	i	-	-	s	-	p	a	-	-	p	-	-	-
Toradja	p	p*	-	-	o	s	s	o	d	-	b	b	-	-	-
Trobriands	p	p	-	-	-	sc	s	p	i	p	b	p	-	-	-
Tzeltal	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-
Yakut	p	ai*	-	-	-	-	-	b	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-
Yanomamo	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-

Table continues

Note: For the key to Traits and Measures codes, see Appendix E. A dash (-) in columns other than "A" indicates that the trait was not mentioned by source authorities and was ignored in tests, tests, according to the formal testing rules in Appendix D; if the trait was included in tests, "nm" is substituted for the dash. A dash in column "A" indicates that data was not available to code the trait (because the microfiche card was missing at the time of data collection or because the relevant category did not appear on the card). An asterisk (\*) beside a code indicates that comment appears in Appendix G, Coding Notes.

Appendix F  
Codes

## 1. Main Series

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series).

Society Name	Traits and Measures															
	RA	RB	RC	RD	RE	RF	RG	1A	1B	1C	1D	2A	2B	2C	2D	
Aranda	p	p*	g	a	r	sc	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Ashanti	p	p	g	a	r	s*	-	o	d	-	b	p	-	-	-	
Aymara	b	ai*	-	-	-	-	-	p	i	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Azande	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	b	i	p	b	p	-	-	-	
Bahia Brazil	p	-*	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Bush Negroes	p	p	g	a	r	s	s	p	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Central Thai	p	p	g	a	r	s	s	p	i	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Ganda	p	p*	-	-	-	s	-	p	d	-	d	p	-	-	-	
Hausa	l	ai*	-	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Iban	b	ai	-	-	-	-	-	o	d	u	-	p	-	-	-	
Ifugao	b	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Klamath	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Korea	p	p	g	a	r	s*	-	p	l	w	-	p	-	-	-	
Kurds	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Lapps	p	p	-	-	-	s	-*	p	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Lozi	p	a*	-	-	-	-	-	p	d	-	u*	p	-	-	-	
Ojibwa	p	p	g	a	o	s	s	p	d	-	b	p	-	-	-	
Pawnee	p	p*	-	d	o*	s	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Santal	p	p	-	-	-	s	-	p	d	-	d	p	s	-	c	
Sinhalese	o	p	-	-	-	s*	-	o	a	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Somali	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Taiwan Hokkien	p	p	g	a	r	s	-	p	l	pw	-	p	-	-	-	
Tarahumara	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Tikopia	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	i	-	-	p	p	c	-	
Tiv	p	p*	i	-	-	s	-	p	a	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Toradja	p	p*	-	-	o	s	s	o	d	-	b	b	-	-	-	
Trobriands	p	p	-	-	-	sc	s	p	i	p	b	p	-	-	-	
Tzeltal	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Yakut	p	ai*	-	-	-	-	-	b	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-	
Yanomamo	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-	p	-	-	-	

Table continues

Note: For the key to Traits and Measures codes, see Appendix E. A dash (-) in columns other than "A" indicates that the trait was not mentioned by source authorities and was ignored in tests, tests, according to the formal testing rules in Appendix D; if the trait was included in tests, "nm" is substituted for the dash. A dash in column "A" indicates that data was not available to code the trait (because the microfiche card was missing at the time of data collection or because the relevant category did not appear on the card). An asterisk (\*) beside a code indicates that comment appears in Appendix H, Coding Notes.

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series), continued.

Society Name	Traits and Measures												
	3A	3B	3C	3D	4A	4B	5A	5B	6A	6B	7A	7B	7C
Aranda	p	1	-	-	p	r	p	ai	p	d	p	v	d
Ashanti	p	3	b	-	p	-	p	nm	p	l	p	v	d
Aymara	b	3	-	-	b	ai	o	t	p	nm	p	n	-
Azande	p	2	-	-	p	-	p	t	p	nm	p	n	t*
Bahia Brazil	p	-	-	-	p	-	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	-
Bush Negroes	p	2	-	-	p	ai	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	-
Central Thai	p	1	-	-	p	r	p	t	p	nm	p	nm	-
Ganda	p	1	-	-	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	p	n	-
Hausa	p	1	-	-	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	-
Iban	p	3	-	-	p	-	p	st	p	nm	p	nm	-
Ifugao	p	1	-	-	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	-
Klamath	p	1	-	-	p	nm	p	a*	p	nm	p	nm	-
Korea	o	3	-	-	p	-	o	t	p	nm	p	nm	-
Kurds	p	1	-	-	p	nm	o	nm	p	nm	p	nm	-
Lapps	p	1	-	-	p	nm	p	t	p	l	p	nm	-
Lozi	b	1	-	-	p	-*	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	-
Ojibwa	p	1	-	rb	p	ai*	p	t	p	ld	p	-*	-
Pawnee	p	1	-	-	p	ai	p	nm	p	nr	p	n	-
Santal	p	1	-	p	p	nm	o	t	p	nm	p	nm	-
Sinhalese	o	a	-	-	p	a	b	t*	p	nm	p	nm	-
Somali	p	-	-	-	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	-
Taiwan Hokkien	o	2*	-	-	p	ai	o	t	p	nm	p	nm	-
Tarahumara	p	1	-	-	p	nm	p	t*	p	nm	p	nm	-
Tikopia	p	1	-	-	p	ai	p	nm	p	nm	p	n	-
Tiv	p	1	-	-	p	-	p	ai*	p	nm	p	nm	-
Toradja	p	8*	-	-	p	ai	p	t	p	d	p	nm	-
Trobriands	p	1	-	-	p	r	p	ai	p	nm	p	n	-
Tzeltal	p	2	-	-	p	ai	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	-
Yakut	p	2*	-	-	p	ai	p	nm	p	nm	p	nm	-
Yanomamo	p	3	-	p	p	ai	p	nm	p	l	p	nm	-

Table continues

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series), continued.

Society Name	Traits and Measures											
	8A	8B	8C	8D	9A	9B	10A	10B	10C	11A	11B	11C
Aranda	p	p	i	h	o	e	p	h	n	o	fc	n
Ashanti	p	-	-	-	o	o	p	k	-	o	m	s
Aymara	b	h	-	-	p	v	p	t	-	o	ag	i
Azande	o	p	-	h	o	a	p	k	-	p	ag	i
Bahia Brazil	p	ai	-	-	p	s	p	t	-	p	ag	i
Bush Negroes	p	p	-	-	p	nm	b	v	-	p	m	s
Central Thai	o	p	i	h	p	v	p	-	-	o	ag	i
Ganda	p	ai	-	-	p	n	p	-	-	p	hc	s
Hausa	p	p	-	-	p	n	p	t	-	p	ag	i
Iban	p	ai	-	-	p	v	o	v*	-	p	hc	s
Ifugao	p	ai	-	-	p	v	p	h	l	p	ag	i
Klamath	p	p	-	v	p	n	o	h	t	p	fc	s
Korea	o	h	-	-	p	v	p	-	-	p	ag	i
Kurds	p	ai	-	a	p	e	p	t	-	p	ag	i
Lapps	p	p	-	-	p	n	o	n	-	o	fc	n
Lozi	p	ai	-	-	o	e	p	k	-	p	m	s
Ojibwa	p	p	d	-	p	s	p	-	-	p	-	-
Pawnee	p	p	-	-	p	nm	p	k	-	p	-*	-
Santal	p	ph	-	-	o	v	p	v	-	o	ag	i
Sinhalese	p	ai	-	-	o	ai	p	h	c	p	ag	i
Somali	p	ai	-	-	p	e	p	h	l	p	m	m
Taiwan Hokkien	p	ai	-	-	p	nm	p	h	l	p	ag	i
Tarahumara	p	ai	-	-	p	n	p	t	-	p	-	-
Tikopia	p	ai	-	-	p	v	p	h	c	p	fc	n
Tiv	p	p*	-	-	p	v	p	-	-	p	ag	i
Toradja	o	p	-	-	b	v	p	v	-	p	ag	i
Trobriands	p	ai	-	-	p	v	p	v	-	p	hc	s
Tzeltal	o	h	-	-	p	n	p	-	m	o	ag	i
Yakut	p	ai	-	-	p	v	p	n	-	p	fc	n
Yanomamo	b	ai	-	-	o	n	p	v	-	p	hc	s

Table continues

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series), continued.

Society Name	Traits and Measures										
	12A	12B	12C	12D	12E	12F	13A	13B	13C	13D	13E
Aranda	p	C	25	-	-	-	p	n	w	-	-
Ashanti	b	C	+	-	-	-	p	u	-	-	-
Aymara	p	C	+	-	-	-	o	u	-	-	-
Azande	p	C	-	-	-	-	p	u	-	-	ps
Bahia Brazil	p	C	+	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	f
Bush Negroes	p	C	-	-	s	-	b	ub	-	-	f
Central Thai	p	B	+	-	-	-	o	u	-	-	p
Ganda	p	C	25	-	-	a	p	ub	-	-	f
Hausa	p	I	-	-	-	-	p	ui	-	-	-
Iban	p	C	50	-	-	-	p	u	w	-	b
Ifugao	o	C	100	-	-	-	p	ui	-	-	f
Klamath	o	C	75	-	n	-	p	-	-	-	-
Korea	o	B	+	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
Kurds	o	I	-	-	c	-	p	-	-	-	-
Lapps	p	C	+	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
Lozi	b	C	75	-	-	-	p	ui	-	-	-
Ojibwa	p	C	75	-	-	-	p	u	-	-	-
Pawnee	o	C	75	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
Santal	p	H	+	-	-	-	p	u	-	-	f
Sinhalese	p	B	+	-	-	-	p	u	-	-	-
Somali	p	I	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
Taiwan Hokkien	p	B	+	-	-	-	p	ui	-	-	f
Tarahumara	p	C	+	-	-	-	p	ui	-	-	-
Tikopia	p	C	-	-	-	-	p	u	-	-	b
Tiv	p	C	-	-	-	-	p	u	ss*	ss*	ps*
Toradja	p	C	200	-	-	-	p	ub	s	b	ps
Trobriands	p	C	25	-	-	-	p	n	-	-	-
Tzeltal	p	C	+	-	-	-	b	u	b	b	o*
Yakut	p	C	200	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
Yanomamo	o	C	25	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-

Table continues

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series), continued.

Society Name	Traits and Measures									
	14A	14B	14C	14D	14E	14F	15A	15B	16A	16B
Aranda	p	rs	-	.	-	-	p	s	p	s*
Ashanti	p	rs	c	d	fm	u	p	f	p	t
Aymara	p	ai	-	-	-	-	b	f	p	nm
Azande	p	bs	c	d	f	m	p	nm	b	nm
Bahia Brazil	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p	nm
Bush Negroes	o	rs	-	-	-	-	o	m	p	t
Central Thai	o	rs	-	o	o	-	p	nm	p	nm
Ganda	p	rs	-	-	-	-	p	f	p	t
Hausa	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p	nm
Iban	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	nm	b	t
Ifugao	p	cs	c	d	-	-	p	o*	p	nm
Klamath	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	m	p	nm
Korea	p	rs	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p	nm
Kurds	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-	-
Lapps	p	rs	-	-	-	w	p	nm	p	nm
Lozi	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p	nm
Ojibwa	p	rs	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p	nm*
Pawnee	p	rs	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p	t
Santal	p	rs	-	-	-	-	p	s	p	nm
Sinhalese	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p	nm
Somali	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p	nm
Taiwan Hokkien	p	rs	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p	nm
Tarahumara	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	o	p	t
Tikopia	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p	nm
Tiv	p	o*	-	-	fm	-	p	nm	p	nm
Toradja	p	rs	-	-	-	-	p	m	p	c*
Trobriands	p	rs	c	d	-	w	p	nm	p	nm
Tzeltal	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	nm	o	s*
Yakut	p	cs	-	d	-	-	p	nm	p	nm
Yanomamo	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p	nm

Table continues

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series), continued.

Society Name	Traits and Measures										
	17A	17B	17C	18A	18B	19A	19B	19C	19D	19E	19F
Aranda	b	-	-	b	-	b	ai	-	-	-	-
Ashanti	-	-	-	b	-	p	p	c	c	-	-
Aymara	p	-	-	p	-	p	ai*	-	-	-	-
Azande	p	-	-	p	-	o	p	v*	-	-	a
Bahia Brazil	p	-	-	p	-	p	p	c	f	r	-
Bush Negroes	p	-	-	p	-	p	p	o*	c	r	-
Central Thai	p	-	-	p	-	b	ai	-	-	-	-
Ganda	p	-	-	p	-	p	p	h	i*	r	o
Hausa	p	-	-	p	-	p	ai*	-	-	-	-
Iban	p	-	-	p	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-
Ifugao	b	g	y*	p	-	p	p	h*	a	o	o
Klamath	p	-	-	p	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-
Korea	p	-	-	p	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-
Kurds	p	-	-	p	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-
Lapps	p	-	-	p	-	o	a	-	-	-	-
Lozi	p	-	-	p	-	o	nm	-	-	-	-
Ojibwa	p	-	-	p	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-
Pawnee	p	-	-	p	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-
Santal	p	-	-	p	-	o	ai	-	-	-	-
Sinhalese	p	-	-	b	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-
Somali	-	-	-	b	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taiwan Hokkien	p	g	y*	p	-	b	ai	-	-	-	-
Tarahumara	p	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-	-	-	-
Tikopia	p	-	-	p	-	p	p	h*	a	r	o
Tiv	p	-	-	p	-	p	p	v*	a	r	o
Toradja	p	r	-	p	s	p	p	a	-	-	-
Trobriands	p	b	n*	p	-	p	a*	-	-	-	-
Tzeltal	p	-	-	p	-	p	p	h*	a	r	o
Yakut	p	-	-	p	-	p	ai	-	-	-	-
Yanomamo	p	-	-	p	n	p	ai	-	-	-	-

Table continues

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series), continued.

Society Name	Traits and Measures										
	20A	20B	20C	20D	21A	21B	22A	22B	22C	22D	22E
Aranda	b	ai	-	-	b	-	b	-	-	-	-
Ashanti	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Aymara	p	c*	-*	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Azande	p	nm	-	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Bahia Brazil	p	c	o*	n	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Bush Negroes	p	c*	o	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Central Thai	p	ai	-	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Ganda	p	c	c	n*	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Hausa	p	ai*	-	-	p	-	o	-	-	-	e
Iban	o	c	nm	n	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Ifugao	p	t	b*	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Klamath	p	nm	-	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Korea	o	c	c	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Kurds	p	c	b*	n	p	-	p	t	r	-	-
Lapps	p	ai	-	-	p	-	o	t	o	-	-
Lozi	p	c	nm	n	p	-	o	-	-	-	o*
Ojibwa	p	c*	nm	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
Pawnee	p	nm	-	-	p	c*	p	-	-	-	-
Santal	o	ai	-	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Sinhalese	p	nm	-	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Somali	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taiwan Hokkien	b	ai	-	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Tarahumara	p	c	nm	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Tikopia	p	nm	-	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Tiv	p	c	l*	-	p	l*	p	-	-	-	e
Toradja	p	nm	-	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Trobriands	p	ai	-	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Tzeltal	p	c	o	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Yakut	p	nm	-	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-
Yanomamo	b	ai	-	-	p	-	p	-	-	-	-

Table continues

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series), continued.

Society Name	Traits and Measures									
	23A	23B	24A	24B	24C	24D	24E	24F	24G	24H
Aranda	p	fs	p	p	r	-	-	-	-	o
Ashanti	-	-	p	p	g	g	-	-	-	r
Aymara	p	-*	p	ai	-	-	c	-	c	r
Azande	o	fl	o	p	r	-	-	-	-	o
Bahia Brazil	p	-	p	p	r	-	c	-	s	o
Bush Negroes	p	-	p	p	g*	r	-	-	-	-
Central Thai	p	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ganda	p	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hausa	p	-	p	ai	-	-	-	-	k*	r
Iban	o	e	p	ai	-*	-	-	-	-	r
Ifugao	p	fs	o	p	g	-	-	-	-	r
Klamath	o	e	o	ai	-	-	-	-	-	-
Korea	p	fs*	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kurds	p	e	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lapps	o	e	o	p	r	-	-	-	-	r
Lozi	p	-	p	p	r	-	-	-	-	r
Ojibwa	p	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pawnee	p	-	p	p	r	r	-	-	-	r
Santal	p	e	p	p	g	g	-	-	-	r
Sinhalese	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Somali	-	-	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	-
Taiwan Hokkien	p	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tarahumara	p	e*	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tikopia	p	-	p	ai*	-*	-	-	n	c	-
Tiv	p	fs	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-	-
Toradja	p	fs	p	p	r*	-	c*	a	c	o
Trobriands	p	e	p	p	m	m	-	n	-	o
Tzeltal	p	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-	s	-
Yakut	p	-	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	-
Yanomamo	o	fs	o	nm	-	-	-	a	-	-

Table continues

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series), continued.

Society Name	Traits and Measures										
	25A	25B	25C	25D	25E	25F	26A	26B	26C	27A	27B
Aranda	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	i
Ashanti	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Aymara	b	ai	ai	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Azande	p	a	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-
Bahia Brazil	p	c	-	-	pb	o	p	-	-	p	-
Bush Negroes	p	b	-	-	-	-	p	a	-	p	-
Central Thai	p	o	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Ganda	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Hausa	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	p*	-	p	-
Iban	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Ifugao	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Klamath	o	c	-	-	pb	-	p	-	-	p	-
Korea	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Kurds	p	s	v	f	-	o	p	-	-	p	-
Lapps	p	s*	d*	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Lozi	p	t	c	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Ojibwa	p	s	c	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Pawnee	p	c	-	-	pb	-	p	-	-	p	i
Santal	p	c	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Sinhalese	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Somali	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Taiwan Hokkien	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Tarahumara	p	ai	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Tikopia	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Tiv	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Toradja	p	s*	v	u	pb	-	p	-	-	p	i
Trobriands	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Tzeltal	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Yakut	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	-
Yanomamo	p	nm	-	-	-	-	p	-	-	p	n

Table continues

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series), continued.

Society Name	Traits and Measures										
	28A	28B	28C	28D	29A	29B	29C	29D	29E	29F	29G
Aranda	p	ge	s	-	p	c	p	-	n	-	-
Ashanti	p	e	w	n	p	c	m	-	a	e	-
Aymara	o	a	-	-	p	ai*	-	-	-	-	-
Azande	b	ai	-	-	p	c	p	d	n	e	a
Bahia Brazil	p	-	-	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bush Negroes	p	a	-	n*	p	c	m	d	-	e	-
Central Thai	b	ai	-	-	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-
Ganda	b	a	-	-	b	c	p	d	mt	e	-
Hausa	p	ai*	-	j*	b	ai*	-	-	-	-	-
Iban	b	ai	-	-	p	a	-	-	-	-	-
Ifugao	p	e	i	n	p	-	-	-	-	-	-
Klamath	p	e	i	-	p	-	-	-	-	-	-
Korea	b	ai	-	-	b	ci*	p	d	-	e	r
Kurds	b	ai	-	-	p	ai	-	-	-	-	-
Lapps	b	e	a*	-	-	-*	-	-	-	-	-
Lozi	p	e	-*	-	p	a*	-	-	-	-	a
Ojibwa	o	e	-*	-	p	c	p	-	-	e	-
Pawnee	p	ai	-	-	p	-*	-	-	-	-	-
Santal	p	ai	-	nj	p	c	p	d	-*	e	-*
Sinhalese	p	ai	-	-	p	ci*	p	-	-	-	a
Somali	p	ai	-	-	p	l*	p	-	c	-	-
Taiwan Hokkien	p	ai	-	-	p	l	p	c	-	-	c
Tarahumara	p	e	w*	j	b	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tikopia	p	e	i	-	p	ci*	p	-	n	-	-
Tiv	p	ai	-	-	b	-*	-	-	-	-	-
Toradja	p	a	-	-	b	-	-	-	-	-	-
Trobriands	p	e	i*	-	p	c	m	d	kn	-	-
Tzeltal	p	e	w*	-	b	ci*	p	d	-	e	-
Yakut	p	a	-	-	b	l*	p	-	n	e	-
Yanomamo	p	ai	-	-	p	l	p	-	-	-	-

Table continues

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series), continued.

Society Name	Traits and Measures									
	30A	30B	30C	30D	30E	30F	30G	31A	31B	31C
Aranda	p	c*	-	-	-	-	-	p	l	c
Ashanti	p	m	r	f	-	g	-	p	nm	-
Aymara	b	ai	-	-	-	-	-	p	ls	c
Azande	p	a*	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Bahia Brazil	p	c	-	-	r	e	o*	p	-	-
Bush Negroes	p	c	-	m	o	-	-	p	l	-
Central Thai	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-
Ganda	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	p	ls	-
Hausa	p	b	-	-	r	g	-	p	nm	-
Iban	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-
Ifugao	p	a	r	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-
Klamath	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	ls	c
Korea	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Kurds	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-
Lapps	p	c*	-	-	-	-	-	p	ls	-
Lozi	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Ojibwa	p	c	-	m	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Pawnee	p	a*	r	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Santal	p	b	-	-	o*	-	-	p	nm	-
Sinhalese	p	c	-	s	o	-	-	p	nm	-
Somali	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Taiwan Hokkien	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	p	ai	-
Tarahumara	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	ls	c
Tikopia	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Tiv	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Toradja	p	c	-	m	o	-	-	p	a	-
Trobriands	p	f	-	s	-	-	-	p	ai	-
Tzeltal	p	c	-	m	r	-	-	p	ls	o
Yakut	p	c	-	m	o	e	-	p	nm	-
Yanomamo	p	f	-	s	-	g	-	p	nm	-

Table continues

Table A1.3. Codes (Main series), continued.

Society Name	Traits and Measures								33A	33B	33C
	32A	32B	32C	32D	32E	32F	32G	32H			
Aranda	p	d	p	r	-	-	-	-	p	hc	-
Ashanti	p	d	m	v	-	-	-	-	o	hc	-
Aymara	p	f	-	-	b	l	-	-	p	p	p
Azande	o	f	-	-	p	-	-	-	p	p	-
Bahia Brazil	p	o	-	-	-	-	w	-	-	-	-
Bush Negroes	p	d	m	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Central Thai	o	o	-	-	-	-	w	-	p	nm	-
Ganda	p	d	p	-	-	-	-	-	p	p	ps
Hausa	o	o	-	-	-	-	w	-	p	hc*	-
Iban	p	f	-	-	p	-	-	p	p	e	-
Ifagao	o	f*	-	-	p	-	-	p	p	p	-
Klamath	o	o	-	-	-	-	w	-	p	hc*	-
Korea	p	o	-	-	-	-	w	-	p	e	-
Kurds	p	f	-	-	p	-	-	-	p	p	-
Lapps	b	f	-	-	b	-	-	u	b	e	-
Lozi	p	f	-	-	b	-	-	-	p	e	ps
Ojibwa	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	nh	-
Pawnee	p	-*	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Santal	b	d	p	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p
Sinhalese	p	a*	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	p	-
Somali	b	nm	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	e	-
Taiwan Hokkien	p	nm	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Tarahumara	p	f	-	-	b	-	-	-	p	e	-
Tikopia	p	d	p	-	-	-	-	-	p	nh	p
Tiv	p	-*	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	nh	t
Toradja	p	o	-	-	-	-	w	-	p	p	-
Trobriands	p	d	m	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	p
Tzeltal	p	-*	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	e	-
Yakut	p	nm*	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	nm	-
Yanomamo	p	a	-	-	-	-	-	-	p	nh	-

Appendix G  
Coding Notes

The following comments represent glosses on certain codes given in Appendix F, Codes. The codes with glosses are indicated with an asterisk (\*) in Appendix F and will be found below by looking first under the appropriate society, and then under the trait-measure tag relating to the code in question. References cited in this appendix will be found listed in Appendix H, Source Bibliographies, under the appropriate society, rather than in the list of References Cited.

Aranda

RB (Reincarnation. Presence/absence): Pink (1933-1934) reported that her consultants denied a belief in reincarnation, though not conception via spirit children, who were said to be newly created for the occasion. Somewhat oddly, rather than interpreting this as a change in the belief since the days of Spencer and Gillen (1899, 1927), she uses it to question the accuracy of their account.

16B (Couvade. Presence absence, type): According to Spencer and Gillen (1927:492), for the first three or four months of his wife's pregnancy, the husband kills only small game and avoids using spears or boomerangs. This is because the spirit of his unborn child follows him around and would cause his weapons to misfire. Were he to persist in hunting large game, the sickness and suffering of the mother would be increased.

30B (Cross-cousin marriage. Presence/absence, type): A man may marry only into a specific subsection of the opposite moiety, a category which includes the cross-cousin (Spencer and Gillen 1927:44).

Ashanti

RF (What reincarnates): Rattray writes of two reincarnating souls, one transmitted in descent lines through each parent, and a third soul associated with the day of the week on which the child was born (1927:318-319). Fortes (1950, 1969), on the other hand, describes the birthday soul as an inherited personal tutelary. He (1950:265) states that his investigations confirmed Rattray's account, and he does not explain these variations of detail.

## Aymara

RB (Reincarnation. Presence/absence): Reincarnation is coded as absent for the ethnographic present of 1940-1942, based on Tschopik (1946, 1951). However, the belief was evidently present in the past. LaBarre (1948:142) cites Garcilaso de la Vega (1869) to the effect that the forefathers of the village "tribes" had come out of Lake Titicaca, to which the dead went and from which they returned to enter the bodies of the newly born.

19B (House and yard burial. Presence/absence): Absence is inferred for the ethnographic present, per material in Tschopik (1946, 1951). However, he (Tschopik 1946:551) relates that Bandelier states in unpublished manuscripts that formerly the dead were interred in abandoned houses or under the [leaves?] of houses.

20B (Cemeteries. Type): According to Tschopik (1946), burial today is in cemeteries, which in more remote areas are located at crossroads. Elsewhere, Tschopik (1951:217) relates that one old woman believed that persons buried in Christian church cemeteries did not share in the afterlife. It was better, she said, to be buried where the roads cross.

20C (Cemeteries. Access): Not coded for the ethnographic present of 1940-1942, per Tschopik (1946). Forbes (1870:239), based on work in the area in 1859-1863, states that "the ancient Aymara had their family or tribal places of burial," but that "the Indian at present seems to be quite indifferent to where a corpse may be buried."

23B (Burial/cremation posture. Body position): Body position not indicated by Tschopik (1946, 1951). Forbes (1870) notes that although in his day the burial was extended, formerly "the position of the body in the tomb or grave was always that which the infant had originally occupied in its mother's womb, the knees being drawn up to the chin and the arms placed crosswise over the breast--the whole usually sewed in a species of sack."

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): Tschopik (1946) says that the most remote ancestors who are remembered are traced through both male and female lines, clearly not a clan structure on the definition employed here. LaBarre (1948), however, cites Garcilaso, writing of an earlier period, who says village groups claimed patrilineal descent from common totemic ancestors.

## Azande

7C (Totemism. Conception): At death, a person's body

soul becomes the totem animal of his clan (Evans-Pritchard 1937:24). Evans-Pritchard (1932) is at pains to note that although none of his informants ever suggested to him a connection between their beliefs about conception and their belief in changing into the totem animal at death, nevertheless these beliefs are complementary.

19C (House and yard burial. Burial place): Although Evans-Pritchard says nothing on the subject, other contemporary authors record various forms of house-and-yard burial. Seligman (1932) says that burial was "within the homestead," the house thereafter being abandoned. Stillborns were buried beneath the birthing hut. Twins were believed to share a soul, and if one died, it was buried beside a path. Legae's (1926) data corroborates Seligman's, though he specifies that boys and girls who have not yet married are buried in the mother's house, and describes special mortuary huts for other burials. Calonne-Beaufort (1921) also mentions both mortuary huts and burial in the home. Neither Legae nor Calonne-Beaufort indicate whether a house in which the burial is made is abandoned or occupied thereafter. Coding is according to Seligman.

30B (Cross-cousin marriage. Presence/absence, type): Evans-Pritchard (1957) says that there was an "ancient custom of nobles to take kin to wife," but nowhere else does he indicate the practice of cross-cousin marriage.

#### Bahia Brazil

RB (Reincarnation. Presence/absence): Although Hutchinson (1957, 1963) does not mention the belief in reincarnation in the passages included in the HRAF files, it seems very possible that the belief was present in Villa Reconcavo during the focus period, 1950-1951. Pierson (1967), writing about the Bahia in general, implies the presence of the belief in some modern cults. Pregnant women who are members of these cults do not attend funerals, lest the spirit of the deceased enter them. The presence of reincarnation belief in Brazilian cults is well documented by other authors (Leacock and Leacock 1972), and it seems likely that it was present at least in some quarters in Reconcavo during the focus period.

20C (Cemeteries. Recruitment): Hutchinson (1957) says that "each parish" has its own cemetery; that at Villa Reconcavo lay just outside town.

30G (Cross-cousin marriage. Intergenerational variations): Pierson (1967) reports marriage between aunts and nephews as well as cross-cousins.

## Bush Negroes

19C (House and yard burial. Burial place): Hurault (1961), writing of Boni in the period 1948-1958, records that children were buried without coffins at the edge of the village. Herskovits and Herskovits (1934), who worked in other communities two decades earlier, mention that when a child died at birth, the grave was dug "somewhere in the family quarter, or just outside it." All those who lived in the house found other lodgings for one month. If the next child also died at birth, the house was torn down.

20B (Cemeteries. Presence/absence, type): Hurault (1961:174) notes the presence of two cemeteries in Boni country. One was on the lands of one lineage, whereas the other served a village and was not segregated by lineage.

24C (Source of personal name. Deceased relative): Naming with ancestral names is not mentioned by Hurault (1961), although Herskovits and Herskovits (1934:144) say that among the several names given to a child, one "is usually that of a departed ancestor, a deceased grandparent."

24D (Source of personal name. Living relative): Hurault (1961) says that formerly children were by preference given the name of one of their classificatory uncles in the father's lineage. The custom was still clearly visible in 1948-1958, but its practice was no longer general. Hurault's statement should be compared with that quoted from Herskovits and Herskovits, above (24C).

28D (Alternate generation complementarity. Complementarity): Herskovits and Herskovits (1934) report from Saramacca a joking relationship between grandparents and grandchildren, which they contrast with a relationship of restraint between parents and children.

## Ganda

RB (Reincarnation. Presence/absence): Both Somersan (1981) and Davis (1971) code Ganda reincarnation as absent (Davis for the period 1880-1890), although Roscoe (1911) makes various references to the belief. For instance, he says that suicides are burned and buried at crossroads, and bits of stick and grass are thrown upon the grave to prevent ghosts from entering them to be reborn (1911:127).

19D (House and yard burial. Who buried): Coded on the basis of Roscoe's (1911:56-57) statement that two clans bury a child's afterbirth in the parents' house. One clan has a different placement for boys and for girls. Counting the afterbirth as equivalent to the body of the child would

seems to be legitimate in this instance, because the afterbirth is said to have a soul/spirit/ghost (Roscoe 1911:54-55). Compare RB, above.

20D (Cemeteries. Location): Clan cemeteries are said by Roscoe (1911:134) to be made in the "family estates," though not in "good gardens", because these could not afterwards be used again.

#### Hausa

RB (Reincarnation. Presence/absence): Reincarnation is not mentioned by M. F. Smith (1954), M. G. Smith (1955), or other authors represented in the HRAF files, and evidently was not present during the focus period of 1949-1950. However, the belief was documented by earlier generations of workers (Meek 1925:37; Tremearne 1913:118), and there can be no doubt that it was present in the past.

19B (House and yard burial. Presence/absence): M. F. Smith (1954) says that the Hausa previously buried behind the deceased's hut.

20B (Cemeteries. Presence/absence, type): M. F. Smith (1954) and M. G. Smith (1955) do not mention cemeteries, but Hassan and Shuaibu (1952:61) say that although formerly burial was inside the family compound, today there is a burial ground outside town.

24D (Source of personal name. Living relative): Greenberg (1947) states a child is named at birth after the father's younger brother; this is the child's "true name" which will be "hidden" from others.

24G (Source of personal name. Koranic name): M. F. Smith (1954) says that seven days after birth a child is given a Koranic name for the day of the week on which the birth occurred. Traditionally, however, the child seems to have been named at birth. See 24D.

26B (Name sharer relationship. Type): M. G. Smith (1955:44) says that the "Hausa extend the behavior appropriate to certain blood-relations to others, non-relatives, who bear the same name."

28B (Alternate generation complementarity. Terminology and moieties): The Smiths do not mention alternate generation equations, but Greenberg (1946), reporting on a different community, presents a terminology with equations between the +1/+3/+5..., +2/+4/+6..., -1/-3/-5..., and -2/-4/-6... levels.

28D (Alternate generation complementarity. Complementarity): M. F. Smith (1954:58) and M. G. Smith (1955:44) contrast joking between grandparents and grandchildren to restraint and avoidance between parents and children.

29C (Clans. Presence/absence): M. F. Smith says that today there is a "prevailing bilaterally, with strong patrilineal emphasis," and that "descent traced patrilineally is very important among the nobility" (1954:58). Greenberg (8:183) notes that "one of the results of the conversion to Islam of the Hausa . . . has been the loss of their aboriginal clan organization." Formerly, the Hausa traced descent from a common ancestor through exogamous patrilineal clans.

33B (Succession. Manner): The chieftainship is open to men born of local ruling families (M. G. Smith 1955).

#### Iban

10B (Ultimately sovereign group. Territorial organization): The Iban longhouse (Freeman 1955) is coded as a neighborhood for the purposes of this study.

24C (Source of personal name. Deceased relative): Gomes (1911) records the practice of tecknomy, but does not say how the children are named. Sutlive (1973), however, says that "traditionally, children were named either for a maternal or paternal grandparent, depending on the sex of the child."

#### Ifugao

15B (Conception rituals. Type): According to Barton (1946), the Ifugao practice a mock head-hunting ritual that involves pitching a spear at a head of grass and which is used for various magical purposes, including as a cure for childlessness.

17C (Secondary burial. Interval): Barton (1946), whose acquaintance with the Ifugao spanned the period 1908-1941, does not mention the interval between initial burial and disinterment and reburial. Lambrecht (1932-1941), writing of much the same period (1924-c. 1940), says the interval was of one or two years.

19C (House and yard burial. Burial place): Lambrecht (1932-1941:367) records that children are sometimes buried in an excavation made in the stone wall of the rice field adjacent to the parents' compound. Barton (1930) says that burials were sometimes made under the eaves of the house,

and (1946) describes house burial in conjunction with secondary burial practices. Disinterment of one body from the collective tomb is taken as the opportunity for a general tidying up of the tomb and a cleaning of bodies previously buried there, and some of these bones may be removed and placed beneath the family's house. Also, "if there be adult grandchildren, these are likely to tear a fingernail in order to keep it as a memento--wrapped in a little piece from one of the shrouds, behind a stud of the house" (1946:178).

20C (Cemeteries. Recruitment): Barton (1946) says that in some regions male and female kin are interred together in the same tomb, whereas in other areas, "kinship avoidances operate even after death to make this seem indecent." Related persons are always buried together, but neither parent's lineage predominates, the selection of a particular tomb being a matter of convenience. In other words, recruitment is bilateral.

32B (Inheritance. Avenue): Most property is passed to children during the lifetime of the owner, rather than inherited by the children after the owner's death. Inheritance as such only occurs when parents die when children are very young. Transfer of property and inheritance occurs regardless of sex, although the eldest receives the largest portion (Barton 1919).

#### Klamath

5B (Transmigration. Presence/absence, form): Spier (1930) is definite that there was no belief in transmigration during the period of his field work (1925-1926), but he refers to what he calls an "obscure statement" recorded by Gatschet (1890) that seems to refer to the transmigration into fish. Gatschet himself appears to have been uncertain about whether his texts referred to transmigration of the spirit upon death or merely the transference or identification of the deceased's spirit (or ghost) with a fish. He attempted without success to clarify the matter with his informants.

33B (Succession. Manner): According to Spier, "a chief is one who has acquired his position in war . . . with a suggestion of hereditary interest; this beyond natural ability for leadership" (1930:37).

#### Korea

23B (Burial/cremation posture. Body position): Hulbert (1906) says the body was flexed before cremation. Hough (1887), however, says it was usually laid out at full

length.

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): Hough (1899) There is no definite statement concerning clans during the focal period, but there presence at that time is implied in Osgood's later statement (1947) "only a few name groups are united in family lineages. Others are divided into scores of clans."

#### Kurds

20C (Cemeteries. Recruitment): According to Masters (1951), family burial places are segregated in the graveyard, which serves the entire town.

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): Barth says that the Kurds are divided into a number of "tribes," "who should be able to trace common descent from one common ancestor" (1953:36).

#### Lapps

RB (Reincarnation. Presence/absence): Both Somersan (1981) and Davis (1971) code reincarnation as absent among the Lapps, Davis for the period 1780-1800. Alford (1988), who says he used Davis's codes for reincarnation (1988:23), departs from them in coding reincarnation as present (1988:40, 76), although his sources are not clear. The belief is coded as present here on the basis of statements of Karsten (1955), the principal authority, and others. Karsten (1955:47) says that Lapps' high god Radies takes souls to his abode after death and, through mediation of the goddess Maderakka and her daughter Sarakka, delivers the souls of the newborn to the mother's womb. Radies's dual role suggests a belief in reincarnation. Karsten later states that "whether the Lapps had any idea about a rebirth of the deceased seems uncertain" (1955:110), but evidently he was unaware of the seventeenth and eighteenth century sources compiled by Billson (n.d.) that go to show that the Lapps "thought that the souls of dead kinsmen helped their descendents and were reborn in them" (n.d.:170). Cf. 25B, below.

RG (Reincarnation. Identification): See 25B.

25B (Choice of personal name. Presence of signs): According to Billson, "when a woman was pregnant, she was informed in a dream by a dead man what name the child should be given and also what dead man should rise to life again in the child. If she did not learn this in a dream, the father or other relatives had to find out by divination or by consulting the shaman" (n.d.:170). Frazer (1911:368), evidently referring to the same source (a 1767 Danish publication), is more definite that the name given the child

is the name of the person identified in the dream as being reborn to the woman.

25C (Choice of personal name. Type of signs): See 25B.

28B (Alternate generation complementarity. Terminology and moieties): Although Karsten (1955) does not mention alternate generation equations, Pehrson (1957:6) notes a "partial equation of alternate generations." A self-reciprocal is used by first ascending and first descending generation affines, and a partial reciprocal (the stem is the same, but there is a diminutive suffix in the grandchild term) between second ascending and second descending generation affines.

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): Nothing resembling a clan is mentioned by Karsten (1955). Dikhanen (1965), writing from Sirma, says that there are "patrilocal clusters with inheritance patterns favoring sons similar to patrilineal descent groups, but descent and ideology are consistently bilateral."

30B (Cross-cousin marriage. Presence/absence, type): Pehrson (1957) cites an earlier source to the effect that cross-cousin marriage was previously the norm, but says that in the present day the level of close consanguinity is set at the second or even the first cousin.

#### Lozi

RB (Reincarnation. Presence/absence): Somersan (1981) codes the Lozi as having reincarnation beliefs and Davis (using a focus of 1864-1880) codes them as having rebirth in a "limited or ambiguous" form. Reincarnation is coded as absent here on the denial of the belief by Gluckman (1959:83), the principal authority for the present study. Turner (1952) does not mention reincarnation in his resume of Lozi soul beliefs (see 4BC, below). The sources of Somersan's and Davis's codings are not known (but see 25C).

1D (Interaction of living and dead. Attitude of dead to living): Gluckman (1959) says that a man's ancestors affect him, whereas a woman's affect her, but he does not specify in what ways.

4B (Fragmentation of spirit. Presence/absence, form): Turner (1952:51) summarizes reports on the soul by earlier workers among the Lozi, dating from 1897 to 1932. These describe a splitting of the soul into the soul proper, which after death goes to Lozi god, Nyambe; an "emanation" of the dead person, which becomes the ancestral spirit; and a ghost. This is consistent with the idea of a single soul

splitting after death (Hypothesis 4).

22E (Orientation of body at burial/cremation. Face): According to Turner (1952), a man is buried facing east, a woman facing west.

25C (Choice of personal name. Type of signs): Alford says that it is thought that "some Lozi children are reincarnations and that they will cry when the names of the 'right' ancestors are mentioned" (1988:76), but he does not give his source, and I have not been able to identify it.

28C (Alternate generation complementarity. Aberle scale): The form of the Lozi alternate generation equations is not readily classifiable on Aberle's scale. Aberle classifies equations that merge generations on either side of ego with each other, and does not allow for different sets of equations between alternating generations ascending and descending. That is, Aberle deals with  $+2/-2$  and  $+1/-1$  equations, but not with  $+1/+3$ ,  $+2/+4$ ,  $-1/-3$ , and  $-2/-4$  equations, which the Lozi have. A similar terminology has been reported for the Hausa (see comments above).

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): The closest the Lozi come to having clans (in the sense of this study) is through "descent name" which originated with the first Lozi. People who share a common descent name consider themselves kin, but descent names descend from both sides of the family, and an individual may recognize as many as five (Gluckman 1950:172-173).

#### Ojibwa

4B (Fragmentation of spirit. Presence/absence, form): Hallowell (1955) implies that there is no fragmentation of the spirit after death. Kinietz (1947), on the other hand, describes a separation of the soul and reincarnating soul after death.

7B (Totemism. Presence/absence, type): Hallowell (1955) does not describe totemic beliefs or practices for the Saulteaux, although they have been reported for other groups of Ojibwa by Kinietz (1947) and Hilger (1951), among others.

16B (Couvade): Couvade practices are not mentioned by Hallowell (1955), but Hilger (1951) says that one of the oldest members of the Mille Lacs reservation was convinced that the father, in addition to the mother, should observe food taboos during pregnancy.

20B (Cemeteries. Type): According to Hallowell (1955), there are cemeteries near every summer settlement, sometimes

under Christian control. In earlier days, however, graves were much more scattered, since when death occurred in autumn or winter, the dead were buried wherever the relatives happened to be at the time.

28C (Alternate generation complementarity. Aberle scale): Hallowell's (1955:279) list of kinship terms omits the +3/-3 levels, for which Dunning (1959) gives a self-reciprocal. Hallowell and Dunning report on the northern Ojibwa, or Saulteaux. Landes (1937:7) notes +3/-3 self-reciprocals for the southern Ojibwa. Aberle (1967) did not allow for this system, so a scale rating is omitted.

#### Pawnee

RB (Reincarnation. Presence/absence): Both Somersan (1981) and Davis (1971) code reincarnation as absent for the Pawnee, Davis for the period 1818-1834. Reincarnation is coded as present here on the strength of Dorsey and Murie's statement that if a person has not lived a good life, instead of travelling to the land of the dead, that person's vivifying element (which they say is a sort of "wind") "may be directed back to earth and given another chance" (1940:101).

RE (Reincarnation. Frequency): See under RB, above.

11B (Ultimately sovereign group. Type): Dorsey and Murie (1940) describe the Skidi as a federation of 13 villages comprising one of four bands that made up the Pawnee "tribe." The Skidi considered themselves politically autonomous from the rest of the Pawnee. Their federation was held together by a governing council of chiefs as well as by joint participation in ceremonies. This arrangement is uncodable according to Swanson's typology, even as amended here.

21B (Marking/mutilation of bodies. Presence/absence, type): The Skidi paint bodies red at death, else the spirits will not be able to reach the land of the dead (Dorsey and Murie 1940).

28D (Alternate generation complementarity. Complementarity): Weltfish (1965:13, 35), in writing about the Pawnee in general, describes a joking relationship between grandparents and grandchildren.

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): Dorsey and Murie's (1940) remarks on clans were too ambiguous to code. They say that they found no trace of clans among the Skidi, although their definition of "clan" is not clear. Densmore (1929), writing a decade before and of the Pawnee generally, says that all

members of one band descended from a common ancestor.

30B (Cross-cousin marriage. Presence/absence, type): Dorsey and Murie (1940) state that marriage with the first cousin was forbidden and marriage with the second cousin, although permitted, was considered improper.

32B (Inheritance. Avenue): According to Dorsey and Murie (1940:82), children did not inherit personal property, all of which went to the brother, if not the sister's sons. This would indicate a matrilineal inheritance pattern, and suggests the existence of matrilineal clans among the Skidi as among other Pawnee. However, not only do Dorsey and Murie say they found no trace of clans (see under 29B, above), they say that descent is patrilineal (1940:76). The discrepancy may be due to a confusion with the transmission of the medicine bundle, which Dorsey and Murie say is patrilineal among the Skidi, although it is matrilineal elsewhere.

#### Santal

29E (Clans. Religious): Orans (1965:10) says that clans share a common name.

29G (Clans. Incorporation): According to Orans, apart from "presumption of common rituals performed by its constituent lineages, the clan has few likenesses that bind it together and does not exist as a corporate unit" (1965:10).

#### Sinhalese

5B (Transmigration): The Sinhalese are coded as having transmigration beliefs because transmigration is part of the Buddhist system to which the Sinhalese subscribe (Leach 1961), even though it is not mentioned by Leach.

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): Leach (1961:59) writes that the Sinhalese of Pul Eliya have a "confused system, not clearly characterizable." There are "no corporate groups of the clan-lineage type" (1961:96). However, 39 households are said to participate in 13 compound groups, with a patrilineal transmission of names. Tambiah, writing about the Sinhalese more generally, says that there are inclusive kin groups whose members are united by a common name. But "the fact is that such ancestors are fictitious and their so-called descendents are represented in large numbers in all of the villages of the region" (1965:166).

32B (Inheritance. Avenue): Leach (1961:28) remarks that a man sometimes marries a cross-cousin in order to obtain

the inheritance. However, every child is an heir to both of its recognized parents individually.

#### Somali

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): Lewis (1955:17) portrays the Somali "clan" as a "highly segmented group of agnates tracing descent from a common eponymous ancestor." He goes on to describe one clan, which traces descent from an historical figure of the thirteenth century. Although the origin story is something of a "legend," it nevertheless has "a strong historically valid component" (1955:19). Lewis not not make clear whether all the genealogical links back to the founding ancestor are known, but clearly this organization differs from a clan in the sense used here. Moreover, in the southern part of the country, the clan/lineage system is breaking down in favor of a strictly lineage system.

#### Taiwan Hokkien

3B (Human soul. Number of souls): Ahern (1973) says nothing about number of souls, but Jordan (1972), writing of a different community but in the same region during the same period, notes that there are "at least two" souls--one male (light), the other female (dark).

17C (Secondary burial. Interval): According to Ahern (1973), the interval between initial burial and disinterment and reburial may be as long as six or seven years. The defleshed bones are placed in a ceramic pot which may be either reburied in the same grave or moved to another location.

#### Tarahumara

5B (Transmigration. Presence/absence): Somersan (1981) codes rebirth absent for the Tarahumara, whereas Davis (1971) codes transmigration (subsumed under rebirth in analysis) as present for the period 1850-1880. According the Bennett and Zingg (1935), the principal authorities for the present study, "the bear is called 'grandfather,' and some say the bear is the spirit of a deceased ancestor and therefore must not be killed" (1935:133). Likewise, butterflies and moths "are regarded with awe by the Tarahumara because they are identified with the souls of animals or men."

23B (Burial/cremation posture. Body position): Bennett and Zingg (1935) report that burials are extended today, but note that archeological excavation has found flexed burials wrapped in skins in "a cyst-type of cave burial that appears

to be very old." Lemholtz (1902), writing at the beginning of the century, reports that the bodies of adults were stretched out at full length, but children usually were buried with their knees drawn up.

28C (Alternate generation complementarity. Aberle scale): Bennett and Zingg (1935) describe an unusual system of alternate generation equations, with mergers between +2/-2, +3/-3, +4/-4, and +5/-5 levels. This is given a "weak" rating on Aberle's (1967) scale on the basis of the +2/-2 set, but the equations in concentric rings outward from ego clearly departs from the logic of his scale. The practical use of the +4/-4 and +5/-5 equations is not explained by the authors.

#### Tikopia

19C (House and yard burial. Burial place): Firth reports that it was the custom, even among the Christian converts, to bury their dead "either within the dwelling place or under the eaves outside" (1936:77). Rivers (1914) describes the practice as well. However, by 1952, Firth (1959) says, house burial was being given up, "because misfortune attended it."

24C (Source of personal name. Deceased relative): Writing in the past tense, Firth observes: "Names tended to have a symbolic or mystical quality, especially through their association with revered ancestors, who in pagan times were buried beneath the house floor" (1959:184).

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): Firth (1936) describes Tikopian clans as unilateral groupings which trace descent through the paternal line, these comprised of lineages. The origin of the clan chief is not specified, but the contrast of clans with lineages suggests that not all genealogical links between the former and a person are known.

#### Tiv

RB (Reincarnation. Presence/absence): Reincarnation beliefs are coded as absent among the Tiv by both Somersan (1981) and Davis (1971), Davis for the period 1880-1890. Bohannan and Bohannan (1953, 1969), the principal authorities for the present study, report reincarnation belief for the Tiv, and this is attested by other authorities (Abraham 1933; East 1939). However, Bohannan and Bohannan (1969:90) also say that they found few believers, and the belief may have been fading in the focus period of 1949-1952. Even in East's day rebirth was "little more than a figure of speech" (1939:177-178). Abraham (1933) is more definite about its presence.

5B (Transmigration. Form): Transmigration is not mentioned by Bohannan and Bohannan, although it is implied by Downes (1933) in his statement that "domestic animals are looked upon as members of the family and are killed with care, probably lest the indwelling spirit of an ancestor shall be disturbed."

8B (Guardian spirits. Presence/absence, type): Bohannan and Bohannan (1969:89) describe a belief that is perhaps of a reincarnation ancestral spirit. Every Tiv has his own breath soul, sometimes fortified by that of his ancestors. The breath soul of a deceased person comes to rest in his child, and becomes a component of his grandchildren, where it shows up as a physical resemblance.

13C Biological conception. Male contribution. Both semen and menstrual blood are instrumental in the formation of a child, but they are fertile only by virtue of jijingi, here termed soul substance. Both semen and menstrual blood contain jijingi, and if the jijingi of one parent is stronger than that of the other, the child will resemble that parent more than the other (Bohannan and Bohannan 1969).

13D (Biological conception. Female contribution): See 13C, above.

13E (Biological conception. Supernatural contribution): The ancestors may influence jijingi so as to make conception impossible (Bohannan and Bohannan 1969).

14B (Spiritual conception. Type of vivifying element): The relation between reincarnation beliefs and beliefs concerning jijingi (see 13C, above) is obscure, and may reflect the breakdown of the aboriginal belief system. Bohannan and Bohannan (1969) portray jijingi entirely in terms of a soul substance which is passed from parents to their offspring, although they do note that it "is sometimes seen again in resemblances in grandchildren," which suggests a transmission across generations as well. East (1939:177-178) renders jijingi as "shadow," and says that it "is occasionally used of the soul which passes from a dead man into the womb of his son's wife, or the wife of his grandson, to be reborn as one of his descendents." Because the vivifying element involved in reincarnation is not clear from Bohannan and Bohannan's account, this trait is left uncoded.

19C (House and yard burial. Burial place): According to Bohannan and Bohannan (1953), all except the most important elders are interred in a deep trench beside a path. An

important elder might be buried in the yard of his compound, more occasionally in the reception hut. Elsewhere (1957, 1969), the authors describe cemetery burials instead (see 20C, below).

20C (Cemeteries. Recruitment): Burial is in the lineage cemetery (Bohannan and Bohannan 1969). If a man is buried in his agnatic lineage area, the meaning is either that he has been killed by someone in his agnatic lineage, or that the agnatic lineage undertakes to compensate the man's own lineage (Bohannan and Bohannan 1969).

21B (Marking/mutilation of bodies. Type): A corpse is crushed, to make it unfit for witches (Bohannan and Bohannan 1969).

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): Bohannan and Bohannan write about lineages, although not clans. East (1939), however, says that clans were held to have descended patrilineally from two brothers.

32B (Inheritance. Avenue): The only type of property discussed by Bohannan and Bohannan is yam seeds and crops, the avenue of inheritance of which varies from one part of Tiv lands to another. In some areas it is matrilineal, in others it is patrilineal.

#### Toradja

RB (Reincarnation. Presence/absence): Somersan (1981) codes reincarnation as absent for the Toradja, whereas Davis (1971) codes it as present in a "limited or ambiguous" form for the period 1870-1890. According to the Adriani and Kruyt (1950), the principal authorities for the present study, "a child that is born after his father's death is called mbolitic, the one in whom the father rises again" (1950:334). This statement is taken as evidence of reincarnation beliefs during the focus period, although it is admittedly ambiguous (but cf. 24C and 25B, below). Davis' source is unknown.

3B (Human soul. Number of souls): In some areas, men are said to have eight souls, women nine (Adriani and Kruyt 1950).

16B (Couvade. Presence/absence, form): Adriani and Kruyt (1951:353-6) say that men take on some of the symptoms of their pregnant wives. A man's face becomes drawn and he becomes thin, without being sick. The husband's increasing thinness seems to be connected with his wife's increasing fatness.

24C (Source of personal name. Deceased relative): Children must not be named after their parents, grandparents, or great-grandparents. The name of a great-great-grandparent is sometimes given to a child. Naming after a deceased person is called "to make the name rise again" (Adriani and Kruyt 1951).

24E (Source of personal name. Non-relative): According to Adriani and Kruyt (1951), it sometimes happens that the name a child is given is that of an elder of another kinship group. In such instances the latter group may be annoyed, and deliberately name one of its own children after an elder of the former group.

25B (Choice of personal name. Signs): Adriani and Kruyt (1951) say that the choice of name very often depends on a child's "physical characteristics or defects." Dreams in which a "spirit child" appears may also suggest a name.

#### Trobriands

17C (Secondary burial. Interval): According to Malinowski (1929), some 12-24 hours after the initial burial, the body is exhumed and examined for marks that are supposed to indicate the manner of death. The body is then washed, wrapped up again, and reburied. At this time also, it was customary to remove some bones and give these to close relatives, a practice now forbidden by white decree. Although not typical of secondary burial in the length of time between the initial burial and the exhumation and reburial, characteristics such as washing the corpse and removing bones are found widely elsewhere; thus the classification as secondary burial.

19B (House and yard burial. Presence/absence): Although the burial ground is now on the outskirts of the village, thanks to white intervention, it was formerly customary to bury persons in the central place of the village (Malinowski 1929).

28C (Alternate generation complementarity. Aberle scale): Although the Trobriand terminology conforms to the Crow type, it is coded as having alternate generation equations on the basis of Malinowski's (1929:515-517) description of the kinship terminology, where grandparent and grandchild are equated by the term tabu (also used by a self-reciprocal by the father's sister and father's sister's daughter). There is another self-reciprocal term for mother's brother and sister's child, a common example of the +1/-1 set.

## Tzeltal

13E (Biological conception. Supernatural contribution): Shamans, who can control the supernatural nagual, have the power to interrupt a pregnancy and may even move the fetus from one woman to another, says Villa Rojas (1965).

16B (Couvade. Presence absence, type): Nash does not mention the couvade as such, but she does say that both men and women are hot during pregnancy (1970:82).

19C (House and yard burial. Burial place): Villa Rojas (1965) says that the dead are normally buried near the graves of others of the same (patri)lineage, except for the town of Cancuc, where they are interred inside the houses. Blom and LaFarge (1925), writing earlier in the century, mention burial ground and house as alternative sites. They also report that they saw several ruined houses with burials in the floor. It was explained that the dead were buried beneath their beds, a house being abandoned when the number of burials "became too much" for the surviving inhabitants.

28C (Alternate generation complementarity. Aberle scale): Guitaras Holmes (1947:8, 10) describes a partial self-reciprocal term for grandparents and grandchildren (the stem is the same for the latter, but there is a diminutive suffix). The +3 and -3 levels are assimilated to the +2 and -2. Although this system departs from Aberle's (1967) scale in detail, it is judged to be close enough to his "weak" type to be so coded.

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): Guitaras Holmes (1947) says that the Tzeltal have exogamous clans which are not localized, as their members living in all villages and rancherías. Villa Rojas (1945) adds that in the more acculturated communities the clan and lineage system tends to be replaced by a bilateral system.

32B (Inheritance. Avenue): Guitaras Holmes (1947) says that land formerly belonged to the lineage and could not be alienated, and that "even today" there are "several cases" in which only an individual belonging to the lineage can occupy land that has been left without an owner when he has died without leaving male descendents. Guitaras Holmes "lineages" presumably are clans, but the present practice evidently does not call for regular inheritance in clan lines.

## Yakut

RB (Reincarnation. Presence/absence): Absence of belief in reincarnation among the southern Yakut in the focus

period of 1884-1902 is inferred from the absence of mention by Jochelson (1933) and his contemporaries (e.g., Priklonski 1891; Shklovsky 1916). Popov (1833), however, referring to an earlier work by Bashiev, says that one of three souls reincarnates. Jochelson (1926) elsewhere (in a study not contained in HRAF) reports the belief among the northern Yakut. He suggests that this was borrowed by them from the Yukaghir, evidently on the basis of the presence of the belief among the Yukaghir and its apparent absence among the southern Yakut.

3B (Human soul. Number of souls): Jochelson (1933) does not mention the number of souls persons are believed to have. Shklovski (1916), whose field work (1891-1902) was contemporary with Jochelson's, says that each man is given two souls, "and liars have three." Popov (1833), citing earlier workers, notes three souls.

29B (Clans. Presence/absence): The organization of the Yakut during the focal period does not seem to include clans on the definition used here. Jochelson (1933) says that under the prevailing system of polygamy, all the mother's "clans" branch from the father's "gens." He writes also of the "ulus, or union of clans," but the nature of this is not entirely clear.

32B (Inheritance. Avenue): Inheritance is not discussed by Jochelson (1933). Kharzun (1898) says that a dying man cannot designate as an heir anyone without a blood relationship. Inheritance passes in clan lines only; hence never to daughters, who marry out. Sons evidently inherit equally.

Appendix H  
Source Bibliographies

Listed below are all sources used in coding (Appendix E) and in coding notes (Appendix G). The principal authority or authorities are marked (PA). Authors other than the principal authority or authorities whose works were used in coding are marked (OA). Whenever a work of one of these other authorities was used in coding, column "A" for that trait in Appendix F is coded "o" (for "other") or "b" (for "both" principal and other authority). Authors whose works are cited only in coding notes are marked (N).

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APPENDIX II  
CONTROL MEASURES

A. Animism Index

One point is given for each variable rated as present in Traits 1 - 9, per Table A2.1, below. Possible scores range from 0 - 9. Table A2.2 presents the scale score for each of the sample societies, along with a classification of scores into three categories: Absent or weak (0-3), moderate (4-6), or strong (7-9). Nineteen societies were rated as having animism absent or weak and 11 societies were rated as having animism to a moderate degree; in no societies was animism rated as being strong.

Table A2.1. Animism Index construction.

Trait/Variable	Score
1 Interaction between living and dead Either dead or living affect the other in some way	1
2 Nature of afterlife Physical or social order modelled on real world	1
3 Nature of human soul More than one soul	1
4 Fragmentation of spirit after death. Spirit fragments	1
5 Transmigration Transmigration beliefs	1
6 Transformation Transformation beliefs	1
7 Totemism Totemic beliefs and/or practices	1
8 Guardian spirits Personal guardian spirit	1
9 Nonhuman spirits Nonhuman spirits	1

Table A2.2. Animism Index ratings.

Society Name	Score	Absent/Weak 0-3	Moderate 4-6	Strong 7-9
Aranda	5		M	
Ashanti	5		M	
Aymara	5		M	
Azande	6		M	
Bahia Brazil	1	W		
Bush Negroes	2	W		
Central Thai	5		M	
Ganda	2	W		
Hausa	2	W		
Taiwan Hokkien	3	W		
Iban	4		M	
Ifugao	1	W		
Klamath	2	W		
Korea	4		M	
Kurds	0	W		
Lapps	5		M	
Lozi	2	W		
Ojibwa	5		M	
Pawnee	2	W		
Santal	3	W		
Sinhalese	0	W		
Somali	1	W		
Tarahumara	2	W		
Tikopia	3	W		
Tiv	2	W		
Toradja	6		M	
Trobriands	4		M	
Tzeltal	2	W		
Yakut	2	W		
Yanomamo	2	W		

### B. Missionary Impact Scale

A variety of measures and variables (Table A2.3) were planned to gauge the impact of Christian or Islamic missionaries on a society (societies whose first contact with a world religion was with Hinduism or Buddhism were excluded). Unfortunately, it was possible to collect data sufficient to code only the first measure, "Years with first missionary contact," with any consistency, and this measure was therefore used as a proxy for the entire scale. Table A2.4 presents the scale score for each sample society, along with a classification into two categories: weak (1-3) and strong (4-6). Nine societies received weak ratings, and 10 societies received strong ratings. For the remaining 11 societies, the scale was either not applicable (because first contact was with Hinduism or Buddhism) or data sufficient for coding were not available.

Table A2.3. Missionary Impact Scale construction.

Measure/Variable	Score
<hr/>	
A Years since first missionary contact:	
(25) 25 years or less	1
(50) 26-50 years	2
(75) 51-75 years	3
(100) 76-100 years	4
(200) 101-200 years	5
(+) More than 200 years	6
B Degree of acceptance:	
(c) Complete	3
(s) Syncretic	2
(n) Nominal	1
C Generality of conversion:	
(a) all or majority	3
(m) minority	2
(c) handful only	1
D Manner of conversion:	
(g) Forced, great resistance	3
(w) Forced, weak resistance	2
(a) Not forced, accepted	1

---

## MISSIONARY IMPACT SCALE

Table A2.4. Missionary Impact Scale ratings.

Society Name	Score	Weak (1-3)	Strong (4-6)
Aranda	1	W	
Ashanti	6		S
Aymara	6		S
Azande	-		
Bahia Brazil	6		S
Bush Negroes	-		
Central Thai	6		S
Ganda	1	W	
Hausa	-		
Taiwan Hokkien	na		
Iban	2	W	
Ifugao	4		S
Klamath	3	W	
Korea	na		
Kurds	-		
Lapps	6		S
Lozi	3	W	
Ojibwa	3	W	
Pawnee	3	W	
Santal	na		
Sinhalese	na		
Somali	-		
Tarahumara	6		S
Tikopia	-		
Tiv	-		
Toradja	5		S
Trobriands	1	W	
Tzeltal	6		S
Yakut	5		S
Yanomamo	1	W	

APPENDIX III  
CONCORDANCE OF REBIRTH CODES FOR HRAF PSF STUDIES

Table A3.1. presents a concordance of codes for rebirth beliefs in three studies which have employed the Human Relations Area Files Probability Sample (Ember and Ember 1988; Naroll 1967). Davis (1971) and Somersan (1981) used the entire 60-culture sample, although Davis omitted four societies which he judged to have been unduly influenced by a world religion (Rural Irish, Serbs, Taiwan Hokkien, and Bahia Brazilians: see Davis 1971:85), and evidently because not all the societies chosen for the Probability Sample (or PSF) had been processed as of September, 1970, he substituted some alternatives from the list published by Naroll (1967). Matlock, in the present study, used a random selection of 30 cases from the sample. Davis and Matlock used time and place foci in their coding, whereas Somersan did not.

Not only does the complexion of the samples vary, so do the codes used in the three studies. However, these may be grouped to permit comparison across the studies. An "A" represents absence of rebirth beliefs in all columns. In the Davis and Matlock columns, an "F" indicates evidence of a belief during a period prior to the focus period, and an "\*" denotes a society that was not included in the analysis. It is not clear from Somersan's (1981) presentation of data which cases she coded as having reincarnation and which transmigration beliefs, and therefore all societies coded as having some sort of rebirth beliefs are marked "B." Davis and Matlock differentiated between reincarnation (R) and transmigration (T), but these may be grouped together for comparison with Somersan's "B." Davis's "L" indicates a belief in rebirth (reincarnation and transmigration not distinguished) in a "limited and ambiguous" form. "L" codes were grouped by Davis with the other rebirth codes for analysis, and that practice is followed here.

Inspection of the data reveals several discrepancies. Of the 29 cases coded by both Somersan and Matlock, there were 22 agreements and 7 disagreements (76% agreement). Of the 27 cases coded by both Davis and Matlock, there were 14 agreements and 13 disagreements (52% agreement). Of the 53 cases coded by Somersan and Davis, there were 34 agreements and 19 disagreements (64% agreement). Of the 27 societies coded by all three authors, there were 12 agreements and 15 disagreements among all three (44% agreement). For those cases in which there is disagreement between Matlock and Somersan, the coding used in the present study is justified in the coding notes (Appendix IG). For many of these cases, Matlock differed from Davis as well. Those cases on which only Matlock and Davis disagree are considered most likely due to a difference in focus dates or community, and therefore justification is considered unnecessary.

Table A3.1. Concordance of rebirth codes for HRAF PSF studies.

Society	Somersan (1981)	Davis (1971)	Dates	Matlock	Dates
-----					
Probability Sample Cases					
Amhara	A	A	1830-1855	A	
Andamans	B	R	1850-1860	R	
Aranda	B	R	1880-1890	R	1898-1925
Ashanti	B	R	1820-1880	R	1920-1924
Aymara	B	F	1800-1820	T	1940-1942
Azande	B	L	1880-1900	T	1926-1929
Bahia Brazilians	A	-		*	1950-1951
Bemba	B	A	1880-1890	R	
Blackfoot	A	-		R	
Bororo	B	T	1890-1900	R	
Bush Negroes	B	A	1900-1910	R	1948-1958
Cagaba	B	R	1880-1890	R	
Central Thai	B	R	1936-1940	R	1959-1960
Chuckchee	B	R	1830-1850	R	
Copper Eskimo	A	L	1900-1910	R	
Cuna	A	F	1890-1900	R	
Dogon	B	A	1900-1920	R	
Ganda	A	A	1880-1890	R	ca. 1900
Garó	B	R	1800-1850	R	
Guarani	B	R	1900-1920	R	
Hausa	A	A	1800-1900	F	1949-1950
Highland Scots	A	-		R	
Hopi	B	-		R	
Iban	B	A	1830-1840	T	ca. 1890
Ifugao	A	A	1820-1835	A	1908-1941
Iroquois	A	R	1700-1750	R	
Kanuri	A	A	1880-1890	R	
Kapauku	A	A	1940-1950	R	
Khasi	B	T	1830-1840	-	
Klamath	A	A	1850-1860	A	1925-1926
Korea	B	A	1653-1666	R	1890-1905
Kurds	A	A	1900-1920	A	1951
Lapps	A	A	1780-1800	R	n.d.
Lau Fiji	B	A	1900-1910	R	
Libyan Bedouin	A	-		R	
Lozi	B	L	1864-1880	A	1940-1947
Masai	A	T	1870-1880	R	
Mataco	B	A	1875-1920	R	
Mbuti	A	A	1950-1960	A	
Ojibwa	B	L	1750-1780	R	1930-1940
Ona	B	A	1900-1910	F	

Table continues

Table A3.1. Concordance of rebirth codes, continued.

Society	Somersan (1981)	Davis (1970)	Dates	Matlock	Dates
-----					
Probability Sample Cases					
Pawnee	A	A	1818-1834	R	1903-1907
Santal	B	A	1840-1850	R	1932-1943
Serbs	A	-		A	
Shluh	A	*	1890-1900	A	
Sinhalese	B	R	1800-1830	R	1954-1956
Somali	A	A	1875-188	A	1955-1957
Tiawan Hokkien	B	-		R	1969-1970
Tarahumara	A	T	1850-1880	T	1930-1931
Tikopia	A	A	1900-1929	A	1928-1929
Tiv	A	A	1880-1890	R	1949-1953
Tlingit	B	R	1850-1860	R	
Toradja	A	L	1870-1890	R	1891-1932
Trobriands	B	R	1870-1880	R	1914-1920
Truk	A	A	1880-1890	A	
Tucano <i>(Cubana)</i>	B	L	1850-1900	R	
Tzeltal	A	-		A	1945-1946
Wolof	A	A	1850-1860	A	
Yakut	A	L	1800-1820	F	1884-1902
Yanomamo	A	A	1965-1970	A	1964-1968
-----					
Substitute Cases used by Davis (1971)					
Gros Ventre	-	A	1850-1870	-	
R'wala	-	A	1900-1920	-	
Zuni	-	A	1870-1880	-	

## GLOSSARY

In the course of this study, I introduce some new technical terms and use many established terms in specific senses. Many are defined and treated at greater length in the theoretical sections of the text. The brief definitions given here are intended to serve both as an aid to readers and as a guide to coders. Definitions of most standard anthropological terms follow Winick's (1975) Dictionary of Anthropology. When terms more closely follow definitions given by other authors, these sources are indicated also. Cross-references to other entries are underlined. References will be found in the thesis References Cited list.

Age set. A group of persons, usually exclusively male, born around the same time, who go through rites of passage and stages of life together.

Agriculture. The process through which societies grow vegetable food (Winick 1975).

Ancestor. Following Fortes, a deceased relative of the grandparental generation or above.

Anchoring. See clan, anchored.

Animal. A subhuman animal.

Animatism. Concept introduced by Marett (1909) to signify a hypothetical worldview, supposed to have preceded animism, in which key objects in the environment are alive or have some special energy (mana).

Animism. As defined by Tylor (1920), a religious world view whose basis is the belief in spirits and souls that are inherent in or are associated with not only all living beings, but also inanimate objects and natural phenomena.

Apparition. The visual presentation of a ghost.

Ascendant. Member of a generation senior to ego.

Burial. Interment of either the body of the deceased, that person's defleshed bones (as in secondary burial, or his or her cremated remains).

Burial, collective. A burial in which two or more bodies are placed in the same grave or tomb, often a type of secondary burial (Winick 1975).

Burial, extended. A burial position in which the body is laid flat on its back, often with the arms folded over the chest, but with legs extended (Winick 1975).

Burial, flexed. A burial position in which the arms or leg or both are bent. In the fully-flexed or contracted position, the knees are drawn up to the chin to make a 90-degree angle to the spinal column. The body is typically placed on its side in the grave. (Winick 1975)

Burial, house. Burial in the house or living structure, which often continues to be occupied Cf. burial, yard.

Burial, secondary. A final burying of a person's bones, after the first temporary burial during which the flesh has decomposed. (Winick 1975)

Burial position. The position of the body in the grave. See burial, extended and burial, flexed.

Burial, yard. Burial within the confines of the community, typically in the immediate vicinity of the house, such as under the eaves or in the refuse pile. The site may continue to be occupied without interruption. Cf. burial, house.

Cemetery. Area set aside for burial, often restricted to use by members of a certain lineage or clan.

Cemetery, clan. A cemetery in which only members of a particular clan may be buried.

Cemetery, lineage. A cemetery in which only members of a particular lineage may be buried.

City. Local community of 3,000 or more people (Swanson 1960).

Clan. A group of persons who trace descent from a common ancestor but who cannot trace all genealogical links back to the ancestor or to each other (in contrast to lineage).

Clan, anchored. A clan which is associated with a special place or piece of land, typically that place where the founding ancestor is believed to have descended to earth or risen from underground.

Clan, localized. A clan all of whose members are resident in one locality, typically the place where the clan progenitor is believed first to have appeared on earth and assumed human form.

Community, local. The lowest level of social integration above the nuclear within a society, such as a longhouse, neighborhood, village, or town (Swanson 1960).

Conception, biological. The point at which the formation of an embryo's body is believed to have been initiated. Cf. conception, spiritual.

Conception, spiritual. The point at which the reincarnating spirit or other vivifying element involved in rebirth become associated with the embryo, fetus, or child, in contrast to the purely physical process of biological conception. Spiritual conception may be thought to occur at various points at or following biological conception, including after birth, especially where the name and soul are linked, as in the name soul.

Corporate. See group, corporate.

Cousin, cross. The child of a parents' sibling of the opposite sex, i.e., mother's brother's or father's sister's child. The siblings may be classificatory as well as biological kin. Cf. relative, cross; cousin, parallel. (Winick 1975)

Cousin, parallel. The child of a parents' sibling of the same sex, i.e., mother's sister's or father's brother's child. The siblings may be classificatory as well as biological kin. Cf. relative, parallel; cousin, cross. (Winick 1975)

Couvade. In its classical form, the imitation by the father of many of the concomitants of childbirth, around the time of his wife's parturition (e.g., husband lies in). In its magico-religious form, it may be restricted to the husband's observance of taboos. (Winick 1975)

Culture. Following Tylor (1920i: ), "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits" which are characteristic of the person in society and which are transmitted over space and time.

Death. Biological death, the cessation of the life function of the physical body, caused by the permanent departure of the vivifying elements (e.g., spirits, souls) necessary for its maintenance. A soul associated with a body during its life may continue to exist after its death, continuing with them conscious awareness indefinitely, though sometimes they are thought to become extinct.

Descendent. Member of a generation junior to ego.

Descent. Following Fortes, the relation of a person to his or her ancestors in contrast to his or her parents, which is called filiation. Descent is often associated with beliefs in reincarnation.

Descent group. A kinship group comprised of persons in the same line or lines of descent.

Descent, matrilineal. Descent traced through the mother or maternal line exclusively.

Descent, patrilineal. Descent traced through the father or paternal line exclusively.

Diffusion. The process by which cultural traits move from one culture to another, often becoming transformed in the process of incorporation into the new culture.

Ego. Especially in kinship studies, the figure from whose point of view a structure is described. Unless specified as female, ego is presumed to be male.

Element, vivifying. See vivifying element.

Elite. Relatively advantaged persons in a society, whether for political, economic, religious, or other reasons.

Endogamy. Compulsory marriage within a society or segment of society; contrasted with exogamy (Winick 1975).

Equations, alternate-generational. Terminological equations which merge members of alternate generations.

Equations, terminological. In classificatory kinship terminologies, the same term used to designate two or more distinct relatives in the descriptive (biological) sense.

Exogamy. Compulsory marriage to members of one's own society or segment of society (e.g. kinship group or moiety), contrasted with endogamy.

Family. Key social institution consisting of one or more women living with one or more men, along with their children (Winick 1975).

Fetish. An object which has supernatural potency, often because of its association with a spirit (see fetish, animated).

Fetish, animated. A fetish in which a spirit is believed to reside or with which a spirit is associated.

Fetish principle. The principle that an animated fetish can convey that or another spirit from one place to another; often brought into play in conception ritual.

Filiation. Following Fortes (1949), the biological relation of a person to his or her parents, in contradistinction to descent. Filiation is given a spiritual basis in many societies through its association with soul substance. See matrifiliation, patrifiliation.

Filiation, double. Filiation recognized through both the mother (matrifiliation) and the father (patrifiliation).

Filiative group. A kinship group composed of persons related through filiation. Filiative groups may be matri- or patrifiliative.

Generation, adjacent. Generations which are next to each other in a genealogical sense, as the generations of ego and his parents.

Generation, alternate. Generations between which one or more other generations intervene, as the generations of ego and his grandparents.

Generation, ascendant. A generation older than ego's generation.

Generation, descendent. A generation younger than ego's generation.

Generation moiety. See moiety, generation.

Ghost. One aspect of the spirit of a deceased person. Ghosts visible to surviving members of a community are called apparitions, whereas those who effect the environment in physical ways are called poltergeists.

Grave. Underground burial place, usually for a single individual. Cf. tomb.

Group, corporate. A kinship group (e.g. a descent group), which acts as an autonomous unit, and which may regulate marriage, hold property, and have other political and legal functions.

Group, descent. See descent group.

Group, filiative. See filiative group.

Group, kinship. A group of kin, often, but not necessarily, united for common purpose. Descent groups and filiative groups are the most important types of kinship groups.

Group, sovereign. A social group which exercises independent and original jurisdiction over some sphere of social life. A society may be composed of several sovereign groups, exercising authority at different levels. The ultimately sovereign group is the one with the most general authority. (Swanson 1960)

Headman, community. A local political leader. In smaller, self-contained societies, he has supreme political authority, but in more developed, hierarchical societies, he has only local autonomy. (Winick 1975)

Infant. A child of under one year of age.

Inheritance. The transmission of property to an heir or heirs following the death of a property-holder. Both incorporeal property and material property may be inherited. (Winick 1975)

Kin. Person to whom one is related; a relative.

King. A male sovereign ruler, often with a spiritual as well as secular powers (Winick 1975).

Kingdom. A territorial social organization consisting of a group of local communities (e.g., towns, villages) under the jurisdiction of a king.

Kinship. System of genealogical relationship among members of a social group (Winick 1975).

Kinship, affinal. Kinship established through marriage (Winick 1975).

Kinship, classificatory. Kinship system based not on blood ties, but on social criteria. Classificatory relationships are reflected in kinship terminology. (Winnick 1975)

Kinship terminology. See Terminology, kinship.

Land, ancestral. Land historically associated with a particular community or kinship group, often that place where the founder of the clan is supposed to have descended to earth or risen from underground.

Levirate. A form of secondary marriage in which a man is required or permitted to marry his brother's widow or a surrogate (Winick 1975).

Lineage. A consanguineal, unilineal kinship group. A lineage is similar to a clan in that it may be either localized or multilocal, but it differs in that the lineage progenitor is a known (and usually remembered) human being and that all kinship links are known and can be demonstrated. (Winick 1975)

Localization. See clan, localized.

Longhouse. Living structure in which several families reside in a series of apartments joined by a common hallway; equivalent to a village.

Mana. Following Codrington (1891), a generalized supernatural force, independent of but inherent in various objects or persons, believed to be the basis of magic.

Marriage, cross-cousin. Marriage between cousins related through siblings of opposite sex. Cross-cousin marriage may be between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (matrilateral), his father's brother's daughter (patrilateral), or both (bilateral).

Matrifiliation. Kinship traced through the mother's filiative line exclusively.

Metempsychosis. Rebirth cycle involving at least one life as a subhuman animal or other form between lives as human beings. The cycle may be repeated indefinitely.

Moiety, generation. One of two major divisions in a society, each composed of merged alternate generations. Generation moieties typically are endogamous and may be corporate groups.

Moiety, lineal. One of two major divisions in a society, each composed of one or more lineages or clans (Winick 1975).

Name, ancestral. Personal name closely connected to a particular kinship group and associated in an intimate way with the ancestral spirit or spirits which bore it previously. Each kinship group typically "owns" a certain stock of ancestral names.

Name, birth. A personal name given at or soon after birth, and often kept secret for religious reasons.

Name, personal. A name by which a person is called. A given individual may several personal names (see names, multiple), at least one of which is usually an ancestral name (q.v.). Personal names may be given at birth or at some later date, and may be supplemented by other names. They may be subject to taboo (Winick 1975)

Name sharing. Sharing of an ancestral name by two or more persons, who are thereby believed to share a close spiritual bond, if not a common soul. Cf. multiple rebirth.

Name soul. Especially among the Inuit, a name (usually a personal name) that embodies a soul, or conversely, a soul whose essence resides in a name. When a child is named, the name soul attaches itself to the child, who in effect becomes the reincarnation of the name's previous holder.

Names, multiple. Two or more personal names held by a single person. If the names are ancestral names, the result is multiple rebirth.

Name sharer. Person named after another, usually a member of an ascendant generation.

Naming, periodic. After Levi-Strauss (1982), the practice of giving personal names at generational intervals, such as naming a grandchild after a grandparent.

Neighborhood. A group of families living in the same general area, often related by kinship or other ties.

Nickname. An informal personal name used in addition to (sometimes in preference to) the birth name.

Organization, social. The arrangement of social groups within a society.

Patrification. Kinship traced through the father's filiative line exclusively.

Person. A living human being.

Poltergeist. A ghost perceived through its effects on the physical environment, e.g., through noises or movements of objects.

Position, burial. See Burial position.

Practice, social. Any action which is performed on a regular basis and for a designated purpose by members of a society (e.g., naming practices, burial practices).

Property. Those elements of a culture over which a person has a totality of rights. Property may be intangible, material, or real, and may be held either privately or collectively, e.g., by kinship groups. (Winick 1975)

Property, ancestral. Property traditionally associated with a particular kinship group and which is passed to heirs principally or exclusively within that group.

Property, incorporeal. Intangible elements of a culture, such as rights to songs, dances, berry patches, fishing and hunting grounds, etc. Names, positions, and social personas may sometimes be considered property in this sense. (Lowie 1928)

Property, material. Physical objects owned by a person or kinship group, in contrast to incorporeal property or real property.

Property, personal. Property acquired or manufactured by a person, in contrast to inherited ancestral property. If personal property is not buried with the owner or destroyed at his death, it may be willed by him to designated heirs.

Property, real. Property which consists of land or what is built on land. (Winick 1975)

Property, religious. Property which has a ceremonial function and which typically is believed to have a spiritual essence.

Rebirth. The process by which a vivifying element inherent in an entity leaves it, usually at death, and becomes joined with another entity, usually before birth. The element involved in rebirth may be conceived variously as soul, spirit, emanation from a generalized soul-stuff, or as arising from an abstract karmic nexus. Most entities may be human beings, lower animals, plants, or mythical creatures. Usually there is thought to be a one-to-one correspondence between the two entities, although this relationship may not be precisely known. See reincarnation, transmigration, and metempsychosis.

Rebirth, multiple. The result of giving an individual more than one ancestral name.

Reincarnation. Rebirth as a member of the same species; unless specified otherwise, the rebirth of human beings as other human beings.

Reincarnation, multiple. Multiple rebirth involving human ancestral spirits.

Relative. A person considered to be kin, whether or not there is a biological relationship.

Religion. A feeling of inspiration, awe, divine love, etc., associated with beliefs and ritual actions and held in common by members of a society as part of its culture. Religious feeling as defined indicates an innate human response, but the beliefs and rituals associated with this response vary from one society to another, according to its culture.

Right. Claim or title to property, whether intangible, material, real, religious, or personal.

Set, age. See age set.

Sign. Something which signifies. Signs of reincarnation recognized by societies throughout the world include dreams in which deceased persons appear and in which they seem to announce their own rebirth ("announcing dreams"), a child's birthmarks or birth defects, peculiar behaviors, or other traits, including apparent memories of previous lives.

Society. An organized aggregate of persons following a given way of life, sharing a common culture, and persisting through time (Winick 1975).

Sororate. A form of secondary marriage in which a man is required or permitted to marry his deceased's wife's sister (Winick 1975).

Soul. The vivifying or animating essence of a living or anthropomorphised entity or part of an entity. The soul is often conceived in a concrete way so that it may be localized within a physical body or other form, though it may be external to it as well (see soul, external). In the animistic belief system the soul may depart the body during life (at night or during illness) as well as at death. It may be either undifferentiated (unitary) or differentiated (multiple) in function. Cf. spirit. (Winick 1975)

Soul, name. See name soul.

Soul, unitary. An undifferentiated, indivisible soul usually the vivifying element in the body (Winick 1975).

Soul stuff. Generalized amortal, immaterial essence, out of which individual souls emanate, and to which they return following death (Winick 1975).

Soul substance. Spiritual substance passed through sexual intercourse from one or both parents, which provides the basis for biological conception and filiation.

Souls, multiple. Two or more (sometimes as many as seven) individual souls coexistent in a single physical body. Each soul has responsibility for a different body part or function (e.g. bones, breath, intellect), and may have a unique fate after death (e.g. one may cease to exist, another reside with the bones, a third reincarnate). Cf. souls, dual.

Spirit. A quasi-material conscious form, either human or nonhuman. In many contexts, the spirit designates the soul when it is apart from the body, either at night or after death. The presence of a spirit may be sensed tactually, it may affect the environment as a poltergeist, or it may be visible as an apparition.

Spirit, ancestral. A spirit of a deceased kinsperson, often, though not necessarily, associated with a specific kinsperson.

Spirit, guardian. Also called tutelary spirit or genius. Spirit that provides guidance and protection for an individual, house, or community. Personal guardian spirits may be either acquired or inherited.

Spirit, nature. Spirits associated with the environment, such as water or trees, or demons.

Spirit, reincarnating. That aspect of the spirit that reincarnates.

Spiritual. Of, pertaining to, or composed of spirit.

Structure, kinship. That part of social structure particularly concerned with kinship relationships (Winick 1975).

Structure, lineal. A kinship structure comprised of unilineal relationships, whether of descent or filiation.

Structure, social. An abstracted (or schematic) description of the institutions that comprise a society, or of their relationship to one another (Winick 1975).

Subsistence. A society's basis of food procurement.

Succession. Procedures for handing down rank, title, privileges, authorities, responsibilities, etc., in a social

group (Winick 1975).

Succession, positional. Following Richards (1933), the assumption of the deceased's social position by his heir, who typically adopts his name and may be thought to have incarnated some part of his spirit.

Survival. Following Tylor (1920i:16), "processes, customs, opinions, and so forth, which have been carried on by force of habit into a new state of society different from that in which they had their original home."

Taboo. A prohibition which, if violated, leads to a magically-inflicted, automatic penalty. See taboo, name. (Winick 1975)

Taboo, name. The taboo against mentioning the name of certain persons, objects or deities (Winick 1975).

Term, classificatory. A kinship term that denotes two or more genealogical positions, e.g., father, father's brother, and father's brother's son, or grandparent and grandchild.

Term, descriptive. A kinship term that denotes a single genealogical position, e.g., mother, father, uncle, aunt, cousin.

Term, kinship. A word that designates a genealogical position relative to ego, e.g., father, mother, grandfather, grandchild. Kinship terms may be either descriptive or classificatory.

Terminology, kinship. The set of kinship terms employed by a society.

Tomb. An above-ground burial place, usually for several individuals. Cf. grave.

Totem. Object (typically an animal) toward which members of a kinship group have a special mystical relationship (often through common descent) and with which the group is associated. (Winick 1975)

Town. Local community of between 300 and 2,000 people (Swanson 1960)

Transformation. A change from one physical shape to another, believed possible either before or after death.

Transmigration. Rebirth across species lines; unless otherwise specified, the rebirth of a human being as a lower

animal.

Village. Local community of between 50 and 300 people (Swanson 1960).

Vivifying element. That spiritual factor (e.g. spirit or soul) which gives life (or intellect, etc.) to a body in a system of mind-body dualism.